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

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# CONTENTS

OF

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, VOL. LIII, PART I,  
FOR 1884.

## No. I.

	<i>Page</i>
An Examination of the Trade Dialect of the Naqqásh or painters on papier-maché in the Panjáb and Kashmír.—By CAPT. R. C. TEMPLE, B. S. C., F. R. G. S., M. R. A. S., &c.,.....	1
Tiomberombi. A Nicobar tale.—By F. A. DE ROEFSTORFF, late Offg. 2nd Assist. Supdt., Port Blair, Nicobars, Associate A. S. B.,.....	24
Notes on the History of Religion in the Himálaya of the N. W. Provinces, Part I.—By E. T. ATKINSON, B. A., F. R. G. S., B. C. S.,.....	39
On the Psychological Tenets of the Vaishnavas.—By DR. RÁJEN-DEALÁLA MITRA,.....	103

## No. II.

A Classified and Detailed Catalogue of the Gold Coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India, with an Introductory Essay.—By V. A. SMITH, B. A. Dubl, B. C. S. (With 4 Plates and a table of weights), .....	119
A Paper on the Medals known as Ramtinkis.—By J. GIBBS, F. R. G. S., M. R. A. S., V. P. B. A. S. (With a plate), .....	207
On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar.—By JOHN BEAMES, B. C. S. (With a Map),.....	215
Cháiswárá Folk Songs collected by BÁBÚ JOGENDRA NÁTH RÁE, Gházípur. (Contributed by W. IRVINE, Esq., C. S.),.....	232
Notes from Varáha Mihira's Pañchasiddhántiká.—By G. THIBAUT, PHIL. DR., .....	256

## Nos. III & IV.

(Special Number.)

Translation to Manbodhi's Haribans.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C. S., ...	1
Index to Manbodhi's Haribans.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C. S., .....	37
Twenty-one Vaishnava Hymns.—Edited and translated by G. A. GRIERSON, C. S., .....	76
The Song of Bijai Mal.—Edited and translated by G. A. GRIERSON, C. S., .....	94

## LIST OF PLATES

IN

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

FOR 1884.

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Pl. I (p. 39). Hindú Liturgical Diagrams.

Pls. II—V (p. 119). Select Gold Coins of the Gupta Period.

Pl. VI (p. 207). Ramtinkis.

Pl. VII. Map of the Subah Avadh, according to the Ain-i-Akbari, A. D.  
1582.

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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1884.

*An Examination of the Trade Dialect of the Naqqásh or painters on papier-maché in the Panjáb and Kashmír.*—By CAPT. R. C. TEMPLE, B. S. C., F. R. G. S., M. R. A. S., &c.

In the Selections from the Records of the Panjáb Government, Section I, 1882, are some *Linguistic Fragments* by Dr. Leitner. Among these "fragments" at p. xviii, are some words and phrases, used by the Naqqásh or papier-maché painters of the Panjáb and Kashmír as a trade dialect or *argôt*, and also at pp. 2 & 3 of the Appendix is a long list of numerals used by the shawl-weavers of Kashmír and the Panjáb.

The list of Naqqásh words is not very long and as they will all undergo examination in the course of this paper, I give them here in full, taking no further liberties with them than to re-arrange them to suit my remarks.

Dialect of the Naqqásh at p. xvii. of Leitner's "*Linguistic Fragments*."\*

*Numerals.*

1 ékam.	9 athwatir ékam.
2 hándish.	10 za-atiláq.
3 yémdir.	15 tre-atalaq.
4 tzownter.	20 tzòr-átaláq.
5 atiláq.	25 páu-dùkh.
6 shánk.	50 odh-dùkh.
7 shánk ékam.	100 dùkh.
8 háshht berik; athwotur.	

\* The transliteration is Dr. Leitner's.

## General Nouns.

master, lánka.	disease, máshilád.
wood, hima.	physician, nabzawól.
house, shop, pánzir.	man, dohun.
word, náí.	woman, woïn.
painting, tšll.	mother, bajür.
salt, tókkun.	father, old, dóddur.
sugar, tokuwùn.	daughter, putz-kät.
tea, zal.	son, pütze.
tobacco, panyúl.	thief, poshumut.
<i>huqqa</i> , panyúl-dotsh.	colour, riüg.
paper, rikkín.	night, krishor.
mouth, múr.	day, zàdd, zàrr.
eye, zü-tüün.	stomach, gúnna.
<i>qalamdán</i> , zákkir.	water, zal.
rice, gúnne.	jewelry, dijphùl.
bread, béretz.	hair, kiöpush.

## Verbs.

be silent, mùnn.	to say, ask, párun.
to see, natzún.	to be, zàddùp.
see, natzp.	to go, sandùn.
to bear, wendun.	to take away, sorwùn.
hear, wéndo, wendüs.	to sing, bomburùn.
to die, be ill, máshiran.	

## Coins.

rupee, gash.	• <i>paisá</i> , böt.
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## Adjectives.

sweet, tokuwùn.	good, sodd.
little, cheap, kis.	bad, nàzz.
much, dear, grätz.	ill, mashilad.

I had in 1882 an opportunity of testing at first hand, though on a small scale, both the above list of words and the shawl-weavers numerals given by Dr. Leitner, and I found them to be in the main correctly recorded, *i. e.*, according to my own ear, if I rightly read his somewhat puzzling transliterations. I should, however, like to make a few remarks and additions.

The Naqqásh I examined were Kashmírís, but Dr. Leitner's were apparently Panjábís.

The Naqqásh words especially tested by me are given in the following list:\*

\* In this list Dr. Leitner's words are according to his own transliteration, mine are given in that adopted by the Society.

## Naqqásh words.

Leitner.	Temple.
house, pánzir.	pánzir, lip.
be silent, múnun (and baguwín, milk, <i>sic.</i> )	mún.
salt, tókkun.	tókkun, tókawan.
sugar, tokuwún.	tókkun, tókawan, tókuwun; (ba- guwún, sweet).
paper, rikkin.	rikkin.
rupee, gash.	gásh, gás.
good, sodd.	sodd.
bad, názz.	náz.
to go, sandún.	sandún.
go	sand.
man, dohun.	dúh.
woman, woín.	kollai.
mother, bajúr.	mozh.
daughter, putz-kát.	putsakut.
son, pútze.	pútsa.
thief, poshumut.	póshumut, wusagun.

It will be observed from the above list that the words agree practically throughout.

Lip, ghar and pánzir were given me as alternatives for house, the *ŋ* in the last word being a distinct and strong cerebral nasal, and the *r* of lip being also strongly cerebral. I heard the cerebral *ŋ* again in mún, "be silent," and perhaps Dr. Leitner means his múnun to represent a hard or cerebral sound.

Dr. Leitner gives the imperative as ending in *o*, e. g., natzo, see thou; wéndo, hear thou, (but also wéndùs, regarding which see below). However, as far as I could make out, the imperative is the plain stem. Thus, sandún, to go, sand, go; walún, to come, wal, come. The instances at hand altogether are so few, and my attempts to get sentences, as I will show hereafter, so unsuccessful, that nothing can really be said as to what the imperative is.

Dr. Leitner uses all three accents á à â over his vowels and it is hard to say therefore what the force of each is in the absence of an explanatory note. The difference, therefore, observable between his vowels and mine may be merely graphic and not real.

In three words I could not get the Naqqásh to give Dr. Leitner's forms, *viz.*, for "man, woman and mother." Also the words for salt, sugar and sweet present a very remarkable peculiarity. It will be ob-

served from the lists above given that they are practically *the same!* After considerable enquiry all I could elicit from the men was that the words *were* the same, and that the sense depended on the context! Lastly, under "be silent," and apparently by mistake, Dr. Leitner has given "baguwūn (milk)." This word, as far as I could make out, is a synonym for "sweet."

I would also observe that the marked cerebralization of the vowel sounds makes it very hard to record the dialect as it falls on the ear. The same is observable in dialectic Panjābī, *e. g.*, the first *á* in *ánná, gáhná* and the *a* in *banhná*. Dr. Leitner's *putz-kāt* and my *putsakut*, daughter, is a particularly difficult word to express, owing to the closeness of the vowels, which is such as one hears in the Pashto about Quetta and the Pishin. The final vowel in *pütze* or *pútsa*, son, is the final German vanishing *e*, which is, and is not, heard. As regards this, I think there is no doubt, that in order to record a dialect such as this properly, one ought to come to it prepared with a carefully selected set of vowel equivalents, or one will fail to give the living force of it.

To pass on to sentences. I made a short list of such sentences as are usual when testing a dialect or new language, in order to find out the forms of the tenses, &c., and began to run down it, but the result was not satisfactory, and after seven of them had been gone through, the Naqqásh were either tired or sulky, for they said it was "a sin to talk anything but *sídhá bát* (*sic*)" and would give me no more words or sentences. I accidentally elicited that they do not talk their peculiar dialect, but "*sídhá bát*" to their women. Here are some of my sentences.

Go quickly, *loghar loghar* (لغز) sand.

Go slowly, *sechir sechir* sand, *loṭ loṭ gás*.

These are natural enough, but the next upsets all testing of the verb "to go."

Go there, *dahinishnish*.

Now for the verb "to come"; we have—

Come quickly, *jal jal wal*.

Come slowly, *loṭ loṭ wal*.

And then again one is fairly taken aback by such a sentence as the following:

Come here, *ái sapan*.

There is only one more sentence and that is a doubtful one.

Make this, *kom kar* (? for the Hindí *kám kar*).

There is a difficulty always present in such attempts, *viz.*, that the examinee will always try and palm off Kashmíri or Panjābī words on you as those of his own dialect: will insist, in fact, on talking "*sídhá bát*."

Now the question is, are these Naqqásh words part of a *bonâ jide* dialect, some relic of a past language in Northern India, or are they merely an *argôt*, a more or less conscious formation of words for the purposes of secrecy? I think the answer will eventually be, when there are more *data* than at present available to go upon, that the bulk of the words are really dialectic and traceable to surrounding idioms, or to the former stages of the modern Aryan languages, but that in some cases words have been inverted and nonsense syllables prefixed or affixed in order to hide their true form. *E. g.*, náth=thán, place; gaukhá=gazkhá=kághaz, paper; (pu)-chhá-(rí)=chha, six, and so on. Such methods are no more uncommon in India than among thieves, bad characters, and children in Europe.\*

There is only one way of ascertaining the answer to the question above propounded, and that is, by comparison of the Naqqásh trade dialect with such others as are available and with the surrounding idioms and ancient tongues of Northern India. The dialects at present available to me are the Naqqásh, the Zargári of Kashmír, the Zargári of the Panjáb, the Zargári of the North West Provinces, the dialect of the carpenters, blacksmiths and masons of Kashmír, of the shawl-weavers of the Panjáb and Kashmír, of the so-called Khurásání Magadds, and of the Changars. The languages I propose to compare the above with are Kashmíri, Panjábí, Hindí, Prákrit and Sanskrit, and secondarily with Persian and Arabic.

The authorities consulted for the words in the comparative tables given in this paper are—

Dr. Leitner, *Linguistic Fragments*, 1882, pp. v-vii, xvi-xviii, and xxii, appendix pp. 2 and 3. *Sketch of the Changars*, 1880, p. 12.

Elliot, *Races of the North West Provinces*, Beames's Ed., 1869, vol. i, pp. 160-1 and footnote by Beames.

Lodiáná Panjábí Grammar, 1854, p. 82.

Kellogg, *Hindí Grammar*, pp. 94-108.

Platt, *Hindústání Grammar*, pp. 49-50, and foot notes, 85-6 and 112.

Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, §§ 475-89.

All the above names of tribes and trades speak for themselves excepting the Khurásání Magadds and the Changars. The former were a band of foreigners, who infested the Panjáb in 1868-72, and who said they were Khokándís or Persians, but Dr. Leitner (p. xii.) seems to think they were Persian Gypsies with a long residence in India. The latter are a humble tribe, harmless enough in their way, to be found

\* See Appendix to Dr. Leitner's *Analysis of 'Abdu'l-Ghafúr's Dictionary*, 1880, p. xviii, and his *Linguistic Fragments*, pp. xiv, xv.

performing lowly occupations, in several parts of the Panjáb. They have a real dialect or language of their own.

For the purposes of comparison, and for noting the results that such may show, I select the numerals first, as being the easiest to trace, the most likely to be found complete in all dialects, the least liable to inflection and, excepting perhaps the pronouns, the most persistent words in all languages.

The following is a comparative table of the numerals in all the dialects and languages mentioned above.

(See Table I, next page.)

In order to sift the words in these tables, those which are compounds of each other and also those which, though used for numerals, are really foreign to any numerical system must be first eliminated. All such words are shown in italics in the tables. They commence at the number 5. Thus—

5. atiláq, haṭṭáq, attiláq, lámman, all mean the hand, the "bunch of fives." •kanzün = half-ten.
6. *kanzün-te-bin* is half-ten + one = 6.
7. *shánk-ékam* is 6 + 1; *kanzün-te-handish* is half ten + two = 7; *lámman-aur-sanní* is 5 + 2 = 7.
8. *kanzün-te-yindir* is half ten + three = 8; *böd-tsor* is twice four = 8; and *lámman-aur trewái* is 5 + 3 = 8.
9. *athwatir-ékam* is 8 + 1 = 9; *bin-kam-zün* is one less ten = 9.
10. *böd-attiláq* is twice five = 10; *do-lamman* is twice five = 10.
15. *tre-ataláq* is three times five = 15; *dod-zün* is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times ten = 15.
20. *tsor-ataláq* is four times five = 20; *ha-zün* is twice ten = 20.
25. *paú-dúkh* is one quarter hundred = 25; *dai-zün* is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times ten = 25; *ha-zün-te-ataláq* is twice ten + five = 25; *ha-zün-te-kan-zün* is twice ten + half ten = 25.
50. *oḍh-dúkh* is half a hundred = 50; *rúm-do* is five times ten ( ? ten times five ) = 50; *kan-wát* is half a hundred = 50; *tál-sér* is half a hundred = 50; *pándo-lisa* is five twenties = 100.
- 100 *sér* is 100 as being the old ser of 100 tolas.\*

The elimination of these leaves us only *boná fide* numerals, whether separate words or compounds, to deal with. Of these a large number in all the trade dialects are directly connected and descended from Prákrit and Sanskrit, and it is to be noted how persistently the Sanskrit termination *an* occurs. But it must be admitted that a considerable residue still remains which defies classification.

\* The ser is now 84 tolas.

TABLE I.—Cardinals.

Numerals.	Naqqashi.	Zargari	Kashmiri.	Shikharzi	Kashmiri.	Zargari	Hindustani.	Kashmiri.	Panjabi.*	Hindi dia-lects.	Prakrit.	Sanskrit.	Persian.	Arabic.
1 ékam	bin, hább	ék, nich	na, nadasakára	don	ek	ekát†	man	ák	ikk	ek, ik, yok, ekka, ekam, kam, ekna, ka	ekka	eka	yak	ahad, wáhid, ilá, wájjida, iman, sinan.
2 hándish	handish, handish	wing	don	don	tór, toré, zú, zih do, torat	doát	sannán	tór, toré, zú, zih do, torat	ka	doj, dwai do, dyan, díj, dóná, dó, doh, don	dwi	dwi	du	
3 yéndir	yandir, yindir.	wurdn	trin	trin	teg, tegá, tre, tegat	seát	ekwái	teg, tegá, tre, tegat	tinn, trai	tini, triya, tinni, tij, ti, tiná, ti, tih.	tri	tri	sh	salás, sulás.
4 vs. ntar kár		tyor, sor san	airan	airan	chaug, chaugá	chrát	airan	chaug, chaugá	chár	chári, chá, chattiári, rik, chan, chanká	chatur	chatur	chalar, arba.	
5 atilág, hadlay	rún, kan-ün	attilág	phantian/liman	pálo	pándo	panjatt	pálo	pándo	pañj	pañje	pañcha	pañchan	pañj	kham.
6 shánk	Khó, kan-zün-fo-bin.	shépp	shin	shin	chéli	sheshátt	chéli	chéli	chho	chhab, chhath, chhaká	shash	shash	shash	sitt.
7 shánk. ékam	phál, kan-zün-fo-han-dish	.....	sáhan	sáhan	satlu	hafát	paint	satlu	satt	satte, sat	satta	saptan	haft	saba.

\* In the Panjabi and Hindi Dialects columns, words are included other than cardinal numbers, because what may be now an ordinal or multiplicative form in them, may have a common derivation with the cardinal, of the trade dialects. Transliterations have been made uniform for purposes of comparison.

† átt = p hátt = p háth, hand.

TABLE I.—*Cardinals.*—(Contd.)

Numerals.	Nagashi.	Zargari	Kashmiri.	Shalsaz	Kashmiri.	Tarkhan, &c.	Kashmiri.	Zargari	Zargari	Hindustani	Khurastani	Changari.	Kashmiri.	Panjabi.*	Hindi dia-lects.*	Prakrit.	Sanskrit.	Persian.	Arabic.
8	háshá horik, athwatur	mánz, zún-te-yín- dir	béd- tór	áthán	áthán	béd- tór	áthán	láman- aur-tre- sof	karhá	hashát	atáin	át	át	atth	atthe	attha	ashtan	hasht	samání.
9	athwatur ékam	wán, bin- kam-sún	.....	nawan	nawan	.....	nawan	láman- aur-áir- an	korág	noátí, noik	narón	nan	nan	náun, náún	navá, má, nam- má	navan	navan	nuh	tisa'.
10	sa- atílóg	kirr, zún	béd- atí, lóng	dahan	dahan	béd- atí, lóng	dahan	do-lám- man	ágar	deik	dasón	dah	dah	das,	dah, dabám	dasa	dasán	dah	'ashr.
15	tre- ata- laq	dód-sún	.....	panda- han	panda- han	.....	panda- han	.....	.....	.....	parón	.....	.....	bhí,yih bis	pappara- ha visa	pappara- ha visa	pancha- dasán vinsati	panz- dah bist	Not in ordinary use in India.
20	sór- ata- laq	phút, ha-zún	.....	wohan	wohan	.....	wohan	sútrí	sút	bisik	lí, lisa	wú, wih	wú, wih	panji, pachi	pachís	.....	pancha- vinsati	.....	.....
25	páse- dák	dái-zún, ha- zún-te atí- laq, ha-zún- te-kam-sún	.....	pausa- han	pausa- han	.....	pausa- han	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
50	dh- dák	rám-do, kam-wát	.....	panta- hin	panta- hin	.....	panta- hin	tál sór	.....	.....	.....	.....	pánsa	panjáh	pachás	pappása	panchá- sat	panjáh	.....
100	dák	yikan, wát	.....	hát	hát	.....	hát	sór	bhíá	sadik	ner, pándo- lisa	hát	hát	sai, sai, sal, saikrá san.	sai, sai, sal, saikrá san.	saa	sáta	sad	.....

\* In the Panjabi and Hindi Dialects columns, words are included other than cardinal numbers, because what may be now an ordinal or multiplicative form in them, may have a common derivation with the cardinals of the trade dialects. Transliterations have been made uniform for purposes of comparison.

TABLE II.—Multiplications.

Numerals.	Naqqáshí.	Zargarí Kashmirí.	Tarkhán, etc. Kashmirí.	Shálsáz Kashmirí.	Zargarí Panjabí.	Panjabí.*	Hindí dialects.*	Prákrít.	Sanskrit.
4	paú	.....	.....	pan, pámas	.....	paú, chutháí	páo, chaunháí	.....	páda.
4	oðh	kan, dandan	.....	.....	tál	addh, addhá	ádh, ádhá	.....	arddha.
1½	.....	dod	.....	doq	do	qorh	qorh, qáírhá, qeorhá	divadðhe	dviarddha.
2	za	ha	bod	don	.....	dáni	dáná	.....	dvis.
2½	.....	daí	.....	dayan	.....	qáíú, qháí	arháí, arháí	.....	(?)trayárddhat
3	tre	.....	.....	tini	.....	tráúe	tí, tíná	.....	tris.
4	tsor	.....	.....	san	.....	chanká	chanká	.....	chatas.
10	do	.....	.....	dahan	.....	dáhé, daháká, dahákú	dahám	.....	.....

\* The same note applies as to the former table.

† [The Sanskrit equivalent is *ardha-tritaya*, Prákrít *ardhártháí*, see Dr. Hoernlé's Gaudian Grammar, p. 270. Ed.]

Words which are connected or are Prákrit and Sanskrit derivatives are as follows :—

*Cardinals.*

1. ék-am, ák, ak-ára, ikk, ek, ek-ka, ek-átt.
2. do-n, zü, zi-h, (*Dard* ju), do, du-j, dwi, do-att, to-r.  
(ii) ha-ndish, sa-nní, saú-náu, (?) zü.  
(iii.) dwi, (?) wí-ng.
3. ti-n, tre-wái, tre, ti-nn, trai, tí, te-g, tí-n, ti-nní, tri.
4. tsau-nter, kárr, tsor, chr-átt, chau-g, ser, chár, chár-i, chau, chattári, chatur.  
(ii) sa-n, (?) chau.  
(iii) ser, (?) air-an, ahir-in.
5. phant-ian, pán-do, (?) pá-lo, pants, panj, panj-e, panj-átt, panch-a, panch-an.
6. shá-nk, kha, (?) shu-pp, shi-n, che-lí, che-blú, (?) pu-chhá-rí, che, chhe, chhah, chha, shash, shesh-átt.
7. sáth-an, sát, satt, satt-e, sat-élu, sat, satta, sapt-an.
8. (?) hásh-t-(berik), ath-wotur, ath-watir, hash-átt, áth-an, át, aṭṭh, aṭṭh-e, at-élu, aṭṭha, asht-an.
9. naw-an, nau, náú-n, naw-á, no-átt, no-ík, nava, nav-an, na-rélu.
10. zü-n, dah-an, dah, das, de-ík, das-élu, das-a, das-an.
15. pan-dahan, pan-drá, pan-ṇaraha, pancha-dasan, par-élu.
20. woh-an, wú, bíh, víh, bis, bis-ík, vis-a, viś-ati, (?) lí, lí-sa.  
(ii) sūt-ri, sūt, (ví) saí, (vin) śati.
25. pans-oh-an, panj-í, pach-í, pach-vís, pancha-vinśati.
50. pants-ahin, pán-sa, panj-áh, pach-ás, paṇ-ṇása, panchá-śat.
100. (?) wát, hát, hátt, sai, sau, sal, sat, sad-ík, saa, śata.  
(ii) (?) dú-kh, (*Dard* dosh-um), sad-ík, sai-kṛá, (?) yik-am.

*Multiplicatives.*

- $\frac{1}{4}$  paú, pá-n, pa-n-as, pan, páo, pá-da.
- $\frac{1}{2}$  oḍh, addh, ádh, arddha.
- $1\frac{1}{2}$  dod, doḍ, do, ḍeṛh, ḍeṛha, divaddhe, dwiárdhha.
- 2 (?) za, do-n, dú-ní, dú-ná, dvis.  
(ii) za, (?) ha.
- $2\frac{1}{2}$  daí, da-yan, dá-íá, a-ṛhá-í, (?) tra-yárdhha.
- 3 tre, tí-ní, trá-ún, tí, tí-ná, trís.
- 4 tsór, chau-ká, chatus.  
(ii) sa-n, chau-ká.
- 10 do, dab-an, dáh-á, dah-ám.

Words apparently untraceable and worthy of further examination are—

## Cardinals.

- 1 bi-n; habb; nal, nal-as; má-nú. But with bin compare the Dard hin.  
 3 yé-ndir, ya-ndir, yi-ndir; wur-ún; ek-wái; se-átt.  
 5 rúm.  
 7 phál; paint, haf-átt. (paint is used by the Dehli daláls or touts).  
 8 manz; karhá.  
 9 (?) wán; kor-ág (?) for kam-águr, one less ten).  
 10 kír, águr.  
 100 ner.

## Multiplicatives.

- $\frac{1}{2}$  tál; kan, (but kam = kan, for once, in Hindí).  
 2 bōd.

I have given Persian and Arabic numerals as usually used (when employed at all) in India, as of course slang and trade dialects would be quite impartial in their adaptations and would take in any word that would suit. The Persian numerals are so close to the Sanskrit and Indian that their influence may be set aside, except perhaps in two instances in the Changar Dialect, viz. :—

3 se-átt.

7 haf-átt.

Arabic influence may be visible in—

2 ha-ndish, (Naqqáshi and Zargari Kashmirí); sa-nú and sa-nán (Zargari Panjábí and Hindústání).\*

9 kor-ág (Zargari Hindústání).

10 ágar (Zargari Hindústání).

Some words, as sūt-ri and sūt for 20 in Zargari Panjábí and Hindústání, seem to be relics of the last portion of the old Sanskrit and Prákrit compounds vin-śati and vi-sa, just as wo-h-an, wú, bí-h, ví-h, bí-s, would be relics chiefly of the first portion only. Perhaps wán, 9, Zargari Kashmirí is the same unless it be simply nan reversed.†

Guided by the ik terminations for tens in the so-called Khurásání Magaddí we may perhaps see something of the sort in yík-am, 100, Zargari Kashmirí; thus, śata, sad-ik, sai-kṛá, dú-kh, yík-am.

Although the above identifications seem satisfactory on the whole, and the words unaccounted for are few, still the terminations of the words remain in an unsatisfactory state.

\* Swán is used by the Dehli daláls or touts for 2, a corruption there apparently of the proper name Sohan.

† Wan is the word used by the Dehli daláls. Fallon in his *New Hindústání Dictionary* gives a quantity of these numerals as those of brokers, dealers, etc. They are scattered about the pages and very difficult to collect, but it would be probably worth while doing so and examining them.

It is not difficult to see the relics of the old Sanskrit *an* in the following:\*

- 1 ek-am, (?) bi-n.
- 2 wi-ng, dó-n, (?) sa-nni, (?) sau-nán.
- 3 wur-ún, tri-n, (?) te-g.
- 4 sa-n, air-an, ahir-in, (?) chau-g, (?) chau-ga.
- 5 phanti-an.
- 6 shá-nk, shi-n.
- 7 sáth-an.
- 8 áth-an.
- 9 (?) wá-n, naw-an.
- 10 zū-n, dah-an.
- 15 pandah-an.
- 20 woh-an.
- 25 pansoh-an.
- 50 pantsah-in.
- $\frac{1}{4}$  pa-n.
- $\frac{1}{2}$  (?) ka-n.
- 2 do-n.
- $2\frac{1}{2}$  day-an.
- 4 sa-n.
- 10 dah-an.

We may perhaps see *śati* in *li-sa*, 20, *Changari*, and the *átt* termination in the *Khurásání may* be explained to be *háth*, *hand*.

But the majority of the terminations seem to be untraceable, especially the remarkable ones of the *Naqqáshí*, viz., *ha-ndish*, *yé-ndir*, *tsauntar*, *ath-wotar*, *ath-watir*. *Ya-ndir*, *yi-ndir* occur, too, in the *Zargari Kashmirí*. Taking *wotar* and *watir* into consideration and dropping the *n* of the others as phonetic, we get *dish*, *dir*, *ter*, *wotar*, *watir* for the true terminations. These are comparable with the idiomatic *utar* and *otar* of *Hindí*.† With *handish* may be compared the Tibetan *nish*, 2.

In *Naqqáshí* occurs *hásht-berík* for 8, with which may be compared the *Khurásání* numerals.

Besides the above we have, and all apparently untraceable terminations,

\* [This is very improbable. *Dón* 2, *trin* 3 correspond to the *Prákrit doṇi, tṛiṇi* (Skr. *triṇi*) with the neut. plur. termination *ni*.—The *wotar, watir* is the Skr. *uttara*; *tsauntar* *athwatar-ekam* 9 would be Skr. *ashṭottaraikam* "one added to eight," whence by a common mistake *athwatar* ('added to eight') is taken to mean 'eight'! In the case of *tsauntar*. Ep.]

† *Ep.*, 184 (a), p. 166. Platt, 51, footnote.

1 nal-as, ak-ára.	8 at-élu.
2 tó-r, to-ra, to-rat.	9 no-ík, na-rélu.
3 tre-wái, ek-wái.	10 de-ík, das-élu.
5 pá-lo, pán-do.	15 par-élu.
6 shu-pp, che-lí, puchhár-rí, che- blu.	20 bis-ik.
7 sat-élu.	100 sad-ik.
	$\frac{1}{4}$ pa-n-as.

The *pu* in *pu-chhá-rí*, 6, perhaps purposely inserted for secrecy, is a curious and notable prefix. It occurs again in the Zargarí Hindústání as *pu-chhá-rihá*, half a pice, but apparently really meaning one-sixth.

The compound numerals show how clearly these dialects borrow from the surrounding idioms for their expressions. The conjunction in the following is pure Panjábí, meaning *and*.

- 6 *kanzün-te-bin*.
- 7 *kanzün-te-handish*.
- 8 *kanzün-te-yindir*.

25 *hazün-te-atilaq, hazün-te-kanzün*.

In the following the same conjunction is pure Hindí.

- 7 *lámman-aur-sanní*.
- 8 *lámman-aur-treyvái*.
- 9 *lámman-aur-airan*.

So, *tò*, we have pure Hindí.

9 *bin-kam-zün*, one less ten.

Lastly, the principles on which the following compounds are constructed will be at once recognized as ordinarily current in the modern Aryan languages of India.

15 *dód-zün*,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times ten.

25 *paú-dúkh*,  $\frac{1}{4}$  hundred; *daí-zün*,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times ten.

50 *odh-dúkh*, half hundred; *kan-wát*, half hundred, *tál-sér*, half hundred.

There remains but one word to notice, *dandan*, half Zargarí Panjábí, which may be an inversion of *ádth*, a common trick in the slang of traders and bad characters.

I therefore think that the numerals raise a strong presumption in favour of considering these dialects to be real dialects and relics of a by-gone speech, or form, of speech as opposed to mere slang.

Let us now turn to the other words given by Dr. Leitner and compare them. Unfortunately they are not numerous and complete enough to satisfactorily upset or confirm conclusions the study of the numerals would lead us to. But an examination of them is very encouraging, as the majority succumb under comparison with existing idioms and languages, and prove themselves to be either relics or adaptations of

known words. Moreover the same form of words, whether derivable from Prákrit, Sanskrit, Persian or surrounding idioms or not, is found to exist in the dialect of traders widely separated geographically. Thus, the words for "eye," clearly traceable to existing words, are the same practically among the Naqqásh, Panjábí Zargars, Kashmíri carpenters, &c., and the Changars. In the Kashmíri and Hindústání Zargari no word is available, and in the so-called Khurásání it is *núr*, a clear borrowing from Persian. The coincidence and similarity of the words in the Changari, Naqqáshí and Zargari Panjábí dialects can hardly be accidental. It points to a common derivation from some old and forgotten forms of the existing recognized dialectic words.

The following table contains the comparison of 55 words and expressions in all the above dialects.

(See Table III, next page.)

As in the case of the numerals let us commence sifting this table by eliminating from it categorically all borrowings from surrounding idioms. All such are printed in italics in the table. The following words are derivable more or less directly from words in actual use in ancient or modern languages or dialects.

*General nouns.*

- master; *lánká* is Kashmíri: for *bák*, *teg*, *tag*, *tagís* see "man."  
 wood; *hímá*; is Persian, *hezam*: *lichkri* = *lakri*, Hindí.  
 house, shop; *pánzir* is (?) Pers., *pázer*, in possession: *liř*, is Kashmíri: *hattí* = Panj. *hattí*, a shop: *pír-khána* is Pers., a holy man's house and is here ordinary slang: *nád* = *nađ*, Panj. Hills, a riverside cave; it may also be *thán*, place, reversed. See Beames' note to Elliot, i, 161.  
 paint, oil; *tél* = Hindí, *tel*, oil: *kiób* = Panj. *ghio* = Kashm. *ghiáu*, *ghí*: *kajálná*, Dr. Leitner says this is for *ka* + *jálná*, to burn, but may it not be for *kájal*, lamp-black used as paint for the eyebrows?  
 word; *naí* is Panj. Hills for "word."  
 salt, sweet; *kaurmá*, salt, = Panj. *kaurá*, bitter: *mitmí*, sweet, = Panj. *mitthá*; for the Panj. terminations *má*, *mí*, see Sirdár Gurdíal Singh's (C. S.) remarks in Dr. Leitner's *Sketch of the Changars*, 1880, pp. 19—20.  
 tea; *zal* is "water," *jal*: *chik*, *sakhí*, = (?) *chá* (which is of (?) Persian origin) + *khí* or *ká*, or perhaps they come from Panj. *chakhná*, to taste.  
 tobacco; *bhasúká* = Hindí and Panj., a smoke, a dust: *phámphi* = Hindí and Panj. *bháp*, a vapour.  
*hugga*; *panyúl-doch*; *doch* is Panj. Hills for *dechki*, the ordinary hubble-bubble; this inclines me to connect *panyúl* with *piná* or *páni*.

TABLE III.—General Nouns.\*

English.	Naqqáshí.	Zargari Kashmirí.	Zargari Panjabí.	Tarkhán, etc., Kashmirí.	Zargari Hindústání.	Khurásaní Magaddí.	Changari.
master	<i>lónkó</i>	<i>hók</i> (= man)	.....	<i>tey, tog, tagís</i> (= also great)	math	.....	.....
wood	<i>hómá</i>	.....	.....	kesu	.....	.....	<i>lichkri.</i>
house, shop	<i>pénsár, líp</i>	nelahan (shop)	nel; <i>hattí, pól-</i> <i>khána</i> (shop)	.....	nányikáhá	dilo	<i>nóól</i>
paint, oil	<i>tíl</i>	.....	.....	<i>kiób</i> (oil & ght)	.....	.....	<i>kojólá.</i>
word	<i>naf</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
salt, sugar	tokkún, tokuwún	.....	.....	.....	ráresaká (salt)	.....	<i>koorná</i> (salt)
tea	<i>zól</i> (? water)	<i>cháik</i>	.....	<i>sakht</i>	.....	.....	<i>mitná</i> (sweet)
tobacco	panyúl	.....	.....	panyúl; panyil (snuff)	<i>bhasakés, phámphís</i>	.....	.....
<i>hagga</i>	panyúl-dách	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
paper	<i>rikón</i>	.....	.....	.....	<i>gankhá</i>	.....	.....
month	<i>már</i>	.....	<i>bás</i>	<i>mitch</i> (face)	<i>blás</i>	yahák	kambor (?), bra- tiri.
eye	<i>zú-húún, sí-timí,</i> ( <i>zú</i> = two)	.....	<i>tey</i>	<i>su-tingí, tingo</i>	.....	nár	<i>pa-chirni.</i>
<i>qalamán</i>	zakkir	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
rice	gúane, rád	ráng	.....	rad	.....	parást	<i>kóndr.</i>

TABLE III.—General Nouns.—(Continued.)

English.	Naqáshí.	Zargari Kashmirí.	Zargari Panjábí.	Tarkhán, etc., Kashmirí.	Zargari Hinduistání.	Khurásání Magaddí.	Changarí.
bread	<i>bérvets</i>	<i>atich, nang</i>	<i>ney, négle</i>	.....	tápue	yarthú	tapi.
disease	<i>máshilád</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
physician	<i>nab-zecól</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
man	<i>dohun, dúh</i>	<i>balé, beké</i>	<i>gelá</i>	<i>tog, tapís</i>	.....	<i>málé</i>	<i>gáun.</i>
woman	<i>scóin, kollai</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>siin</i>	<i>scázy, scón</i>	<i>berof</i>	<i>nudán</i>	<i>girání.</i>
mother	<i>hajúr</i>	<i>zohé kien</i> (great woman)	.....	<i>bjájú</i>	<i>thentál</i> (old)	<i>mánk</i>	<i>jérf</i> (also aunt)
father	<i>dóddar</i> (old)	.....	<i>dóddár</i> (old)	<i>lámo</i>	<i>thávcóné</i> (old man) <i>thýáthá</i> (father)	<i>bánk,</i> <i>abólák</i> (great)	<i>járfé</i> (also uncle) <i>scóid</i> (old).
daughter	<i>putsakut, putskút</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>dunfáz,</i> <i>átikhách</i> <i>jáde, gútr</i>	<i>díbf</i>
son	<i>pútse</i>	.....	.....	.....	<i>chávuvé</i>	<i>gínán</i>	<i>díblá.</i>
thief	<i>poshamut, vésgun</i>	<i>chokendáz</i>	.....	<i>wátso</i>	<i>koú ; koúf</i> (thief)	.....	<i>kóder.</i>
night	<i>krishor</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>scet, channan.</i>
day	<i>sád, zár</i>	.....	.....	<i>zarfé, véf</i>	.....	.....	<i>temkoná.</i>
stomach	<i>gúnús</i>	.....	.....	.....	<i>nadikh</i>	.....	<i>dídh, deádo.</i>
jewelry	<i>dýphál</i>	<i>dorí, déll</i>	.....	<i>dóyphál</i>	.....	.....	.....

TABLE III.—General Nouns.—(Concluded.)

English.	Naqqáshí.	Zargari Kashmiri.	Zargari Panjabí.	Turkán, etc., Kashmiri.	Zargari Hindustáni.	Kharásáni Magadhí.	Changari.
hair	kiópash	.....	.....	kano-ko-shupp	.....	.....	wál.
hand	hatlaq	lámámá	lámman	tseñ-horr	hathan	kháttí, át	.....
colour	riúg	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
water	sal	.....	áb, jal	zál	nájna	mayáo	nfr.
Verbs.							
be silent	mánna, mánq	.....	.....	.....	níthe hokú	.....	.....
to see	natsún	.....	.....	.....	laukarat hai (hosees)	.....	.....
see	natsó	.....	tigdá (ho sees)	.....	láo karan (see)	.....	hok lé.
to hear	wendún	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
hear	wendó, wendús	.....	.....	.....	.....	nár bedd	sing lo.
to die, be ill	máshiran	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
to say, ask	páran	.....	.....	páriás (ask)	dámisáhu (speak)	.....	.....
to be	záddún	.....	.....	ches, chn, (is)	.....	obam (I am), obe (is)	.....
to go	sandún; sand (go)	rusún (to go); torús (go); toro (went)	béat, báit, wát, (go)	sír (go), wátu	.....	bikém, (go)	jáo kar (go).



áyá merá Katoch,

pine baithá hathen doch.

*Kángará Proverb.*

my friend the Katoch came and sat down to smoke with the hubble-bubble in his hands, *i. e.*, did the gentleman and was idle. Said of an idle useless person. The Katoch Rájpúts were the old ruling class in Kángará.

paper; rikkín = Panj. Hills, likhín, paper: gaukhá = ghazká = kághaz; Beames, footnote to Elliot, i, 161.

mouth; face; múr = Hindí (Jhánsi) head: múch = muchh = mukh, the face; bús, bhús from bhús karná, Hindí, to masticate.

eye; zü-tüün, zì-tini, teg, zu-tingí, tinge, pa-tirní, pa-chirní and tig-dá, he sees = Panj. Hills *tiḍḍ*, *tiḍḍ*, the eyeball and takná, to see; zü, zì, zu (and (?) pa) = Kashm. zü, zih, two; thus zütüün, etc., would be the *two* eyeballs and so on, and pa-tir-ní (*tiḍḍ*) would also be the *two* eyes;

tere *tiḍḍ* jalen!

*Kángará.*

is a common abuse corresponding exactly to our own vulgar expression "blast your eyes."

núr = Pers. light.

*qalamdán*; zákkir = (as a guess) zákir from Arabic zikar.

rice; kóndr = Panj. kodrá, corn.

bread; bérets = barach = charb (or chab) reversed, which in the Panj.

Hills, means any kind of food for a journey; chab is properly any parched grain for food: nang, neg, nígle = Panj. nigalná to swallow.

disease; máshilád, máshiran, to die, mashilád, ill, = machilá, a malingerer; machal jáná is a Panj. idiom for to die, explained as (but?)

ma + chalná, to go away.

physician; nabzuwól = nabz-wálá, Panj. and Hindí.

man; bák, báke, mák and bák, máster, bák, father = báká, Panj. a fine

man: tog is gut or got (*but*), Panj. Hills, reversed, a body; thus,

main ne janaure di gut jándi dikhí,

I saw an (animal's body) animal going along.

main jándi dikhí gut,

jáne dhí thí, jáne put.

*Kángará Proverb.*

I saw a person going along, who knows whether male or female,

*i. e.*, I saw some one in the distance, but could not distinguish who it was.

teg and tagis would come from tog.

woman; woin, wáñy, wán = Panj., bánj and Kash., wónj, a barren

woman: kinn is (?) nik-í reversed, Panj., a small woman: sían =

(?) hían, Panj. Hills, a brave woman; híá, courage; hian, brave

man; hiau, brave woman: berói = (?) birví, (fem. of bír, brother),

Hindí, a female friend, sister.

mother; thenthí, mánk, jári, see "father."  
 father, old; dóddur, doddúr = dádá, grandfather, as also do probably thýáthá and thenthí (mother): tháwáná = Hindí (Jhánsi) dáú, old: járá, jári = jad, jádá, Pers. (from Arab.) a grandfather, grand-mother; tsúdá, old, = súdá, old man, Panj. from (?) Pers. súdan, to rub away: mánk, bánk = (?) má-báp.  
 daughter; dilkhách = Pers. dilkash, a darling.  
 son; putse, putr = putr: chúnwá is Panj., a darling boy: jáde = zádá, Pers.: putsakut, daughter may be for "small or inferior son"; cf. Kash. lakut, little.

thief; poshumut = pushmattá, Panj., a hider, thief: wusagun = subsagun *lit.*, a good omen, but used for a thief as a euphemism.

Aj uske ghar men subsagun gayá, aur usko nihál kar diá.

To-day a thief (*lit.*, good omen) came to his house and robbed everything (*lit.* made him very rich).

Subsagun áyá thá dar

Dhan rakhne ko kuchh thá na ghar. *Hindí Proverb.*

The thief (good omen) came to the door, and there was no need of keeping wealth in the house.

Chokendáz = (?) surákh-andáz, Pers., house-breaker: koṭú is Panj. a house-scaler: kodí, theft, and koder = Panj. khodí, a house-breaker.

night; krisor and nelá would mean dark: channan = Kash. chungun, to lie down; the Tibetan word for night is also nichannan.

day; zarín-wát, zád, zár = zarrín, golden, bright, also (poet.) the sun, Pers.; zarín wát = (?) zarrín wáqt, and hence zád and zár: temkaná is Panj., tamkaṇá and damkaṇá, to shine.

stomach; didh, deddo are Panj., dhiḍ; nadikh = doubtfully Panj. nadikh honá, to have a painless or easy labour; nadikh 'aurat, a fruitful woman or a woman descended from a fruitful stock.

jewelry; dijphúl, dájphúl = Panj. and Hind. dáj (= dahej = dahez) + phúl, the dower jewels: dorá, dell (*cf.* mera = mora, teg = tog, doch = dechki) = Panj. Hills, the marriage hair ornament worn for six months after marriage = Panj. prándá.

hair; wál is Hindí bál and Panj. wál.

hand; hathná, át = háth.

water; áb; jal, zal, zál and nír speak for themselves.

#### *Verbs.*

be silent; múnn, muṇ = Hindí muní honá, to be dumb: níthe hohú = Urdú idiom níyat sa raho, be quiet.

to see, see; tigdá, see "eye": bok le = (?) dekh le, a mere corruption; *cf.* doch = dechki, merá = morá, etc.

- to hear, hear; núr bedá = (?) Pers. núr bidár, look here, listen : sung lo is Hindí and Panj. sun lo.
- to die, be ill; máshiran, see "disease."
- to say, ask; párun, páriús = (?) ba-purs, Pers. ask!
- to be; záddún is Pers. zadan, to be born.
- to go, go; sandún, sand is Panj. haḡḡná : torús, toréo are Panj. ṭurná : wát, wátú = Panj. Hills wátḡná, wuṭḡná, to go, (cf. bát, a road); wuṭ wuṭ! go along, come along! is vulgar Panjábí and hence probably bút and (?) búrt in Pánjabí Zargarí : bikím = (?) Pers. bi-kam, grow less, diminish, vanish! : sír (cf. seir jáo, take away) = (?) Uṛḡú, sair karná, to make a journey : jáo kur is Hindí go!
- to take away; sorwún, sarewiú may be for chhoḡná and chlaḡḡná, Panj. to let go : seir jáo see "go (sír)."
- to sing; bomburún = burḡná, Panj. to bubble : biárho = biár, a puff, rush of wind, sound of wind, Hind.
- to fall; hárun = Panj. harḡná, (to take away, lose and) to fall (of water).
- to come, come; buars = (?) bi-ras, Pers., arrive, come! walún, cf. Kash., walyúr, come here!

#### Coins.

- rupee; mánká = mánik, Hind. (maṇakya Sansk.), a precious stone; parikaliá is from (?) Hind. parkná, to test a coin : bajná is Hind. to test a coin.
- silver; noqrá is Arabic in common use.
- piece; máslá is Hind. a small pice.
- copper; subh = sobhí, Hind. alloyed silver, base silver.

#### Adjectives.

- little, cheap; kís = kuchh, kichh, Panj. and Hindí : kin = nik reversed Panj., very little : daká is Arabic daqíqá, a little, in common use : miáne is Hindí half; qalíl, kilel are pure Arabic, a little.
- much, dear; bór is Hindí baṛá, Kash., bod, Panj. waḡá.\*
- good; sod is Arab. sa'ad, good : sánchá is sánchá Panj. true : mító = míthá, sweet : chin = Kash. jwán.
- bad, ill; nakhús = Arab. náqis, bad, whence (?) názz or náz : kánsí = kasná, Hind., to be made bad, i. e., by putting lime on to brass or copper vessels so as to make them poisonous : mashilád see "disease."

The major portion of the words are thus disposed of and shown to be really dialectic and not slang inventions. A further examination of the underived words will show that many of them are evidently connected

\* To be noted here with regard to grúts, grús, much, dear; these are the Kashmiri drúg, dear, surúg, cheap, reversed.

with each other, and that it is only a question of a minuter knowledge of idioms and languages than I possess to trace them to their origins. Thus,

*General Nouns.*

house, shop : nelahan, nel, dile.  
 tobacco, snuff : panyúl, panyil.  
 rice : rad, rád, ráng, pa-rást.  
 bread : a-tich, yar-thít, táp-na, tap-í.  
 man ; woman : gelá, gáun, giráni.  
 mother : bajúr, bájú.  
 hair : kiöpush, kanekeshup (if shup = push).  
 hand : lámná, lamman.

*Verbs.*

to go ; take away : sír ; sorw-ún, sarew-iú, seir-jáo.

*Coins.*

rupee : gásh, gás, gash.  
 rupee, silver : bin, bün ; ággú, ruggí ; berca, pelí.  
 pice : láng, láná.

*Adjectives.*

much : grúts, grús.  
 little ; great : licherá ; jerá.  
 good ; bad : bu-túp ; war-túp : (little) war-túts.

These leave but a small residue of isolated untraced words, which I give here so as to have them in one view for purposes of future comparison by myself or others, should opportunity arise.

*General Nouns.*

wood : kesur.  
 oil : nánwikáhá.  
 salt (also sweet, sugar) : tokkún, tokuwún.  
 sweet : bagnwún.  
 mouth : yakák, kumbr, (?) bratiri.  
*qalamdán* : zakkir, (but see under traced words).  
 rice : gúnne, (unless meant for sugarcane).  
 man : dohun, (dúh).  
 woman : kollai, nadán, sían (but see under traced words).  
 father : láme.  
 daughter : diblí, putsakut (putskät), dumtáz. If puts = puchh, a tail, then dumtáz is a remarkable coincidence.  
 son : diblí.  
 thief : wútse, gináu.  
 stomach : gúnná (*cf.* "rice" above), nadikh, but see under traced words.  
 hand : hatlaq, tseñ-hor, khát.

colour : riúg (unless a corruption of rang).

water : nájuá, mayáo.

*Verbs.*

to see : nats-ún : lío (karan).

to hear : wend-ún.

to say, ask : dámis-áhú.

(he) is : ches, chú : (I) was, ob-um : (he) is, ob-ø.

to go : rus-ún.

to come : wal-ún : búte (á) : (kur) kunár : (çame) asp-øø, zir-øø.

*Coins.*

pice : böt, sariyá (? means one-third).

copper : rúh.

*Adjectives.*

little, cheap : tem, hoki, bhagat, kiámus.

cheap : zabár.

much : zöbö, beáris, ubelák.

good : tsásle, chin, ai, dakh, do.

I tried the untraced words with several Kashmirís, and residents of the Himálayan Districts and they told me they were Ladáki. I then searched in Cunningham's *Ladak*, 1854, who says, p. 397, that the language of Ladák is Tibetan, and at pp. 398—419 he gives a long comparative table of the following "Alpine Dialects" or Languages; Dard, (3 dialects) Pashto, Kashmirí, Sanskrit, Hindí, Panjábí, Gaddí (Kángrá) Kulluhí (Kullú) Garhwáli and Tibetan (3 dialects). The help thus obtained was next to none. Thus,

master, man : teg, tog, tagis, might perhaps be Tibetan, tek, teg, good, (see my tables).

mother : bajúr, bájú, may be connected with Gaddí and Kulluhí, iji, and Garhwáli, bhái.

night : channan is very like Tibetan nichanno, but see the word above.

I am ; he is : obum ; obe are comparable with the Dard bé, to be ; I am, ja bá ; thou art, um bá ; he is, ai bá.

The inferences then to draw from this examination would seem to be, that, though the special dialects of the Indian traders may now be looked upon as slang, and though they undoubtedly contain slang distortions and perversions of common words purposely made, the majority of their words are dialectic and *boná jils* represent either real existing words, or older, and in some cases obsolete, forms of them, and that they contain these words in sufficient quantities to render it worth while to study them as dialects.

Unfortunately, the materials for the dialect, which I have been led to examine are the most meagre of all those given by Dr. Leitner.



Much fuller materials for examination exist from his and Elliot's researches into the dialects of the Changars, the Zargars of the Panjáb, Kashmir and Hindústán proper, and of the doubtful Khurásaní Magadds, including sentences to illustrate grammar. It would be of value to see if the conclusions here arrived at would be supported or the reverse from an examination of them. But in any case the material at hand is much scantier than it might be and doubtless research would elicit many new forms from the dialects already represented, and beginnings might be made with some as yet untouched apparently by any enquirer, *e. g.*, those of the Delhi *Daláls* (brokers), the *Kaláls* (generally distillers and liquor-sellers) and the Lucknow *Ajiunchís* (opium-takers). As regards the criminal classes and tribes, however, Dr. Leitner has shown in his "*Detailed Analysis of 'Abdu'l-Ghafúr's Dictionary, 1880*, that it is almost useless to look among them for philological facts.

In conclusion I may be permitted to remark that if Dr. Leitner's hope, (*Linguistic Fragments*, p. iii.), that the Trade Dialects will be found to preserve an ancient language, is to become a reality, the enquiry must be taken up by more than one person. The range of knowledge required is too wide, and the investigations necessary too minute and searching to admit of one head solving the problems presented, in a satisfactory manner.

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*Tiomberombi. A Nicobar tale.*—By F. A. DE ROEPSTORFF, late offig. 2nd Assist. Supdt., Port Blair, Nicobars, Associate A. S. B.

Both racial characteristics and the historical traditions of a people are commonly found embedded in their religious rites and in their popular tales. This is especially true in the case of uncivilized tribes. Whilst pursuing my studies in the Nicobar language with the object of reducing it to writing I have made a point therefore of noting down the characteristic religious usages of the Nicobarese, and also of chronicling the tales in vogue amongst them which possibly embody historical events of a forgotten past. With regard to their sacred rites I have ready for the press a Statement of "The ceremonies and customs at death, and at mourning for the dead, of the Nicobarese people" taken fresh from the lips of the devotees themselves. These ceremonies yield up their meaning and significance with sufficient clearness and precision; but the case is very different with regard to any historical references and traditions which may be hidden away in the popular tales of the Nicobarese people. For a most singular custom prevails amongst them which one would suppose must effectually hinder the "making of history" or at any rate

the transmission of historical narrative. By a strict rule which has all the sanction of Nicobar superstition, no man's name may be mentioned after his death! To such a length is this carried that when, as very frequently happens, the man rejoiced in the name of "Fowl," "Hat," "Fire," "Road" &c., in its Nicobarese equivalent, the use of these words is carefully eschewed for the future, not only as being the personal designation of the deceased, but even as the names of the common things they represent; the words die out of the language, and either new vocables are coined to express the thing intended, or a substitute for the disused word is found in other Nicobarese dialects or in some foreign tongue. This extraordinary custom not only adds an element of instability to the language, but destroys the continuity of political life, and renders the record of past events precarious and vague if not impossible. We must not therefore expect to glean much from these tales as to the past history of the people. Still they are, as a rule, worth preserving, for they exhibit traces of religious ideas which prevailed in former times, of bitter conflicts, and of Nicobar humour. The most popular of these tales I here subjoin; and I hope to prepare others hereafter.

The Nicobar text, reproduced as literally as possible in the English translation in the parallel column, consists of short abrupt sentences, devoid of any poetic flight whatever. The language of this people is naturally, one had almost said *necessarily*, abrupt, their teeth being so thickly coated over with betel and lime as to keep the lips thrust wide open, whilst quids of the same generally occupy their mouths. A fluent utterance under these circumstances would be physically difficult and a slow speech broken into short sentences is the inevitable result. To enter into the spirit of the narrative it is necessary to picture to oneself the *raconteur*, usually an old man, his jaws ever and anon at work chewing the indispensable quid of pan, betel, and lime. His auditors, generally the youthful members of the community, are grouped around him. Having refreshed his memory with copious draughts of toddy he commences his story. It has often been heard before, and as the disjointed sentences are uttered with slow deliberation a running commentary is maintained by the audience, the young people, anxious to show that they know what is coming, shouting out the cue of the part about to be related. The jerky character of the diction, therefore, as it appears in the English translation faithfully reproduces the condition of the Nicobarese text with as little sacrifice as possible of the original colouring, the interjected observations of the elders, and the precocious promptings of the juvenile listeners being left to the imagination of the reader to fill in, if he would have a good idea of the narration as it flourishes in the homesteads of the people—the pages of a book cannot adequately convey it.

It is possible that the tale of *Tiomberombi* may be of foreign, perhaps of Malay, origin. If so it must have been introduced into these islands generations ago, for it now abounds with the peculiarities which characterise the Nicobarese race, breathes their spirit and has been wholly adopted by them as their own, and never fails to afford them delight. The plot of the tale is simple enough. The two points of interest in it are the magical powers exercised by the hero, and the introduction of animals talking. The supernatural is closely interwoven with the lives of these people. The disembodied spirits of the dead surround them, and in their endeavours to return to the world, would effect a lodgment in the bodies of the living, hence, according to the native superstition, the cause of sickness and sometimes of death. To fight, control, exorcise these too familiar and obnoxious spirits the *Manlōēnēs* exist. These, who are a sort of combination of the doctor and the juggler, are on speaking terms with the spirits. They have to go through an initiation which is only complete when they have been in spirit-land, seen, and talked with them. They are supposed to possess the faculty of detecting the presence of these invisible spirits, of seeing them, as well as of vanquishing them. It is to be remarked that *Tiomberombi* is no *Manlōēnē*. Not only does he acquire by the gift of the looking-glass no inherent power over the spirit residing in it, for when the glass is lost he is utterly helpless; but when the *peit* (snake) gives it to him, he finds himself unable to manage the spirit of it, and returns with the glass in fear of his life. On the contrary, the spirit of the mirror is in the power of the mighty snake: he is its true master, and it is only through him that our hero has the benefit of its services. Hence *Tiomberombi* is warned not to open the glass and thereby bring himself face to face with the spirit of the mirror. The *peit* in fact treats him as a poor ragged creature who will probably use the magical powers placed at his service to provide himself with food and clothing, and has no suspicion of the "vaulting ambition" which stirs beneath that lowly exterior. If the tale be not indigenous, it is certainly not of Indian origin: *Tiomberombi's* wife is no harem or *zenana* character. For although the tale might be regarded as a sort of humorous satire upon woman's weakness for gossip, which would seem to be so universal a trait as to awaken mirth and "point a moral" even here amongst this semi-civilized race, and no doubt reigns supreme amongst the female members of an Indian household; yet the wife of the tale is a free, independent, masterful person. If it is her irrepressible love of gossip which brings on the catastrophe of the story, it is also she who saves her husband by her provident arrangements and practical genius. Woman is highly esteemed in the Nicobar islands which, it must be remembered, are part of the Malay archipelago and are only politically connected with India.

One word as to the "tékeri." Some Nicobarese say it is a snake which eats snakes. The ophiophagus, however, is not found here. The boa (python *Schneideri*) which is the only very large snake of these parts is well known to the inhabitants, does not eat snakes, and has another name. Others assert that it is a big beast of the jungle like the Akafang which is a spirit animal seen by the Maulöñēs at night. It is described as a rather big creature with an enormous tongue, the head bearing a mane. It might be the effort of the imagination to conceive the lion; I would suggest, however, that the "tékeri" is the tiger. The Nicobarese have been for many years in communication with Europeans and have heard Danish, Portuguese and English spoken. The word may therefore have been an importation from one of these languages, contributions from which have undoubtedly been made to the Nicobarese vocabulary (*cf. infra* "lēbré" *Anglicé* "paper"). Or it may be of Malay origin, and derived from شکر *tēgēr*, *strong*.

*Inöle onghæ de Tiomberombi.*

"Juchteré io at tiū en me?"  
 'Hāōh., io olkāle o(n)g." "Juch-  
 téré wat me löā, iéang tentié io  
 olkāle o(n)g omiā."

Kāng, kōng, kāng, kōng. "Tiūn  
 paiū?" "Tiūē-tiéāē-Tiomberombi!"  
 "Tiūn wē'n me?" "Tiéāē io olkāle  
 o(n)g omiā, da ié io kāne ta kon  
 omiā." "Wat-me, lohni, kéteit kaniut,  
 kéteit kanhā." "Oh béharé, io  
 ene io en kon omiā."

*Tiomberombi an old tale.*

\* "Where are you going?"  
 "Oh, I am going to split firewood."  
 "Then do not be in a hurry, I will  
 go along with you and split fire  
 wood for the chief" (or old man).

Kāng, kōng (the sound of the  
 footsteps). (Some one asks) "who  
 goes there?" (what men?). "I  
 Tiomberombi and another." (I—  
 we two—Tiomb.) "What are you  
 going to do?" "We want to split  
 firewood for the chief, for I want to  
 marry his daughter (as I want (for)  
 wife the child of the chief)." "Cer-  
 tainly not, you are poor man (ser-  
 vant) your coat and trowsers are  
 ragged." "Never mind, if the  
 chiefs' child is willing."

\* Tiomberombi is a tale of love and its troubles. To make that clear it begins with a little introduction, not necessary to the story which follows. Some one is going to cut firewood, when Tiomberombi joins him, saying that he wants to cut wood for "the" old man. On their journey somebody accosts them and a little banter ensues. Kāng, kōng is onomatopoeitic for the sounds of the footsteps. Tiūē = I, tiéāē

Juchtérénde, harélénde, haré-é-élénde lūe shinkām. Shéanlérende na peit ona tékeri de pomōn. "Kāētéré kāncōh <sup>(1)</sup> oræ ieiitié, tiit sho <sup>(2)</sup> kápāh kā entié, kápāh tiūē da tékeri."

"Juchtéré tiin heniōatié makū, tiēn tioāha, tiit sho de parā, tiit sho de komnān." "Tiin io me?" "Hāā." "Jo en me tenmōla?" "Hāā, tiit sho." "Jo de tenmōla baiūhōōal?" "Jo de tenmōla baiūhōōal, dochne wē gūi, dochne wē tiōng, dochne wē hifūē." "Kāē ta <sup>(3)</sup> kā."

Harélhata en tékeri en Tiomberombi kompāhange en tékeri.

\* Afterwards he went shooting for three days. He saw the peit and the tékeri fighting. "Friend! come! help me to kill (the tékeri) (says the peit); I do not want to be killed (entirely), I am being killed by the tékeri."

† "Afterwards what hire am I to to have, what things? I do not want dollars, nor silver plated ware." "What do you want?" "I don't know (no)." "Will you have a looking glass?" "No, I will not." "Will you have a magic looking glass?" "Yes: I want a magic looking glass, that can produce houses, ships and boats." "(Well then) come (to me) bye and bye."

‡ Tiomberombi shoots the tékeri, and the tékeri expires.

= we two, Tiomberombi is quite Nicobarese. Tiomberombi says that he is going to cut firewood, for he wants to marry the daughter of the old man. The other party intimates, that he has no chance, he is a poor man and ragged. At this T. laughs, for what does that matter if the girl likes him.

\* After this he is out shooting and comes upon the peit and the tékeri fighting. Peit is used to designate all poisonous snakes. The tékeri the Nicobarese cannot identify. Some say it is not found in their islands, some say it might be a snake. If so, I would suggest the ophiophagus. The peit calls in the assistance of Tiomberombi to save him from the tékeri, <sup>1</sup> oræ ieiitié = help me to kill, tié is the form of the 1st per. pron. pers. gen, dative and acc. as affix. <sup>2</sup> Kápāh kā = die indeed, (kā added to make the kápāh stronger).

† In true Nicobar fashion Tiomberombi bargains for remuneration, before he gives the help required, and the peit in his extremity promises him a magic mirror, and tells him to come and claim it bye and bye <sup>3</sup> kā for makā = later in the day, when the tékeri is killed.

‡ This he succeeds in doing, and then he goes (as any Nicobarese would be sure to do) for his present and walks off with his magic mirror: but without knowing the secret of it. This is characteristic of

"Jéangtéré ten tiüë," gnæh peit öl nang Tiomberombi, io ræwe henioahade." Oræ tenmæla baiü-hööl. Tiüende. Shoätéré. "Hat doch, hat léap oliöle, io origna-fätié." Etieitiéra en peit. "Jo me io wë, io hiléang, io oigne, tewähagñe tenmæla, wat me ishähagñe."

Juchtérénde tóng de gñi en Tiomberombi ladëië, io oræ kände kon omiä en Tiomberombi. Juchtéré hat sho en omiä ten Tiomberombi da ene lohm.

Jtčak en omiä de hatäm, léat kam en kahæ haléa ioag tiafä.

Juchtéré öl hakī-ī-ī ende iokoleit anæh omiä, wilgnede öl henlöwe haröë gñi Tiomberombi, mätai Tiom-

"Come with me," said the peit to Tiomberombi, "and receive your hire." He takes the magic looking glass and goes away. He returns. "I cannot manage it, I do not know the word (to speak) (*i. e.* the charm), it (the spirit) will kill me miserably." He applies to the snake, (who says): "If you want to do anything, if you are thirsty, if you are hungry, put the key into the lock of the looking glass, do not open it."

\* Then Tiomberombi returns home in the evening and wants to take to wife the daughter of the old man. But then the old man does not want Tiomberombi for he is poor.

† At night the chief is asleep, when the moon being at its highest (Tiomberombi) fetches a magic fruit.

Then *very early* in the morning (expressed by the prolonged final syllable) the chief goes

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T., who has great confidence in himself. He has therefore to return and ask the snake to acquaint him with the secret, who tells him that he must use the key but not open the mirror. The meaning of this prohibition is that T. has no theurgic power and would be unable to control the spirit of the magic mirror if it were opened. Note also the low estimation the snake holds our ragged hero in. "If you want to do anything, if you are hungry and thirsty" says the snake, not dreaming of T.'s ambition.

\* T. sets off home and wishes to take to himself at once the girl he loves. The old father however, evidently discredits the story of the magic looking glass, and will have nothing to say to him, as he is poor.

† During the night T. sets to, plants a magic fruit in the deep sea and by means of the spirit of the mirror produces an island from the deep sea and erects a house upon it. The text only tells us that he fetches the magic fruit, but it graphically describes how the old man in the morning on casting his eyes over the sea discovers Tiomberombi's new home.

berombi, iuchtéré tenfatguede en omiã.

Tiimende omiã, ohnguede ræwe en Tiomberombi, io léat ko(i)n kontié. Juchtéré, ætæt de lëbré Tiomberombi, kômhata de lëbré da omiã. Hat sho en Tiomberombi na omiã, dalgnato.

Juchtéré ræwe kãnde en Tiomberombi, kã ta kãnde kon omiã; shõmbagûe da gûi Tiomberombi da õl henlõwe.

Juchtéré hatæ-æ-hende héang danõé tiong henkõk, io orignafã Tiomberombi. Katõw en Tiomberombi de gûide. Hakõk, hakõk de gûi Tiomberombi, hat taiõ.

Juchtéré tentioãhlare en Tiomberombi da õl tiong, fãéchange de

to bathe, and when he looks out to sea he sees Tiomberombi's house Tiomberombi's island, then he falls down (in astonishment).

\* He weeps and sets off to fetch Tiomberombi, that he might become his son-inlaw. Also Tiomberombi wrote a letter and sent it to the chief. The chief does not want (to meet personally) Tiomberombi for he is shy.

Then Tiomberombi marries: as his wife comes the daughter of the chief; she is brought to Tiomberombi's house in the deep sea.

† Then came sailing (from a distant land) a ship armed with cannon to kill Tiomberombi. He remained in his house. The ship went on firing and firing at Tiomberombi's house but did not hit it.

‡ Then Tiomberombi boarded the ship and cut the noses and cut off

\* Great is his astonishment, and it affects him so much, that he falls down and weeps. The text is not very clear on this point. It says that the old man goes off to fetch T. for a son-in-law, then T. writes him a letter and it ends by saying that the chief does not want to meet him, as he is shy. It is quite clear that the tables are turned. Before the old man despised the poor, ragged T. Now he feels shy to approach him in his great prosperity. Whether the letter from T. is friendly, and therefore puts the old man to shame, or the letter is haughty and makes him feel shy, the text leaves to fancy to decide. On the whole the Nicobarese are shy, and affect to be more so, than they really are. Difficulties, however, are overcome, and Tiomberombi attains his wishes and marries the girl whom he loves, who moreover, it is evident from the first, loves him as is seen from his remarks about her in the introduction.

† No earthly pleasure is unalloyed. When he is happily married and settled enemies appear on the scene to kill him. He is however protected by magic and sits unconcernedly in his house, whilst the guns of the man-of-war, which had come to destroy him, make ineffectual attempts to hit it.

‡ At length Tiomberombi arises and proceeds to board the ship single handed and mutilates the crew. The man-of-war thereupon returns to

gmoa, iāthange de nang. Tiūengede en tiōng henkōk, t̄jū mātai; di do (tiit doch) da en hæt gmoa, hæt nang da ene fāchashē da Tiomberombi. Shīēlende atæt de lēbré omiā da ōl mātai shom tiūmōnggne tiōng io kōiung en Tiomberombi.

Juchtére te gñi kānde, gñi komiāde en Tiomberombi. Hate-æ-æhēnde en shom tiūmōnggne tiōng henkōk, hakōk hakōkende, hat hēwe mātai, hat taiō.

Tentioāhlare de ōl tiōng en Tiomberombi oræ ioang tiafā, kawālle de ōl kamelæ, pompangshe en tiōng, heméang te danōē ta ōt de<sup>4</sup> āh.

Shīēlende fāchange gmoa, iāthange nang. Tiūengede en tiōng. Di do (tiit doch) da.

its own country, the king whereof organizes an expedition of ten ship to chastise him.

\* From the prolonged sound in hatehe we are led to infer that the expedition had far to sail. When this formidable expedition arrived, Tiomberombi was with his father-in-law; only his wife was in the house. He must have left the magic mirror behind him, that would explain how it was that the guns were fired many times, but did no harm, the island had become invisible. Tiomberombi proceeds on board one of the vessels, the crew of which he mutilates in his former manner, and sinks the other nine by throwing magic fruit into the sea. \* *āh* = *lives*; it is usual to use this word, and *kāpāh* = *die*, of vessels. The Nicobarese assert that these words mean in this connexion no more than "keep afloat" and "sink," but I think they do. The Nicobarese may use these terms only in a figurative sense now, and I believe they do, but yet they sacrifice to their canoes (*vide* "ceremonies at death &c.") after a race. I have seen them sacrifice on removing a canoe yet in the rough log, out of the jungle; moreover, they use a bow ornament for their boats like the open mouth of some monster. Are these traces of some old worship now obsolete?

† The ship that was spared returns whence it had set out and reports the hopelessness of the undertaking.

the ears (of the crew). The ship then left for its own country; they could not succeed, for they had no noses or ears, Tiomberombi had cut them off. Then the chief of the country wrote on paper (*i. e.*, issued an order for) ten ships to make war on Tiomberombi.

\* Now in the house was his wife, Tiomberombi (himself) was in the house of his father-in-law. The ten ships of war came sailing (from the distant land) and fired their guns; (but) they did not see the island, they did not hit.

Tiomberombi boarded a ship and took magic fruit with him, which he threw into the sea; the ships sank. One ship (however, still) remained (*lit.* alive).

† (Again) he set to cut noses and cut off ears. The ship left. It could do nothing (not succeed).

Gnahhagñe da nang omiã ðl mätai,  
tiit honganghashe ta doch.

Juchtéré iuhgnede en pomö-ö-ö-  
ëshē enkāne léang Kanōadæ  
Petiang de ðl gñi Tiomberombi.  
Tiin hanædashien tiang banōne.

Itækne de ðl katæde kån Tiom-  
berombi; (\*)halæ shæi kõi kan Tiom-  
berombi, itækne de kån Tiom-  
berombi. Kamheng tiüengede  
Kanōadæ Petiang, léat kōm de  
tenmæla Tiomberombi. Tendök-  
tere de mätaide, gnahhagñe de nang  
omiã. Léat, léat de kōm tenmæla  
Tiomberombi, hæteïnnen tiang  
banōnē.

Hagnæhhang te tiang ianæ  
shōatéré mat mätai Tiomberombi;  
heméang danöë tiang ä lä, io ræwe  
Tiomberombi.

Tendöktere en omiã tiang da mä-  
tai Tiomberombi. Hakök, hakök-  
ende taiö ðl henwæh, pomtakshede  
en henwæen.

They reported to the chief of their  
country, that there was no chance  
of success.

\* Then came visiting a (very) old  
woman, her name was Kanōadæ  
Petiang to Tiomberombi's house.  
(She wanted to ascertain) what  
manner of powers he possessed.

Tiomberombi's wife was sleeping  
in her chair: she (Kanōadæ Pe-  
tiang) cleaned the hair of Tiombe-  
rombi's wife, who slept on. At noon  
Kanōadæ Petiang left, having taken  
Tiomberombi's looking-glass. She  
arrives at her country and reports  
to the chief, (that the trouble) is  
over, that she has taken the looking-  
glass away from Tiomberombi, the  
cause of the power he possesses.

† He orders one ship to return to  
Tiomberombi's place; it was (only)  
a two-masted ship to fetch Tiom-  
berombi away.

The captain arrives at Tiombe-  
rombi's island. He fires his cannon  
and hits the flag and the flag falls.

\* What the valour of men could not achieve was now to be attempted  
by a woman. An old hag Kanōadæ Petiang comes to pry into the secret  
of Tiomberombi's immunity from danger and of his success against such  
odds. She accomplishes her object in the following manner. She was prob-  
ably an old acquaintance of T.'s wife, to judge from the intimate  
terms on which they are. T.'s wife goes to sleep in her chair as the  
other soothingly cleans her hair, (5 halæ shæi has not been literally trans-  
lated). Having thus lulled her into a deep sleep, Kanōadæ Petiang pos-  
sesses herself of the magic mirror, which we may surmise the sleeper had  
tattled to her about and had for security placed under her (head) pillow,  
and hastens with it to her own country informing the chief thereof that  
Tiomberombi is now defenceless.

† The chief thereupon orders but a two-masted vessel to proceed  
and bring Tiomberombi away. He is not going to break a fly upon the  
wheel. The little ship arrives and is sufficient to accomplish its mission.

Hat doch en kân Tiomberombi, heméang ioang de gñi; Tiomberombi léat itōō de mātai tiē kände. Juchteró dæ(a)ngne en Tiomberombi, hæniēde io heniongiēde kände; de heméang tāt kōi.

"Tiū en tenmæla? Tiū en tenmæla?" gnæh Tiomberombi. "Tii de dōk de gñiha?" "Kāō pomōēsho da bakō kōi Kanōadæ Petiang." "Oh ié karé-(<sup>6</sup>)hæt āh! da ene hat ōt en tenmæla. Kāhæ en shéiau."

Shumianhata kân Tiomberombi. Dōngle te gñi Tiomberombi en kaleng, io oræ kân Tiomberombi, oræ tioāha, oræ shéiau.

Iūakhëgñē de shéiau, iūakhëgñē enkāne.

Tiomberombi's wife cannot (scil: defend the place), she is alone in the house; Tiomberombi had gone on a visit to her father. Now Tiomberombi ran (*i. e.*, to the canoe) and hurried (across the water) to his wife who was quite alone.

\* "Where is the glass? where is the glass?" cries Tiomberombi. "Who has been in the house?" "The old greyhaired (woman) Kanōadæ Petiang." "Ah me! if that be so, then we shall not live! for now the looking glass is not here. Bring a bag."

His wife puts Tiomberombi in a bag. The foreigners came into the house of Tiomberombi; they took away his wife, (all) his property and the bag.

† The bag and the woman were brought on board.

The flag which waved over Tiomberombi's island kingdom is shot away. He is from home at the time on a visit to his wife's father, his wife is alone in the house. But he sees the fall of the symbol of his power, and hastens home to enquire into and repair, if he can, the catastrophe.

\* In great anxiety as soon as he comes in, he cries, "Where is the magic mirror?" It is nowhere to be found. "Who has been here?" he enquires and on learning that the old woman had been there, he resigns all hope and says that it will cost them their lives. <sup>6</sup> *hæt āh*. *Hæt* and *hæt* mean "not;" *hæt* is used for the singular, *hæt* for the plural. *Hæt āh* = not live. The meaning supplies "I or we shall not live," *hæt* makes it "we." He resolves upon concealing himself, however; and with the assistance of his wife he is enclosed in a bag and placed amongst the household property. His brave, faithful wife has to face the enemy.

† As he no doubt anticipated, they land and convey everything away, his wife, his property, his all, literally bag and baggage. He thus manages to have himself and his household gods conveyed away together. Our hero in the bag is placed in the bow of the vessel. The vessel sinks to the water's edge at the bow. He is shifted aft,

Juchtérende pomiāmshe lakōila, hatiōhange en shéiau larille, pomiāmshe larille. Hat doch dök de mätai, <sup>(7)</sup>kawällhange en shéiau öl kamelæ. Hataæ-æ-æhende, tendöktere, léat gnung güide, gnung tiōā, ora en tiong.

Lüng, lüng, lüng en shéianende gnahlalende. Keithala en shéiau en Tiomberombi, léat güöt en inōat en kände iohl tenwā.

Léat ora kände öl mätai komōjung. <sup>(8)</sup>Omsöhngande Tiomberombi. "Tiin paiü"? "Tiüë, tiüë Tiomberombi <sup>(9)</sup>kenmolö. "Hat me de

Then it happened that the bow sank down: the bag was (therefore) shifted aft. Then the stern of the vessel sank down. They could not reach land (so) they threw the bag into the sea. They sailed and sailed and arrived at their destination, there was no house, no property, that the ship had brought away.

\* The bag drifted and drifted on to hard ground. Tiomberombi cut open the bag, his wife had put the knife round his neck with the key.

† The woman was landed in the enemy's country. Tiomberombi travelled about. "Who are you?" (asks someone). "I am Tiombe-

the vessel sinks at the stern. The reason for these extraordinary phenomena is not explained, but it will be seen later that he carried about his person the key of the magic mirror in a string together with a knife. The ship's company fear for the safety of their craft and tracing their danger to something uncanny about the bag dropped it overboard. <sup>7</sup>Kawällhange implies that the stern was level with the water. To throw a thing from a higher to a lower level is kawällhashe. The text indicates thus that the ship was in danger and that the crew were in consequence alarmed.

\* The bag containing the hapless Tiomberombi drifted at length to land. His wife had hung the key of the magic mirror and a knife about his neck.

† With the latter he releases himself from the confinement of the bag and wanders about from place to place, till apparently he arrives at his enemy's country where his wife has already been conveyed and is living as a member of the household of the chief. <sup>8</sup>Omsöhngande with the enunciation of the second syllable prolonged to indicate that he wandered about a great deal. During his travels some one, suspecting his appearance probably, accosts him. When the wayfarer says he is Tiomberombi the younger, the suspicions of the interrogator were only deepened. <sup>9</sup>kenmolö = called by another man's name. Tiomberombi, however, assures him, that he is not the national foe, but another Tiomberombi, a man of lowly degree whose occupation is cooking and not

kōiunggne?" "Hää, tiüë Tiomberombi kenmolö." "Tiin léap me?" "Oh okpāk dāk." Tiin léap me déwë? "Hää, heméang okpāk dāk léap."

Juchteré oknōk en omiä. Iuakha-hende ganlongtei en Tiomberombi öl dāk tōp en kände. Hat héw omiä. Shinkōëhange anæh kân an, héwë ganlongtei en enkâne, hat héw en omiä.

Gnahhagñe en kaniom da shiën héw en ganlongtei de olfang enkâne.

"Hat æchtérshe!" gnæh kaniom. "Tiomberombi kâ, Tiomberombi omiä."

Ræwe, katiäpe, hat katiäpe karau, henpōn. Juchteréende hōmhata de öl gñi mang(n)æh. Hat itæk enkâne, teina pohōa omiä.

Juchteré hatämende urōhetshe

rombi, the younger?" "Is it not you who made war?" "No, I am Tiomberombi, the younger." "What work can you do?" "I can boil water." "What else can you do?" No(thing), I know only that one thing, to boil water."

Now it happened after this that the chief was eating. Tiomberombi slipped his finger-ring into the water his wife was to drink. The chief did not see (him do it). His wife drank off at a draught and saw the ring, but the chief did not see it.

\* A boy called out, who saw the ring in the woman's mouth.

"It is not true," said the boy, "it is Tiomberombi himself, Tiomberombi the chief."

They seize him and bind him they do not bind him with chains, but with strings. Then he was brought into a stone house. The woman (i. e., his wife) did not sleep for fear of the chief.

† Now it happened in the night,

fighting. At length he manages to procure his introduction to the presence of his enemy the chief, where he finds his wife, who, however, does not recognize him, as he is probably disguised. In order to make her aware, who he is, he deposits his finger ring in the cup of water, which she is about to drink. On lifting the cup to her mouth she sees and recognizes it, and, no doubt, its owner.

\* Tiomberombi successfully eludes the observation of the elders, but he reckoned without an *enfant terrible*, whose presence perhaps he had not condescended to notice. This sharp-eyed youngster detects Tiomberombi's manœuvre and denounces him, and he is then seized, tied up and thrown into a stone built prison. His wife meanwhile, who is still with the chief, spends the night without sleep through fear and dread. Tiomberombi's fortunes are now at their lowest ebb. But succour comes from an unexpected quarter.

† Numbers of rats were heard scampering about the room, in which

komæt. "Da de ra dö, da de ra dö."

"Käätéré en me," gnæh Tiomberombi nang komæt.

"Juchtééré, tiñ io me <sup>(10)</sup>kätiüë?"

"Doch en me oræ tenmæla?"

"Tiü tenmæla?"

"Got de kat(ö)ã kanéala omiã, got te tenmæla tiüë.

"Katei en tiéöfende makã."

Kät, kät, kät, kät kanéala omiã ende. Jana iüënléré en omiã, keignade en komæt. Hatiö-ö-ende, täpæk to gñi mang(n)æh da Tiomberombi léat katiäpe.

"Da de ra dö, da de ra dö."

"Köm de tenmæla?"

"Oh ninne, tiéöf léat oræ."

Hatiö-ö-ö-hata en tenmæla ta tei

that there were many rats. "Patter, patter, patter" (went theirfeet).

"Come here," said Tiomberombi to a rat.

"What do you want, friend?"

"Can you get my looking glass?"

"Where is the looking glass?"

"It is under the pillow of the chief, (there) is my looking glass."

\* "We will carry it off by and bye."

They worked and worked away at the chief's (head)pillow. If the chief moved in his sleep, the rats stopped. They dragged (it) on and on, and arrived at the stone-built house where Tiomberombi was imprisoned.

"Patter, patter" (went the rats).

"Have you got possession of the looking glass?"

"This is it, we have brought (taken away) it."

They dragged the looking glass

he is imprisoned, and he calls one of them to him. He begs the rat to enable him to regain possession of the mysterious mirror, and tells him he will find it under the head pillow of the chief.

<sup>10</sup> *Kätiüë* I have rendered by "friend." *Tiüë* means "parent." *Kä* is a prefix added to all words of relationship *tiom* = grandparent, *tiüë* = parent, *tiau* = elder { *sister* / *brother* } *tau* = younger { *sister* / *brother* } *kon* = child, and it is the polite way always to address persons with these words with *kä* as a prefix. In doing so due consideration must be given to the relative ages of the speakers. This is the only way that politeness can be shown and as all are socially equal amongst the Nicobarese this way of address is very nice.

\* The rats promise to fetch the looking glass later in the night. *Kät*, *kät* is onomatopoeic for the working of the rats. The chief sleeps soundly, but occasionally he moves his arms and they (*keigna*=wait, stop) hide. Having secured the mirror, they drag it into the house, where Tiomberombi lies bound, and up to where, about his neck, by the fore-

Tiomberombi. Kãtéré da tiuk  
tenwã da olkolãhla. Tewãhata.

"Tiin io me," gnæh iwi de ðl ten-  
mæla.

"Hæt åh tiéã kõiunggne, hat  
mãtai itã, hat ðt kãntié."

"Tiën io me?"

"Wë tiong, wë henwæh, wë hifã!"

Wë, wë, wë, wë, léat. Šhãm-  
hagne de tiong ðl henlõwe.

"Kashî <sup>11</sup>kãë tiüë ife makã."

"Katei de tiéõl."

Oræ enkãne, kaëtérénde.

Jũakhëgũe enkãne de ðl tiong.

Wëla lõë, hata-æ-æhende, io  
tiü Tiomberombi. Urõhetshe  
henwæh da mat tiong Tiomberombi,  
munhang en omiã mãtai. Fõha  
tapõade en omiã mãtai, endüë  
henkõk Tiomberombi.

on and on till it came to Tiombe-  
rombi's hands. It came to where  
the key was about his neck. (Then)  
he put the key in the lock.

"What do you want?" said the  
spirit of the mirror.

"We two (T. and his wife) can-  
not live on account of this war,  
this is not our country, I have  
not got my wife."

"What do you want?"

"Produce a ship, flags, boats!"

On and on the structure grew  
and now it is finished. The ship  
is brought into deep water.

\* "What about the absent mo-  
ther of you all, then?"

"We will bring her."

† They took away the woman,  
she comes.

The woman goes on board the ship.

The sails are set, and Tiombe-  
rombi goes sailing off. There are  
many flags on Tiomberombi's ship,  
and the chief of the country is  
(very) angry. He beats his cheeks  
for Tiomberombi's guns are bigger  
(than his).

sight of his wife, the key of the looking glass and a knife had been hung.  
The rats so place the mirror in juxtaposition with the key, that the tied  
up hands of the prisoner are able to insert the key in the glass, when  
once more Tiomberombi is master of the situation. The bonds fall off,  
the prison falls, and soon he has got his ship and boats ready with pen-  
nons flying in triumph.

\* Then he thinks of his faithful wife. There is a poetic touch in  
his appeal: kashî kãë tiüë ife makã. <sup>11</sup> Kãë is a demonstrative pronoun  
rarely used and refers to persons or things absent. He speaks to the  
spirits under his orders and asks about "their mother."

† The spirits of the mirror anon bring her on board. Tiomberombi  
now gaily sails forth with all his canvas spread and flags displayed, his  
erewhile victor beating his cheeks with impotent rage in the meantime,  
as he beholds Tiomberombi's triumphant departure to his own land.

Tiū en Tiomberombi, wēhähät iūk, päniäp omtōm, mätai léat hat öt.

Tendöktéré Tiomberombi de mätaide.

Wilgnede komiä, hēw, wēhala henwah Tiomberombi, gñi Tiomberombi, mätai Tiomberombi. Urōhetshe henwah Tiomberombi de mat gñi. Io dök de mätai komiäde.

"Äh kömökät?"

"Äh."

"Katei en me?"

"Hää, tilit orī, hantä wē iūk."

"Kashhede makā?"

"Oh, wē gñi de lapōě," gnæh Tiomberombi nang komiäen.

"Watme inöle onghæ da ene

\* Tiomberombi departed. Tiomberombi raised a surf (by magic). All died, the country disappeared.

Tiomberombi arrived at his own country.

His mother-in-law looked out and spied the flags, Tiomberombi had hoisted, his house, his island. There were many flags about his house. He came to his mother-in-law's village.

"Are those with you (*i. e.*, my daughter) alive?"

"Alive."

"How did you accomplish it?"

"No, we did not kill, we only raised a surf."

"What now (how about bye and bye)?"

"Now we will make a nice house," said Tiomberombi to his mother-in-law.

"Do not tell the tale or else the

\* And when by the potent aid of the spirit of the looking glass Tiomberombi has raised a tremendous surf and swept him and his land away, his success is complete. In due course the spot is reached where his old home had been and apparently the magical properties of the mirror are resorted to again to restore in a twinkling his former island home as it was before misfortunes overtook him, for his mother-in-law, when scanning the horizon for any signs of the return of the captives, spies Tiomberombi's victorious pennons waving over his house and island complete as of yore. Tiomberombi with somewhat unusual ardour is soon in the arms of his mother-in-law (!) and answering her anxious enquiries as to his own and her daughter's welfare (*kömökät* = *me käkät*). He tells her of the utter extinction of his foes, and how it had been accomplished, and then they fall to picturing out a bright and prosperous future, which is to be theirs by the aid of the magical mirror. Taught by experience he strictly enjoins, however, both mother-in-law and wife not to reveal the secret of their prosperity. But alas!! for the frailty of woman's tongue: whilst he is absorbed in eating, the women folk gossip about it; the island breaks up and is submerged and weeping and wailing they go down to their watery grave.

däkne mätai makä!" Juchtéré  
 Tiomberombien oknök. \*Öliöle'n  
 komiäen, öliöl' enkäne en inöle  
 onghæ. Pomdaknede en mätai,  
 pompangshede. Tiim ofæ. Kåpäh-  
 ende omtöm. Léatende.

island will break up again." Now  
 Tiomberombi was eating. His  
 mother-in-law and his wife related  
 the story. Then the island broke  
 up and sank. They all cried out.  
 They all died. Finis.\*

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*Notes on the history of Religion in the Himälaya of the N. W. Provinces.*  
 Part I.—By E. T. ATKINSON, B. A., F. R. G. S., B. C. S.

In reading the wonderful story told by the great Chinese travellers Fah Hian and Hwen Thsang of their wanderings through India in the fifth and seventh centuries, one cannot but be struck with the greatness and importance of Buddhism as then understood, yet in the tenth century we hear very little about it, and about the twelfth century Buddhism appears to have ceased to be the faith of any considerable section of the Indian people. The inquiry naturally suggests itself, how did Buddhism disappear; what were the causes which effected the downfall of a system of religion which, for fifteen centuries occupied the thoughts, and held the affections of a great part of the population of this vast country, and had such defenders and expounders as Aśoka, Kanishka, Nágárjuna, and the Guptas: a system too which has given us learned theologians, subtle metaphysicians and great writers on almost every subject whilst its apostles have converted the nations of Eastern Asia from Mongolia on the north to the islands of the Eastern Sea on the south. In the search for an answer to these questions one finds little aid in the existing literature devoted to the religions of India. This for the most part consists of compilations from works which, however interesting and, however valuable they may be, have no part in teaching or guiding the actual living beliefs of the masses. For this reason we are compelled to adopt the analytic method, and first of all ascertain who are the deities worshipped by the people and the ritual in actual use, and then attempt to trace

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\* The Rev. C. H. Chard, Chaplain of Port Blair, has very kindly helped me with the English part of this paper.

out the history of the various developments of the ascertained primitive forms of belief in India which have combined to give us the popular religion of the present day. Every one that deals with a subject like the present one, must feel the magnitude of the task, and the necessity that exists for the greatest caution in attempting to establish any general propositions. The notes on this subject that I have collected are therefore offered as a humble effort to aid others in the true method of inquiry into the history of religion in India, and I am not aware that their subject has ever been noticed before. My researches have been confined to the tract in the Himálaya between the Sárda on the east and the Tons on the west including the British districts of Kumaon, Garhwál and Jaunsár under the Government of the North-West Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. It is to be understood, therefore, that my remarks refer only to this tract, and that whatever merit they may be held to possess is due to the fact that they are the outcome of a very close examination of the religious phenomena of a country famous in Indian history. The oldest Indian books mention the great shrines of Badarináth and Kedárnáth, mounts Meru and Kailás, the holy lake Mánasarovara and the places become sacred by the wanderings of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna, Ráma and Sítá, Draupadí and the Pánḍavas and in comparatively modern times the scene of the labours and the final resting-place of the great reformer Sankara Achárya.

*Religion in India.*—There is no country, perhaps, in the world in which religion exercises more influence on social and political life than in India. Religion gives the key-note to most of the great changes that have occurred in the history of the races inhabiting this country from the earliest ages to the present day. To almost every individual in this land its forms are ever present and exercise a perceptible influence on his practices, both devotional and secular, and yet the true history of religious thought in India has yet to be written. There is an esoteric school and an exoteric school: to the former too much attention has been paid, to the great neglect of the living beliefs which influence the masses of the people. Most writers on India have looked to the Vedas and the works connected with them as the standard by which all existing forms of religious belief in India are to be judged and to which all are to be referred. Influenced doubtless by the antiquity, richness and originality of the Vaidik records, they have sought to connect them with the popular religion, and have viewed modern beliefs more as to what they ought to be than as to what they actually are. As a matter of fact the Vedas are practically unknown to, and uncared for, by the majority of Hindús. There is no translation of them into the vulgar tongue in use amongst the people, and it would be contrary to the spirit of Bráhmanism to

popularise them or their teachings. They are less known, therefore, to the Hindús than the Hebrew original of the Old Testament is to the majority of the Christian populations of Europe. Some sects do not acknowledge their authority in matters of faith and practice, and they are in no sense 'a Bible' to the masses except to a few of the learned, and have little practical influence over modern religious thought outside the same class. Though portions of the Vedas, notably of the collection ascribed to the Atharvans, are recited at ceremonies, and verses from them occasionally occur in the domestic ritual, as a rule, neither the celebrant nor the worshipper understand their purport. They are learnt by rote and those employed in the ceremony regard the words used more as spells to compel the deities than as prayers for their favour. Yet we would ask the ordinary student of Indian affairs to formulate what he understands by Hinduism, and he will at once answer, the religion of the Vedas. We must, however, accept the term Hinduism as a convenient one, embracing all those beliefs of the people of India which are neither of Christian nor of Musalmán origin. But within this pale we have sects as divided from each other as members of the Society of Friends are from Roman Catholics. We have followers of the Vedas, of Bráhmanism, of Buddhism and of the polydæmonistic tribal cults of the aboriginal populations and of eclectic schools, religious and philosophical, of every kind and class. The religion of the Vedas never took hold of the mass of the people.\* It was followed by Bráhmanism designed to exalt the priestly class, but even this system had to abandon the Vaidik deities and admit the dæmons of the aborigines to a place in its pantheon, or otherwise it would have perished. Buddhism was originally a protest against sacerdotalism, not necessarily against the Bráhmanical caste, but it too succumbed to dæmonistic influences, and degraded and corrupted, fell an easy prey to its rival Bráhmanism. Both sought the popular favour by pandering to the vulgar love of mystery, magical mummeries, superhuman power and the like, and Bráhmanism absorbed Buddhism rather than destroyed it. The Buddhist fanes became S'aiva temples and the Buddhist priests became S'aiva ascetics or served the S'aiva temples, and at the present day the forms and practices in actual use may be traced back as readily to corrupted Buddhism as to corrupted Bráhmanism. There is a period of growth and of decay in religious ideas as in all things subject to human influence, and precisely the same rules govern their rise, culmination and fall in India as in Europe. Every principle or thought that

\* By this is meant the great majority of the races of India. There have always been some with learned leisure who have adhered to the higher faith in one God and have never bowed to Siva or Vishnu, but their principles are unknown to the cultivator, the trader and the soldier, or at least only in a very diluted form.

has moved the schools of Greece or Rome has equally shared the attention of Indian thinkers, and in the kaleidoscopic mass of beliefs that can be studied in any considerable Indian town, we may perceive analogies of the most striking character to the broad forms of belief and modes of thought in many European cities.

*Religion in the Himálaya.*—In examining the condition of religion in the Himálayan region we find a curious blending of pre-Bráhmanical, Bráhmanical and Buddhistic practices which it will take some time and attention to separate and ascribe to their original sources. It would doubtless be easy to dispose of the question by stating that the prevailing religion is a form of Hinduism. This would be perfectly true, but at the same time could convey no definitive idea to the inquirer's mind as to what the real living belief of the people is. For the more complete examination of the forms of religion existing in the N. W. Himálaya we possess a record of the teaching in 350 temples in Kumaon, in about 550 temples in Garhwál and in about 100 temples in Dehra Dún and Jaunsár-Báwar. For the 900 temples in Kumaon and Garhwál we know the locality in which each is situate, the name of the deity worshipped, the broad theological division to which the deity belongs, the class of people who frequent the temple, and the principal festivals observed. The analysis of these lists shows that there are 250 Saiva temples in Kumaon and 350 in Garhwál, and that there are but 35 Vaishnava temples in Kumaon and 61 in Garhwál. To the latter class may, in a certain sense, be added 65 temples to Nágarája in Garhwál which are, by common report, affiliated to the Vaishnava sects, but in which Siva also has a place under the form of Bhairava. Of the Saiva temples, 130 in Garhwál and 64 in Kumaon are dedicated to the Sakti or female form alone, but of the Vaishnava temples in both districts only eight. The Sakti form of both Siva and Vishnu, however, occurs also in the temples dedicated to Nágarája and Bhairava, or rather these deities and their Saktis are popularly held to be forms of Vishnu and Siva and their Saktis. Of the Saiva Sakti temples, 42 in Garhwál and 18 in Kumaon are dedicated to Káli, whilst the Sakti forms of the Bhairava temples are also known as emanations of Káli. Nandá comes next in popularity and then Chaṇḍiká and Durgá. The remaining temples are dedicated to the worship of Súrya, Gaṇeśa and the minor deities and deified mortals and the pre-Bráhmanical village gods who will be noticed hereafter. The outcome of this examination is therefore that Siva and Vishnu and their female forms are the principal objects of worship, but with them, either as their emanations or as separate divine entities, the representatives of the polydæmonistic cults of the older tribes are objects of worship both in temples and in domestic ceremonies.

*Dæmonism.*—Whatever may have been the earliest form of religious belief, it is probable that it was followed by a belief in dæmons or super-human spirits to which the term 'animism' is now applied. The Greek word 'dæmon' originally implied the possession of superior knowledge and corresponds closely to the Indian word '*bhūta*,' which is derived from a root expressing existence and is applied in the earlier works to the elements of nature and even to deities. Śiva himself is called *Bhūteśa* or 'lord of *bhūtas*.' With a change of religion the word dæmon acquired an evil meaning, and similarly the word *bhūta* as applied to the village gods carries with it amongst Brāhmanists the idea of an actively malignant evil spirit. Animism implies a belief in the existence of spirits, some of whom are good and some are bad and powerful enough to compel attention through fear of their influence. They may be free to wander everywhere and be incapable of being represented by idols, or they may be held to reside in some object or body, whether living or lifeless, and this object then becomes a fetish\* endowed with power to protect or capable of being induced to abstain from injuring the worshipper. Examples of both these forms occur amongst the dæmonistic cults of the Indian tribes. As observed by Tiele† "the religions controlled by animism are characterised first of all by a varied, confused and indeterminate doctrine, an unorganised polydæmonism, which does not, however, exclude the belief in a supreme spirit, though in practice this commonly bears but little fruit; and in the next place by magic which but rarely rises to the level of real worship \* \*. In the animistic religions, fear is more powerful than any other feeling, such as gratitude or trust. The spirits and the worshippers are alike selfish. The evil spirits receive, as a rule, more homage than the good, the lower more than the higher, the local more than the remote, and the special more than the general. The allotment of their rewards or punishments depends not on men's good or bad actions, but on the sacrifices and gifts which are offered to them or withheld." Even the Aryan religion held the germs of animism, but it soon developed into the polytheism of the Vedas, and this again gave rise to a caste of expounders whose sole occupation it became to collect, hand down and interpret the sacred writings and who in time invented Brāhmanism. Buddhism, as we shall see, was an off-shoot of Brāhmanism, and it is to the influence of these three forms of religious belief—Animism, Brāhmanism and Buddhism—that we owe the existing varied phases of Hinduism, and paradoxical as it may seem the masses are more Animists and Buddhists in their beliefs at the present day than Brāhmanists. We

\* See Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 56.

† Outlines of the history of Ancient Religions, p. 10, and Wilson in J. R. A. S., V., 264.

shall first of all take up the festivals commonly observed by the Kumaon Khaśiyas as the people of that country are commonly styled by their neighbours, then the domestic ritual, and then the various forms of the deity worshipped in the numerous temples that stud nearly every hill and valley of any importance throughout the Kumaon Himálaya. We shall then follow the historic method, and attempt to trace out the development of the existing forms from the earlier Vaidik and Pauránik deities, and show how the pre-Bráhmancial conceptions have not only been engrafted on the Vaidik ideas, but have practically swallowed them up and led to the existing rich confusion.

*Kumaon calendar.*—Before proceeding with a description of the religious festivals observed in Kumaon, it is as well to note that there are two modes of computing time in common use, one founded on the sidereal divisions of the months, and the other on an intricate adjustment of the solar to the lunar year.\* The local names of the months are :—Chait, Baiśákh, Jeth, Asáph, Saun, Bhádo, Asoj, Kárttik, Mangsír, Pús, Mán and Phágun. The Saka *sanvat* follows the solar year, and is used by the great mass of the Khaśiya population, and in the calendar of festivals dedicated to the worship of the pre-Bráhmancial forms and the indigenous local deities. The Vikramáditya *sanvat* is adapted to the luni-solar year. It is only used by the later and more orthodox rulers in public documents, and is confined amongst the people to the calendar of festivals borrowed from the use of the plains, the calculation of nativities by the fashionable Jyotishis and generally in all orthodox ceremonies. The gradual conversion of the Khaśiya population to Bráhmanism is a phenomenon well marked in this portion of the Himálaya. The prosperous Dom (outcaste) mason becomes a Rájput and the so-called Khaśiya Bráhman, a Bráhman, and both mark their advancement in the social scale—for here orthodoxy means respectability—by adopting the stricter forms in use in the plains. One conclusion we may safely draw that the use of the Saka era in secular matters and the solar calendar in religious observances is characteristic of the non-Bráhmanised populations, and may be adopted as a safe guide to the decision whether a given observance is of Bráhmancial or other origin.

*Chait.*—The month Chait is considered the first month of the year in Kumaon. The eleventh of the dark half is known as the *Pápa-mochaní ekádaśí*, and is observed by those who keep the elevenths of every month sacred. The first nine nights of the *sudi* or light half are known as the Chait *nava-rátri* and are sacred to the worship of the Sakti form of Siva

\* For an elucidation of these systems: see Thomas' Prinsep, II, 148: H. H. Wilson's works, II, 151: VII, 284: Calcutta Review, I, 257: XIII, 65.

as Nava Durgā, the nine forms of Durgā. These are in common acceptance here :—Sailaputri, Brahmaachāriṇī, Chaṇḍaghaṇṭā, Kushmāṇḍā, Skandamātā, Kātyāyini, Kālārātrī, Mahāgaurī and Siddharātrī. Durgā is also worshipped under her other forms as Kālī, Chaṇḍikā, &c., at this season. Those who eat flesh, sacrifice kids to the goddess, using the Nirṛiti name in the presentation ; and those who do not eat flesh, offer grain and flowers and use the name of one of the milder forms in the consecration. On the ninth of Chait *sudī* known as the *Rāma-navamī*, festivals are held at the temples of the Vaishṇava form Rāmapādaka in Almora, Uliyagāon and Mīsi. The Chait *nava-rātri* is also the season of the great *sangati* or fair at the Sikh temples of Gura Rām Rāi in Dehra and Srinagar. The eleventh of the light half is known as *kāmaddā*, when widows worship Vishṇu and offer grain, fruit and flowers to the deity either in a temple or to a *śālagrāma* stone in their own home. The day of the full moon is observed as a festival in the temple of Akāśabhājini in Saun. On this day also the houses of the pious are freshly plastered with a mixture of earth and cow-dung and no animal is yoked : hence the name *Ajoṭā*.

*Baiśākh*.—The eleventh of the dark half of Baiśākh is known as the *Varārthini ekādaśī* and is observed by widows like the *kāmaddā* of the light half of Chait. The third of the light half is called the *Akshaya* or *Akhai tritīyā*, and no one ploughs on that day lest some misfortune might occur. The Sikhs call it the *Sattwa-tīj* and observe it as a festival. The *Gangā-saptamī* or seventh devoted to the river Ganges is marked by special services in several places along the Ganges. The observances prescribed for the *Mohanī-ekādaśī*, or eleventh styled *Mohanī*, are seldom carried out in Kumaon except by those who, having suffered much in this life, are desirous of obtaining a better position at their next birth. Old men and women amongst the poorer classes worship Vishṇu on this day. The fourteenth of the light half is known as the *Nara-Siṃha chaturdaśī* which is observed in the Vaishṇava temples. The day of the full moon called the *Mādhava pūrṇimā* is also held sacred and assemblies are held at several of the Saiva and Nāga temples on this day, such as Pinākeśwara, Gaṇanātha, Bhairava in Phaldakot, Bhagotī in Dhaundyolsyūn and Sīteśwara, also at Vasukī Nāga in Dānpur and Nāgadeva in Sālam.

*Jeth*.—The eleventh of the dark half of Jeth is called the *Apara ekādaśī* or 'super-excellent eleventh,' the best of all the elevenths of the dark half which are held sacred by the pious. No noted fair takes place on this day and it is merely a nominal festival in these hills. The last day of the dark half is called *Vata-sāvitri amāvasyā*, when Sāvitri, the personified form of the sacred *Gāyatrī* verse, is worshipped by a few. The second of the light half of Jeth is known as the *Anadhyaṃya dvitīyā*, and on this day no new task is given by a teacher to his pupils. The tenth of the light half is

called the *Jeth Daśahra*, which is generally observed throughout the lower *paṭṭis* or subdivisions. Special assemblies are held on this day at the temples of *Umá* at *Karuprayág*, *Uparde* at *Amel*, *Bágeśwara*, *Koṭeśwara* and *Sitá* at *Sitábani* in *Kota*, &c. This *Daśahra* marks the birth of *Gangá*, the worship of the *Nágas* and *Mánasa*. The eleventh is called the *Nirjalá ekadaśí*, when drinking water is forbidden to those who profess to be devout. The day of the full moon is like all other similar dates observed by plastering the floor with cow-dung and earth and giving presents (*nishraṇ* or *nirshav*) of rice and money to *Bráhmans*.

*Asárh*.—The eleventh of the dark half of *Asárh* is known as the *Yoginí ekadaśí*, a nominal feast, only observed by those who have vowed to keep holy every eleventh throughout the year. During this month festivals are held in the temples dedicated to *Bhairava* and *Nágarája* in *Garhwál*. The eleventh of the light half of *Asárh* is known as the *Hariśayani ekadaśí*, the day when *Vishnu* falls asleep, which like the *Hari-bodhiní ekadaśí*, or eleventh of the light half of *Kárttik*, when *Vishnu* awakes from his sleep, is esteemed specially sacred amongst 'elevenths' and is generally observed throughout these districts. The day of the full moon is observed in the same way as in *Jeth* as a domestic festival.

*Sáwan* or *Saun*.—The eleventh of the dark half of *Sáwan* or *Saun* has the local name *kámiká*, but is merely observed as a day of rest and one of the *ajota* days when the cattle are not harnessed. When the thirteenth of any month falls on a Saturday it is called *Sani trayodaśí* and is held sacred to *Siva*, no matter in what month or in what half of the month it takes place. Similarly, when the last day of the dark half of the month occurs on a Monday, it is called the *somavati amávasyá*, which is generally observed as a day of rest and the *śráddha* of ancestors is performed without, however, making the *piṇḍas* as prescribed for the *S'ráddhapaksha* of *Bhádo*. On this day also an iron anklet called *dhagul* is worn by children to guard them against the evil eye and the attentions of *bhútas* or sprites. The eleventh of the light half is known as the *Putradá ekadaśí*, but has no special importance. On the day of the full moon, after bathing in the morning, *Hindus* retire to some place near running water and making a mixture of cow-dung and the earth in which the *tulsi* plant has grown, anoint their bodies; then they wash themselves, change their sacrificial threads and perform the ceremony of *Rishi-tarpana* or worship of the seven *Rishis* or sages. They then bind *rákhis* or bracelets of silk or common thread around their wrists and feed and give presents to *Bráhmans*. The common name for this festival in *Kumaon* is *Upa-karma*, equivalent to the *Salauna* or *Rakshábandhana* or *Rákhibandhana* of other districts. On this day festivals take place at the Sun temple in *Súi-Bisang*, *Báráhi Deví* at *Deví Dhúra* and *Patuwá* in *Súi*. A commercial fair takes place at *Deví Dhúra* on the *Sudí páruná*.

*Bhádo*.—The fourth of the dark half of *Bhádo* is known as the *Sankashí chaturthí* when *Ganeśa* is worshipped and offerings of *dáb* grass and the sweetmeat called *ladú* composed of sugar and sesamum seed are made. These sweetmeats are here called *modak*, of which ten are usually presented, and of these five belong to the officiating priest and five to the worshipper. This observance is common amongst all Hindus. The eighth of the dark half is the well-known *Jannámshṭamí*, a great festival amongst the *Vaishnavas*, held in honour of the birth of *Krishṇa*. The eve of this festival is spent in worship in the temples. Local festivals are also held during this month in honour of *Kelu Pír*, *Gangánátha*, *Kárttikeya*, *Dípa Deví* and *Pushkara Nága*. The eleventh of the dark half is known as the *Ajámbiká ekádaśí* and that last day is called the *Kusádvartí amávasyá*, when the *kusá* grass is collected by *Bráhmans* for use in their ceremonies. Locally amongst the *Tiwári Bráhmans* the ceremony of changing the sacrificial thread is performed on the third of the light half of *Bhado*, which is commonly known as the *Haritáli tritíyá* from the *Hasta nakshatra* or asterism. The fourth is known as the *Ganeśa-chaturthí* and is the date of a fair at *Thal Kedár* in *Waldiya* and at *Dhvajpatikeśwar* near *Jarkandár* in *Askot*. The fifth, is known as the *Nága* or *Rishí* or *Birura-panchamí*.

*Nága-panchamí*.—This is the great day on which the serpents are worshipped and the date of the fair in honour of *Ugyára Mahárudra* at *Papoli* in *Nákura* and *Karkoṭaka Nága* in *Chhakháta*. *Rikheśwar* is a title of *Siva* as lord of the *Nágas*, a form in which he is represented as surrounded by serpents and crowned with a chaplet of hooded snakes. The people paint figures of serpents and birds on the walls of their houses and seven days before this feast steep a mixture of wheat, gram and a sort of pulse called *gahat* (*Dolichos uniflorus*) in water. On the morning of the *Nága-panchamí* they take a wisp of grass and tying it up in the form of a snake dip it in the water in which the grain has been steeped (*birura*) and place it with money and sweetmeats as an offering before the serpents.

The chief festival, however, in *Bhádo* is that held on the *Nandáshṭamí* or eighth of the *Sudi* or light half. It is popular all over the upper *paṭṭis* (sub-divisions) of the two districts and is the occasion of a great assembly in *Almora*. Great numbers of kids are sacrificed and occasionally young male buffaloes. At *Almora* a young buffalo is offered and *Raja Bhím Singh*, the representative of the *Chand Rájás*, gives the first blow with a *talwár* and afterwards the others kill the animal. In several villages this is made the occasion of a cruel custom. The animal is fed for the preceding day on a mixture of *dál* and rice and on the day of the sacrifice is allowed sweetmeats and decked with a garland

around its neck, is worshipped. The headman of the village then lays a talwár across its neck and the beast is let loose, when all proceed to chase it and pelt it with stones and hack it with knives until it dies. This custom especially prevails in villages where the form Mahisha-mardani is worshipped, 'she who slew the buffalo-demon Mahisha.' A similar custom, however, called *dhurangí* obtains in the Bhoṭiya parganaahs of Kumaon where there is no trace of the buffalo-legend. There, when a man dies, his relatives assemble at the end of the year in which the death occurred and the nearest male relative dances naked with a drawn sword to the music of a drum, in which he is assisted by others for a whole day and night. The following day a buffalo is brought and made intoxicated with blang and spirits and beaten with stones, sticks and weapons until it dies. It is probable that this custom of slaying the buffalo is an old one unconnected with any Bráhmancial deity. A story fabricated not very long ago in connection with the Nandá temple at Almora is both amusing and instructive as to the growth of these legends. My informant tells how the worship of Nandá at Almora had been kept up ever since it was established there by Kalyán Chand, but that when the British took possession of Kumaon, the revenue-free villages attached to the temple were sequestered by Mr. Traill.\* Three years afterwards (1818) Mr. Traill was on a visit to the Bhoṭiya valley of Juhár, and whilst passing by Nandá-koṭ, where Nandá Devi is supposed to hold her court, was struck blind by the dazzling colour of the snow. The people all told him that unless the worship of the goddess were restored his temporary snow-blindness would remain for ever, and on his promising to this effect, his eyes were opened and healed. In Almora, there is this peculiarity in the worship of Nandá, that two images are made of the stock of the plantain tree and on the morrow of the festival, these are thrown or, as the people say, sent to sleep on a waste space below the fort of Lalmandi (Fort Moira) and thus disposed of.

*Durbáshṭamí*.—A ceremony known as the *Durbáshṭamí* sometimes takes place on the *Nandáshṭamí* and sometimes on the *Jannáshṭamí* or other holy eighth of this month. On this day women make a necklace of *dúb* grass which they place around their neck and after ablation and worship give it with the *sankalpa* or invocation as a present to Bráhmans. They then wear instead a necklace of silk or fine thread according to their means. They also put on their left arms a bracelet of thread with seven knots known as *ḍor*. Men wear a similar bracelet of fourteen knots on their right arms which is called *ananta*, as they first wear it on the *ananta chatur-*

\* On the British conquest in 1815, all claims to hold land free of revenue were examined and in many cases, owing to the difficulty of obtaining satisfactory evidence in support of the claim, considerable delay arose in issuing orders.

*daśi* or fourteenth of the light half, which is further observed as a festival at Beninága in Baraun, Bhagling in Sor and Chhipula in Askot and also at the temples to Ghaṅṭakarṇa in Garhwál. The eleventh is locally known as the *Páraseapari ekádaśi* and the twelfth as the Báman or *Srávaṇa dvi-daśi* from the *Srávaṇa nakshatra* or asterism, but both are merely nominal festivals. The day of the full moon is observed as in other months.

*S'ráddha-paksha of Asoj.*—The entire dark half of Asoj is known as the *S'ráddha-paksha* or fortnight devoted to the repose of the manes of ancestors. It is also called the *Mahálaya párevaṇa śráddha* from the formula used each day in worshipping the manes. The ninth is known as the *S'ráddhiyá navamí* when the ceremonies are performed for a mother. On this day, the children by a legal wife make small balls of cooked rice and the children by a concubine make the same of raw rice ground with water on a stone. These cakes or balls are called *piṇḍa* and are worshipped in remembrance of the deceased. They are then given to a cow to eat or are thrown into a river or on to some secluded waste piece of ground. The practice of making *piṇḍa* of boiled rice is, however, confined to those castes who claim connection with similar castes in the plains and is unknown amongst the Khaśiyas, who make the *piṇḍa* of raw rice as already noticed for the offspring of a concubine. If a father has died his *śráddha* is performed on the same date of the fortnight: thus if he died on the third of Magh *sudí*, his *śráddha* in the *śráddha-paksha* or *kanyágate* will be held on the third, but if he died on the ninth or any succeeding date, if the mother be already dead, as a father's *śráddha* cannot be held after a mother's, the ceremony must be observed on the eighth. In addition to this the anniversary of the death of a father is always separately observed by the better classes and is called '*ekoddiśṭa*' or '*ekoddiśṭa*' when 'he alone is looked at' or is made the object of worship. If he died during the *śráddha-paksha*, the day is called '*ekoddiśṭa khyáta śráddha*,' and though it falls on the ninth or succeeding day is observed as the anniversary. The last day of the dark half is called *Amávasyá śráddhiyá*, when the names of all ancestors are mentioned and worshipped, but *piṇḍas* are made and offered only for the three male paternal ancestors, father, grandfather and great-grandfather. The three ascending cognates and agnates are all honoured on this day, which is the only one observed by Doms. The *śráddha* of girls who die before marriage is never made, and of boys only if they have been invested with the sacrificial thread. The *śráddha* of a girl who has married is made by her husband's brother's family, if she dies childless her husband's brother's son, or if her husband has married twice and has offspring, her step-son (*sautela*) performs the ceremony. In default of these, the elder or other brother of the husband will officiate; her own brothers never can take part in any ceremony connected

with a sister who married. The eleventh of the *śrāddha-paksha* is known as the *Indriyā-ekādaśī*, but has no particular observances attached to it apparently.

*Asoj sudi*.—The first nine nights of the light half of Asoj called the *Asoj navarātri* are, like the first nine nights of Chait, especially devoted to the worship of Sakti. The first day is called *Devī-sthāpana*, on which the idol is set up and the preparations are made. The eighth is the '*mahāshṭami*' or great eighth, when the pious fast all day and make ready for the great or last day, when kids are sacrificed and the proceedings continue during the whole night. The tenth of the light half of Asoj is here called the *Vijaya-daśami* or the tenth of victory, and on this day a festival is held to commemorate the commencement of Rāma's expedition to Ceylon (Lanka) for the release of Sītā. It is locally known as *Pāyata* or simply *Pait*, from the well-known sweetmeat *petha* which forms an important item of the feast given to friends and relatives on this day. Some also now pay honour to the young green sprouts of the more useful crops, such as wheat, gram, rape, as well as on the *Karka sankrānta*, when the custom is universally observed. The village gods Goril and Ghatku or Ghatokacha have festivals on the *mahāshṭami*. The eleventh is known as the *Pāpānkuṣa-ekādaśī* or eleventh of the *ankuṣa* (elephant goad) of sin, and in some copies as *Pārvavari*. The day of the full moon is called *Kojāgarī*, and from this day the gambling of the *Divālī* commences.

*Kārttik*.—The eleventh of the dark half of *Kārttik* is known as the *Rāma-ekādaśī* or eleventh of Rāma and Lakshmi. The entire dark half is called the *Dīpa-paksha* or 'fortnight of lamps.' The *Pādma-Purāna* alludes to the eleventh of Rāma as appropriate to the gift of lighted lamps as well as to the *Naraka-chaturdaśī* or fourteenth and fifteenth. The thirteenth is set apart for the gift of lamps to Yama, and flowers should be offered on the two following days, when bathing also is enjoined. The *Dipāvalī amāvasyā* or last day of the dark half is known as the *Sukharātri* or happy night which Vishṇu passed in dalliance with Lakshmi and also as the *Divālī*. Women take part in the observances of the night and some keep the previous day as a fast and devoutly prepare the materials for the night's worship when none are allowed to sleep. Even the lighting of lamps for the purpose of gambling in any place dedicated to Vishṇu is considered to be a pious and meritorious act at this season. The Vaishṇava friars known generically as *Bairāgis* minister at most of the Vaishṇava shrines and festivals and acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the chief of the *S'riranga* temple and *maṭha* near Trichinopoly in the Madras Presidency.

The *Kārttika Māhātmya* of the *Pādma-Purāna* is devoted to a de-

scrapes a portion of the earth with a *kuthala* (whence the name *kudkhyo*) and sows a portion. One to five lamps are then placed on the ground and the surplus seed is given away. At the *halkhyo* ceremony, the *pitya* are placed on the ploughman, plough and plough-cattle, and four or five furrows are ploughed and sown and the farm-servants are fed. The beginning of the harvest is celebrated by the *kalái*, when ten or twelve ears of the new grain are brought from the fields and offered to the household deity. Pots of cow-dung are placed over the doorway and near the household deity, and four ears crossed two by two are placed in them. After the harvest is over one or two *śúrpa*s or sieves of grain are distributed amongst the servants. All these ceremonies are accompanied by simple prayer for prosperity in general and on the work about to be performed in particular.

*Pús. Mán.*—The eleventh of the dark half of Pús is called the *Saphala ekádaśí*, and the eleventh of the light half is known as the *Bhojaní ekádaśí*. The fourth of the dark of half of Mán or Mágh is known as the *Sankashta chaturthí*, which like the similarly named day in Bhádo is sacred to Gaṇeśa. The eleventh is the *Shaṭ-tila ekádaśí* when the devout are allowed but six grains of sesamum seed as food for the whole day. The fifth of the light half called the *S'rí* or *Vasanta-panchamí* marks in popular use the commencement of the season of the Holi. The name 'S'rí' is derived from one of the titles of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and prosperity, and according to some includes Sarasvatí, the goddess of learning. Even in Kumaon where the customs and ideas of the plains have not yet thoroughly permeated the masses, amongst some classes, young children beginning to learn are taught to honour Sarasvatí on this day, whilst the Baniyá worships his scales, the soldier his weapon, the clerk his pen, the ploughman his plough, and others the principal emblem of their professions or callings. The name *Vasanta-panchamí* connects the festival with the advent of spring and the young shoots of barley, at this time a few inches in length, are taken up and worn in the head-dress. The *Vasanta-panchamí* corresponds closely with the old Latin feast, the fifth of the ides of February which was fixed as the beginning of spring in the Roman calendar. On this day, people wear clothes of a yellow colour in honour of spring and indulge in feasts and visiting their friends. From the fourth to the eighth of the light half of Mágh festivals are held which are known collectively as the *Pancha parva*: they are the *Gaṇeśa-chaturthí*, the *Vasanta-panchamí*, the *Súrya-shashthí*, the *Achalá saptamí* and the *Bhíshmáshṭamí*. The *Gaṇeśa-chaturthí* is observed by few in Kumaon, but the *Vasanta-panchamí* is held in honour all over the two districts. The *Súrya-shashthí* is held on the same day as the *Sítala-shashthí* of the plains, but has no connection with it. Here

it is observed by the Sauras only or occasionally old widows and others similarly situated who worship the sun on this day. The only noted festival in connection with it is that at the temple of the sun at Paban or Pabhain in Bel. The *Achalā saptamī* or "immoveable seventh," so called because it is said to be always held sacred, is seldom observed here. It is also called the *Jayantī-saptamī* or 'seventh of victory,' and festivals are held on this day at the Kamaleśwara temple in Srinagar and the temple to Jayantī at Jayakoṭ in Borārau. The *Bhīshmaśṣṭamī* seems to be altogether unobserved, if we except the entirely local ceremonies held in some few places and utterly unknown to the people at large. The eleventh is known as the *Bhīma ekādaśī*, and this and the full moon are very seldom observed.

*Phāgun. S'ivarātri.*—The eleventh of the dark half of Phāgun is called the *Vijaya-ekādaśī* or 'eleventh of victory.' The fourteenth is everywhere sacred to S'iva. This is the day when all sins are expiated and exemption from metempsychosis is obtained. It is the anniversary of the apparition of the ling which descended from heaven to confound the rival disputants, Brahma and Vishṇu, a scene which is described at length in the *Lainga Purāṇa*.\* The day preceding is devoted by the pious and educated to fasting, and all night long the deity is worshipped, and it is not until ablutions are performed next morning and offerings are made to the idol and the attendant priests, that the worshippers are allowed to eat. The day is then kept as a holiday. In the great S'aiva establishments the ceremonies are conducted with great splendour and are held to be especially sacred on this day, more particularly in those which were established before the Muhammadan invasion of India. These temples as enumerated by the local pandits are as follows:—(1) Rāmeśwara near Cape Komorin; (2) Kedārnātha in Garhwāl; (3) Mahākāla in Ujjain; (4) Somanātha in Gujrat; (5) Mallikārjuna in the Karnatic; (6) Bhīma Sankara near Pūna; (7) Omkāranātha on the Nerbudda; (8) Viśvanātha in Benares; (9) Bhuvanēswara in Orissa; (10) Vaidyanātha in Bombay; (11) Bāgeśwara in Kumaon and (12) Jāgeśwara in Kumaon. As a rule, however, there is only a single service in some temple or a ling is made of clay and worshipped at home. The elaborate ritual laid down in the *Vārshika pustaka*, the authority in these hills is very seldom observed: the mass of the people neither now understand it nor have they the means to pay the fees of the hereditary expounders. The ordinary ceremonies include the offering of rape-seed and uncooked rice with flowers and water, and then the mystical formula known as *prāṇāyāma* which is explained hereafter.

At the *mahāpūjā* on the S'ivarātri at Jageśwara the idol is bathed in

\* Translated in Muir, IV., 388.

succession with milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar: cold and hot water being used alternately between each bathing. Each bathing has its appropriate invocation, prayer and offering which are in all respects the same as those prescribed in the plains.\* Another form of worship is the 'jap' or recitation of the one hundred and eight names of S'iva, such as Rudra, Isána, Hara, Paśupati, &c. These are counted off on a rosary made of the seeds of the *rudrāksha* (*Abrus precatorius*). As a rule, however, few remember this litany and the worshipper is satisfied by repeating a single name as often as he cares, thus "Om śiváya om" or "Om mahádeo" is the favourite ejaculation of the 'jap' in Kumaon though one occasionally hears from pilgrims from the plains 'Har, Har Mahádeo, bam Mahádeo.' The leaves of the *bel* (*Ægle marmelos*) and the flowers of the *datúra* (*Datura alba*), the *kapúr nali* or *kapúr nai* (*Hedychium spicatum*), the *játi* or *jai* (*Murraya exotica*?) and the rose are specially sacred to S'iva and form a part of the *argha* or offerings made during his worship. There can be no doubt but that the present system of S'aiva worship though popular and universal is of modern origin, and on this point we may cite the testimony of Professor Wilson :†—"Notwithstanding the reputed sanctity of the *S'ivarátri*, it is evidently sectarian and comparatively modern, as well as a merely local institution, and consequently offers no points of analogy to the practices of antiquity. It is said in the *Kalpa Druma* that two of the mantras are from the Ríg Veda, but they are not cited, and it may be well doubted if any of the Vedas recognise any such worship of S'iva. The great authorities for it are the Puráṇas, and the Tantras; the former—the S'aiva, Lainga, Pádma, Mátsya and Váyu—are quoted chiefly for the general enunciations of the efficacy of the rite, and the great rewards attending its performance: the latter for the mantras: the use of mystical formulæ, of mysterious letters and syllables, and the practice of *Nyása* and other absurd gesticulations being derived mostly, if not exclusively, from them; as the *Isána Samhitá*, the *S'iva Rahasya*, the *Rudra Yámala*, *Mantra-mahodadhi* and other Tántrika works. The age of these compositions is unquestionably not very remote, and the ceremonies for which they are the only authorities can have no claims to be considered as parts of the primitive system. This does not impair the popularity of the rite, and the importance attached to it is evinced by the copious details which are given by the compilers of the *Tithi-Tattwa* and *Kalpa Druma* regarding it and by the manner in which it is observed in all parts of India."

\* See Wilson, II., 214: the prayers there given are paraphrased in the *Várshika pustaka*.

† *Ibid.*, 219.

*Gosáins.*—The Gosáins\* founded by S'ankara Áchárya are still a powerful body in these hills. S'ankara Áchárya had four principal disciples who are usually named Padmapáda, Hastámalaka, Sureśvara or Mandana, and Troṭaka. Of these the first had two pupils, Tírtha and Áśrama; the second had also two, Vana and Aranya; the third had three, Sárasvatí, Purí and Bháratí, and the fourth had three, Gir or Giri, Párvaṭa and Ságara. These pupils became the heads of the order of Daśanámí Daṇḍins or 'ten-named mendicants,' and any one joining the fraternity adopts one of the names. Formerly all supported themselves by alms and were celibates. Now some have married and become householders or have taken to trade or arms as a profession and are not acknowledged as brethren except perhaps in western India. The Gosáins proper are called Daṇḍins from the *daṇḍa* or staff carried by them in their travels. They are ruled by an assembly called the Daśanáma, composed of representatives of the ten divisions which has complete control over all the *maṭhas* of the order. On the death of a Mahant his successor is usually elected by the members of the *maṭha* to which he belonged or, in some cases, the *chela* or pupil succeeds. The chief *maṭha* of the order represented in Garhwál is at Sringerí on the Tungabhadra river in the Madras Presidency. They serve at Rudranátha, Kalpeśwara, Kamaleśwara, Bhil-kedár, and indeed most of the principal temples dedicated to S'íva.

*Jángamas.*—The Jángamas or Lingadháris, so called from their wearing a miniature linga on their breast or arm, acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Basava, minister of Bijjala Deva Kalachurí Rája of Kalyána and who murdered his master in 1135 A. D. Basava wrote the Bāsava-Puráṇa and his nephew, the Channa-Bāsava Puráṇa, which are still the great authorities of the sect.\* The name Basava is a Kánarese corruption of the Sanskrit '*vrishabha*,' and the Bāsava-Puráṇa is written in praise of the bull Nandí, the companion and servant of S'íva. The Jángamas style themselves Puritan followers of S'íva under the form of a linga and call all others idolators. They say that they reverence the Vedas and the writings of S'ankara Áchárya, but they reject the Mahábhárata, Rámáyana and Bhágavata as the invention of Bráhmans. They consider both S'ankara Áchárya and Basava to have been emanations of S'íva. Basava himself was a S'aiva Bráhman and devoted himself to the worship of S'íva under the form of a linga as the one god approachable by all. He denounced the Bráhmans as worshippers of many gods, goddesses, deified mortals and even of cows, monkeys, rats, and snakes. He denied the use of fasts and penances, pilgrimages, sacrifices, rosaries and holy-water. He set aside the Vedas as the supreme authority and taught that all

\* The name is derived according to some from '*go*,' passion, and '*svámí*,' master: he who has his passions under control.

human beings are equal, and hence men of all castes and even women can become spiritual guides amongst the Jāngamas. Marriage is imperative with Brāhmans, but permissive only with the followers of Basava. Child-marriage is unknown and betrothal in childhood unnecessary. Polygamy is permissible with the consent of a childless wife. A widow is treated with respect and may marry again, though whilst a widow she may not retain the jacket, perfumes, paints, black glass armlets, nose and toe rings which form the peculiar garb of the married woman. A Jāngam always returns a woman's salutation and only a breach of chastity can cause her to lose her position. The Jāngamas are also called Vīra Saivas to distinguish them from the Arādhyas, another division of the followers of Basava who call themselves descendants of Brāhmans and could not be induced to lay aside the Brāhmanical thread, the rite of assuming which requires the recital of the *gāyatrī* or hymn to the sun : hence the Jāngamas regard this section as idolators and reject their assistance. Those who totally reject the authority of Brāhmans are called Saurānyas and Viśeshas. The Sāmānya or ordinary Jāngama may eat and drink wine and betel and may eat in any one's house, but can marry only in his own caste. The Viśesha is the guru or spiritual preceptor of the rest. The lesser vows are addressed to the linga, the guru and the Jāngama or brother in the faith. The linga represents the deity and the guru he who breathes the sacred spell into the ear and makes the neophyte one with the deity : hence he is revered above the natural parents. The lingas in temples are fixed there and therefore called *sthāvira* : hence the lingas of Basava are called *jāngama* or able to move about, and the followers Jāngamas or living incarnations of the linga. The Arādhyas retain as much of the Brāhmanical ceremonial as possible, they look down on women and admit no proselytes, they call themselves Vaidikas and say that the Jāngamas are Vedabāhyas. The latter declare that every one has a right to read the Vedas for himself and that the Arādhyas are poor blind leaders of the blind who have wrested the scriptures to the destruction of themselves and others.

The Jāngama worships Śiva as Sadāśiva, the form found in Kedār, who is invisible, but pervades all nature. By him the linga is revered as a reliquary and brings no impure thought. He abhors Māyā or Kālī who is one with Yona, and is opposed to licentiousness in morals or manners. He aims at release from fleshly lusts by restraining the passions ; he attends to the rules regarding funerals, marriage and the placing of infants in the creed, and is, as a rule, decent, sober and devout. Burial is substituted for cremation and Brāhmans are set aside as priests. The Vīra-Saivas illustrate their creed by the following allegory :—' The guru is the cow whose mouth is the fellow-worshipper and whose udder

is the linga. The cow confers benefits by means of its udder, but this is filled through the mouth and body, and therefore if a Vira-S'aiva desires the image to benefit him, he must feed the mouth, or in other words sustain and comfort his fellow-worshippers, and then the blessing will be conveyed to him through the teacher.' When the Brāhmanical S'iva is mentioned in their books it is only to show that the true Vira-S'aivas are more than a match for the Bhū-suras or gods of the earth as the Brāhmins style themselves. The ordinary S'aiva temples are in some cases served by orthodox Smārta (S'aiva) Brāhmins. The Jāngamas still serve some of the principal temples in Garhwāl.\*

*Kānpḥaṭas.*—The Kānpḥaṭa Jogīs conduct the worship in all the Bhairava temples that are not ministered to by Khasīyas. Their principal seat is at Danodhar on the edge of the Ran of Kachh about twenty miles north-west of Bhūj in the Bombay Presidency. They wear brick-dust coloured garments and are remarkable for the large earrings of rhinoceros horn, agate or gold worn by them and from which they are named. They are very numerous in these hills and possess several large establishments. They follow the Tāntrika ritual, which is distinguished by its licentiousness for both the linga and the yona are worshipped by them, and they declare that it is unnecessary to restrain the passions to arrive at release from metempsychosis. They are the principal priests of the lower S'akti forms of Bhairava and even of the village gods, and eat flesh and drink wine and indulge in the orgies of the left-handed sect. Departing from the original idea of the female being only the personified energy of the male, she is made herself the entire manifestation and, as we shall see in the case of Durgā, receives personal worship, to which that of the corresponding male deity is almost always subordinate. The S'aktas are divided into two great classes, both of which are represented in these districts, the Dakṣiṇāchāris and Vāmāchāris. The first comprise those who follow the right hand or open orthodox ritual of the Purāṇas in their worship of S'akti, whilst the latter or left-hand branch adopt a secret ceremonial which they do not care openly to avow. The distinction between the two classes is not so apparent in the mass of the S'aktas

\* The chief authorities for the Lingāyat system are :—

The Bāsava-Purāṇa of the Lingāyats translated by the Rev. G. Würth, J. B. B. R. A. S., VIII., 63.

The Channa-Bāsava Purāṇa translated by the same. *Ibid.*

The creeds, customs and literature of the Jāngamas, by C. P. Brown, M. J. L. S. XI. 143: J. R. A. S., V n. s. 141.

The Bāsava-Purāṇa, the principal book of the Jāngamas, by the same. *Ibid.*, XII. 193.

On the Gossains by J. Warden, M. J. L. S. XIV. 67.

Castes of Malabar. *Ibid.*, 1878, p. 172.

here as amongst the extreme of either class. The more respectable and intelligent, whatever their practice in secret may be, never profess in public any attachment to the grosser ceremonial of the left-hand S'áktas, and it is only fair to say that they generally reprobate it as opposed to the spirit of the more orthodox writings. As a rule, the worshipper simply offers up a prayer and on great occasions presents one, two, five or eight kids, which are slaughtered and afterwards form the consecrated food of which all may partake. The left-hand ritual is more common in Garhwál, where there are some sixty-five temples dedicated to Nágaraája and Bhairava and some sixty dedicated to Bhairava alone, whilst there are not twenty temples to these forms in Kumaon. Nágaraája is supposed to represent Vishnu, and Bhairava is held to be a form of S'iva, and these with their personified energies are considered present in each of these temples, though in the actual ceremony the worship is chiefly directed to the female form of S'iva's S'akti. In all the rites, the use of some or all the elements of the five-fold *makára*, viz., *matsya* (fish), *mámsa* (flesh), *madya* (wine), *maithuná* (women) and *muđrá* (certain mystical gesticulations), are prescribed. Each step in the service is accompanied by its appropriate mantra in imitation of those used with the five-fold offerings of the regular services. In the great service of the *Srí Chakra* or *Púrúbbhisheka*,\* the ritual, as laid down in the *Dasakarma*, places the worshippers, male and female, in a circle around the officiating priest as representatives of the Bhairavas and Bhairavis. The priest then brings in a naked woman, to whom offerings are made as the living representative of S'akti, and the ceremony ends in orgies which may be better imagined than described. It is not therefore astonishing that temple priests are, as a rule, regarded as a degraded, impure class, cloaking debauchery and the indulgence in wine, women and flesh under the name of religion. Garhwál is more frequented by pilgrims and wandering religious mendicants, and this is given as a reason for the more frequent public exhibition of their ceremonies there. In Kumaon the custom exists, but it is generally observed in secret, and none but the initiated are admitted even to the public ceremonies. The Tantras prescribe for the private ceremony that a worshipper may take:—"a dancing-girl, a prostitute, a female devotee, a washerwoman or a barber's wife," and seating her before him naked, go through the various rites and partake with her of the five-fold *makára*.

*Sacrifices.*—The *bali-dána* or oblation when offered by Vaishnavas consists of curds, grain, fruits and flowers, but when offered by the S'aiva S'áktas here usually assumes the form of living victims, the young of

\* See for further details Wilson, I., 258, and Ward, III, 194, ed. 1822: the descriptions there given fairly represent the practice in the hills.

buffaloes or more generally of goats. At Purnagiri in Tallades, Háṭ in Gangolī and Ranchula Koṭ in Katyúr, the consort of S'iva, in her most terrible form, has attained an unenviable notoriety as having been in former times appeased by human sacrifices. In the neighbouring country of Nepál,\* it is recorded that the custom of offering human sacrifices to Bachhlá Devī, another form of Káli, was introduced by S'iva-deva-varma, and that when one of his successors, Viśva-deva-varma, considered it a piece of great cruelty and desired to abolish it "Nara-śiva made a great noise. Whereupon the Rája went to see what was the matter and the Nara-śiva came to seize him. The Rája, being pleased at this, gave him a large *jágir* which remains to the present day." In Bhavabhúti's charming drama of Málati and Mádhava we have an account of the attempt made by Aghoraghaṇṭa to offer Málati as a sacrifice to Chámuṇḍá Devī when she is rescued by Mádhava.† In the collection of legends known as the Kathá-sarit-ságara frequent mention is made of the sacrifice of human victims by the barbarous tribes inhabiting the forests and mountains and we know that up to the present day the practice has existed amongst the wild tribes in Khondistán. In the Daśa Kumára Charitra, also, we are told of Prahávarma, Rája of Mithila, being attacked by the S'avaras and losing two of his children who were about to be offered by the barbarians to Chaṇḍi Devī when they were fortunately rescued by a Bráhmaṇ. The Kálika Purána, too, gives minute directions for the offering of a human being to Káli, whom, it is said, his blood satisfies for a thousand years. Both at Purnagiri and Háṭ a connection and oneness with the great Káli of Calcutta is asserted and coconuts are much esteemed as a subsidiary oblation. In the latter place the sacrificial weapon used in the human sacrifices is still preserved.‡

*Holi*.—The Holi commences on the eighth or ninth and ends on the last day of Phálgun *Sudi*, locally known as the *chharari* day. Some derive the name Holi from the demon Holiká, who is one with Pútana; but the *Bhavishyottara Purána*, which has a whole section devoted to this festival, gives a different account which may be thus briefly summarised:—In the time of Yuddhishtira there was a Rája named Raghu who governed so wisely that his people were always happy, until one day the Rákshasi Dundhá came and troubled them and their children. They

\* Wright's Nepal, 126, 130: Sivadeva lived about the tenth century.

† Wilson, XII, 58.

‡ Those who are desirous of investigating the subject of human sacrifices further are referred to Wilson's works, I, 264; II, 247; III, 353; IV., 143; Max Müller's History of ancient Sanskrit Literature, 408; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I, 355; II., 154; IV., 289; Wheeler's History of India, I, 403; Wilson's India, 68, and Colebrooke's Essays 34.

prayed the Rájá to aid them and he consulted the Muni Nárada, who directed them to go forth in full confidence on the last day of the light half of Phálgun and laugh, sport and rejoice. Then they should set up a bonfire and circumambulate it according to rule, then every one should "utter without fear whatever comes into his mind. In various ways and in their own speech let them freely indulge their tongues and sing and sing again a thousand times whatever songs they will. Appalled by those vociferations, by the oblations to fire and by the laughter of the children," the Rákshasi was to be destroyed. "Inasmuch as the oblation of fire (*homa*) offered by the Bráhmans upon this day effaces sin and confers peace upon the world (*loka*), therefore shall the day be called *holiká*." The Kumaonis take full advantage of the license thus afforded and under the influence of *bháng* proceed from village to village singing obscene songs and telling stories. The red-powder or *gulúl* which is used in the sports during the festival is made from the flowers of the rhododendron. Although preparations commence on the eighth or ninth, the real festival does not begin until the eleventh, known as the *chirbandan* day, or *amardakí ekádaśí*. On this day, people take two small pieces of cloth from each house, one white and the other coloured, and after offering them before the S'akti of Bhairava make use of them thus:—A pole is taken and split at the top so as to admit of two sticks being placed transversely at right angles to each other and from these the pieces of cotton are suspended. The pole is then planted on a level piece of ground, and the people, singing the Holi songs in honour of Kanhaiyá and his Gopís, circumambulate the pole and burn it on the last day. This ceremony is observed by the castes who assume connection with the plains castes, but the lower class of Khaśiyas, where they observe the festival, simply set up the triangular standard crowned by an iron trident, the special emblem of Paśupati, which they also use at marriage ceremonies. The Holi is chiefly observed in the lower paṭṭis and is unknown in the upper hills. The *Tíká holi* takes place two days after the *chhararí* or last day of the Holi, when thankofferings are made, according to ability, on account of the birth of a child, a marriage or any other good fortune. The expenses of these festivals are usually met by a cess on each house which is presented to the officiating Bráhmaṇ for his services, and he, in return, gives to each person the *tilak* or frontal mark, made from a compound of turmeric. The practice of the orthodox and educated in no way differs from that current in the plains. The Holi is clearly another of those non-Bráhmanical ceremonies connected with the montane Pásupata cult which have survived to the present day.

*Festivals regulated by the solar calendar.*—Each *sankránta* or the passage of the sun from one constellation into another is marked by festi-

vals. Most of the Bhairava temples in Garhwál and even such as Narmadésvara, Vřiddha Kedára and Náráyana have special assemblies on every *sankránta* throughout the year, whilst others hold special services only on particular *sankrántas*, such as the Bikh, Mekh and Makar. Generally the festivals of the village deities as well as all civil duties and engagements are regulated by the calendar for the solar year.

*Mín sankránta*.—The *Mín* or *Chait* *sankránta* is not generally observed; but on the following day, girls under nine years of age and boys who have not yet been invested with the sacrificial thread (*janeó*) visit their relations, to whom they offer flowers and smear rice coloured with turmeric (*haldá*) on the threshold of their doors: hence the name *Haldudá sankránta*. In return, the children receive food and clothing. The low castes Hurkiyá and Dholí, the dancers and musicians of the hills, also, go about from village to village during the whole of this month singing and dancing and receive in return presents of clothes, food and money.

*Bikh sankránta*.—The *Mekh* or *Baisákh* *sankránta* is also called the *Vishapadi*, *Bikhpadi*, *Vijoti*, *Vikhoti* or *Bikh sankránta*. On this day, an iron rod is heated and applied to the navels of children in order to drive out the poison (*bikh*) caused by windy colic and hence the local name *Bikh sankránta*. It is a great day of rejoicing for both Śaivas and Vaishnavas and fairs are held at the shrines of Umá at Karpaprayág, Siteśvara in Kota, Tunganátha, Rudranátha, Gaurí, Jwálapá, Káli, Chañdiká, &c., as well as at Badrináth, Vishnuprayág, Dhyánbadri and the temples of Náráyana and Ráma. Most of the more important temples have special services on the *Bikh* and *Makar sankrántas*. The latter represents the old computation by which the entrance of the sun into the sign of Capricorn was considered the commencement of the new year and the former the new system by which the entrance of the sun into the sign *Mesha* or Aries begins the new year: hence both days are held sacred throughout both districts. I have not noticed that any special festival is held on the *Brish* or *Jeth sankránta* or on the *Mithun* or *Asáph sankránta* except one, on the latter date, at the Kailás hill above Bhím Tál, though, as already noted, there are numerous temples where services are held on every *sankránta* throughout the year.

*Kark sankránta*. *Bagwáli*.—The *Kark* *sankránta* is known also as the *Harclo*, *Hariyáto* or *Haryáo* *sankránta* from the following custom:—On the 24th *Asáph*, the cultivators sow barley, maize, pulse (*gahat*) or mustard (*lai*) in a basket of earth and on the last day of the month, they place amidst the new sprouts small clay images of Mahádeva and Párvatí and worship them in remembrance of the marriage of those deities. On the following day or the *Kark sankránta*, they cut down the green stems

and wear them in their head-dress and hence the name *Harola*. The *Kark sankrānta* was the great day of the *bagwālī* or stone-throwing festival for Chamdyol in Paṭṭi Gundes, Rāmgār in Paṭṭi Rāmgār, at the Nārāyaṇī temple in Siloti and at Bhim Tāl in Chhakhāta. It was also held at Debi Dhūra on the full moon of S'aun, at Champāwat, Patuā in Sūi and Siyāl De Pokhar in Dwāra on *Bhagya dāj* or Kārttik Sudi 2nd. The *bagwālī* was known as the *siti* in Nepāl\* and is said to have been established there at a very early period by Rāja Guṇakāma Deva, who received in a dream a command to that effect from Śrī Skandaswāmī, the god of war. He appears to have revived the custom of the *kilātari* game which was introduced by Bhuktamāna, the founder of the Gwāla dynasty, as a portion of the games held in the Śleshmāntak forest, sacred to the Paśupati form of Śiva. Guṇakāma drew up strict rules for the conduct of the fray which were at first carried out with the greatest rigour, and the prisoners captured on either side were offered as sacrifices to Devī. The game was played from Jeṭh to Siti-shasṭī, and though the murder of the prisoners soon fell into abeyance, many grievous accidents occurred until at length the custom was abolished by Sir Jung Bahādur on account of Mr. Colvin, the Resident, having been struck by a stone whilst looking on. In these districts it was the custom for several villages to unite and defend the passage across a river against a similar force from the other side. As the hill-men are good slingers injuries occurred and even fatal accidents, so that the custom was prohibited, and now the combatants amuse themselves merely by pelting stones at some boulder or conspicuous tree. In Juhār, the Bhoṭiyas offer a goat, a pig, a buffalo, a cock and a pumpkin† which they call *pancha bali* to the village god, on the *kark sankrānta*. The day is given up to feasting and drinking spirits and towards evening they take a dog and make him drunk with spirits and bhang or hemp, and having fed him with sweetmeats, lead him round the village and let him loose. They then chase and kill him with sticks and stones and believe that by so doing no disease or misfortune will visit the village during the year. The festivals on this day at Bāleśwar in Chārāl, and at Dhernāth in Sūi Bisang, are attended by all the neighbouring villagers.

*Bhādo sankrānta*.—The *Siṃha* or *Bhādo sankrānta* is also locally known as the *Ghī* or *Ghyūshgyān sankrānta*, because on this day even the poorest classes eat *ghī* or clarified butter, and has the name *Walgiya* because curds and vegetables are then offered by all persons to those in authority over them. There is a fair on this day at the temple of Vaishnavī Devī at Naikuni in Seti.

\* Wright, 108, 156.

† *Kumila* or *petha*, Cucurbita pepo (Roxb.).

*Kanyá sankránta*.—The *Kanyá* or *Asó* *sankránta* is also locally known as the *Khataruvá sankránta* from the people gathering hay and fuel on this day. From a portion of these firstfruits after the rains a bonfire is made into which the children throw encumbers and flowers and make money by singing and dancing. The following story is told in explanation of this custom:—"In former days one of the Chand Rájas sent a force to invade Garhwál and gave strict injunctions to his general to convey speedily the news of any victory that should be gained. The general told the Rája that when he saw the hills around blazing with bonfires he might know that Garhwál had been conquered, and for this purpose heaps of fuel were collected on all the higher peaks along the line of march and placed under charge of guards. The object of the expedition was attained on the *Kanyá sankránta* and the fuel was fired and peak answered peak until in a few hours a bonfire was blazing on every hill from Garhwál to Almora. The Rája was so pleased at the success of his troops and the rapidity with which the news of the victory was communicated that he gave orders to continue the custom on each anniversary." Hence this custom has been observed ever since in Kumaon, but not in Garhwál.

*Makar sankránta*.—The *Makar* or *Mágh sankránta* is also known as the *Ghuḡuḡiyá*, *Phúl*, and *Uttaráyini* or *Uttaráini sankránta*. The name '*Ghuḡuḡiyá*' is given from the small images of flour baked in sesamum oil or ghi and made to resemble birds which are strung as necklaces and placed around the necks of children on this day. On the morrow or the second day of *Mágh* the children call the crows and other birds and feed them with the necklaces and eat a portion themselves. The name '*Phúl*' *sankránta* is derived from the custom of placing flowers, especially those of the rhododendron, at the threshold of friends and relations who, in return, give presents of rice and grain. The name '*Uttaráyini*' is derived from its being the beginning of the winter solstice according to the Hindú system and, as with us, commences with the entry of the sun into the sign Capricorn. The name '*Makara*' is the Hindú equivalent for the constellation corresponding to Capricorn and is represented by a figure half fish and half goat. The whole of *Mágh* is specially devoted to the worship of Vishṇu and the sun, and according to the *Pádma-Purána* bathing during this month is particularly efficacious. The great commercial fairs at Bágaśwar and Thal Baleśwar are held on this day. Amongst the Sikhs, the *Makar sankránta* is the occasion of a fair at Rikhikeś on the Ganges connected with the Dehra establishment.

*Conclusion*.—The general result of our brief survey of the religious festivals observed in Kumaon and Garhwál shows that even at the present day, they are in no sense of Bráhmaical origin. Excluding those clearly

borrowed from the plains and followed almost entirely only by the educated and wealthier classes, the really popular festivals are those held at the two harvests, those in honour of the Nāgas at the Jeth Daśahra and Nāga-panchamī, the great S'aiva S'akti observances on the Chait and Asoj *navarātris* and the festivals in honour of Bhairava, Nāgarāja, and the rural deities Goril, Ghantakarṇa, &c. The sacrifice of kids is a part of almost all the ceremonies on these occasions, young male buffaloes are also offered, and in former times human sacrifices were not uncommon at the temples of the dark form of the consort of S'iva. All these facts mark the non-Brāhmanical origin of the existing form of worship. The Kṛāśīyas of Kumaon possess many traits in common with the Dasyus of the Vedas, practically they have no Vedas, they perform no Vaidik ceremony and their sacrifices are not in accordance with any Vaidik ritual, their caste observances and rules as to eating and drinking are not on the same strict lines as those observed by the Hindús of the plains, and it was these distinctions that placed them fifteen hundred\* years ago outside the pale of the twice-born, and which even under more liberal influences now out-castes them.

*Domestic ritual.*—We shall now consider the domestic ritual in use in Kumaon, premising that it is followed as a rule only by the educated and orthodox, and that its use has not yet permeated the masses, nor are its rules, except in a very abbreviated form, understood by many of them. The ritual for temple use has been compiled by a class for their own purposes and usually with the object of setting forth the preferential cult of some particular deity or of inculcating the tenets of some particular sect, and although the general outline of the ceremony is the same in all, the details vary considerably. The village-deities have no formal ritual committed to writing and in general use, so that the ceremony is a meagre imitation of that in use in the orthodox temples and varies with the celebrant. The authorized domestic ritual in use in Kumaon fairly represents the ceremonial observed by those who consider themselves one in faith with the orthodox Hindús of the plains. It will show no great divergence in ordinary ceremonies from the procedure observed in the plains, for which, however, I have not been able to procure an authority that could be relied upon. The work† consulted is the *Daśa-karmādi*

\* Muir's Sansk. Texts. II, 412, 482.

† The copy used by me contains the preparatory ceremonies (pp. 1-28); those held on the birth of a son (pp. 29-61); those on his assuming the sacrificial thread (pp. 69-132), and those on marriage (pp. 150-205), besides other services for special occasions. This work has since been lithographed. I have not considered it necessary to give many of the *mantras* at full length for any one can verify them by asking any intelligent Brāhman for them and giving the catchwords recorded here. It may be well to notice that the Sanskrit employed is sometimes barbarous in the extreme (= dog Latin), but I give it faithfully.

*paddhati*, or 'Manual of the ten rites, &c.' which is held in great esteem in this portion of the Himálaya. It gives the ritual to be observed on every occasion from the conception of the native until his marriage. Each ceremony has certain preparatory services common to all, and which occupy the first ten chapters of the Manual, viz.:—(1), *Seasti-váhana*; (2), *Gañeśa-pújá*; (3), *Mātṛi-pújá*; (4), *Náuli-śrád̥d̥ha*; (5), *Punyáha-váhana*; (6), *Kaláśa-s̥hāpana*; (7), *Rakshá-vidhāna*; (8), *Ghṛi-tachchháyá*; (9), *Kuśa-kaṇḍiká*; and (10), *Kuśa-kaṇḍikopayogisāgraha*. In practice, however, the ceremony is shortened by the omission of several of these services and, as a rule, the second, third and fourth chapters with the sixth and seventh are alone read. With regard to these and all other observances their length and character would seem to depend on the means and inclination of the person who causes the ceremony to be performed. The poor man obtains a very shortened service for his few coins, whilst the wealthy can command the entire ritual and the services of numerous and skilled celebrants. The rich can afford to keep Bráhmans in their employment who vicariously perform for them all the intricate and tedious ceremonies prescribed by the ritual and at once relieve their masters from a disagreeable duty and ensure for them the fruits of a devout life. It will be seen, however, that the earlier chapters form a necessary part of the ritual of every important ceremony and are repeated numbers of times at different stages. They are referred to hereafter as the 'preparatory ceremonies' and are closed with a *sankalpa* or dedication to the particular object in view at the time, so that the merit acquired by performing them may aid in the attainment of the object aimed at.

*Daily prayers.*—Before commencing an account of the ceremonies proper to particular objects and seasons it will be convenient to refer here to those known as *nitya karma* or obligatory, to be observed at morn, noon and eve. The necessities of every-day life, however, contrive that one recital before taking food, either in the morning or in the evening, shall be considered sufficient, and we shall now describe the morning service, which with a few slight changes serves for all. It need hardly be said that these are unknown to the ordinary Khasiya population, except here and there in a very diluted form. The usual morning routine is first gone through by drawing up the sacrificial thread and placing it on the left ear before retiring, next washing the teeth, bathing and applying the frontal marks with powdered sandal, or red sandars and rice.

*Achamana.*—The *sandhyá* or office of domestic worship then commences and is opened by placing some water in the hollow of the right-hand from which a sup is taken (*achamana*) whilst mentally repeating the mantra:—'Om, to the Rig-veda, hail!' a second is then taken with

the words :—‘ *Om*, to the Yajur-veda, hail :’ and a third with the words :—‘ *Om*, to the Sāma-veda, hail.’ A fourth is then taken whilst repeating the formula :—‘ *Om*, to the Atharva-veda, hail,’ and is rejected immediately on completing the invocation. The *chofi* or tuft of hair left on the top of the head is then laid hold of whilst the following mantra is mentally repeated :—‘ Invoking the thousand names of Brahmā, the hundred names of the top-knot, the thousand names of Vishnu I tie my top-knot.’ The mouth is then cleansed by passing the thumb of the right hand over the moustache to each side from the parting.

*Sparśa*.—Then follows the sprinkling (*indriya sparśa*) of the mouth, nostrils, eyes, ears, navel, breast, throat, head, arms and palms and back of the hands with water and the salutation ‘ *Om* ’ prefixed to the name of each member\* and mental prayer for its health and strength.

*Abhisheka*.—The worshipper then touches the ground with the third finger of his right-hand whilst repeating the mantra :—“ O thou, who hast made this earth and all it contains and protectest all by thy power, make me pure.” Water is next taken in the hand whilst he mentally recites the mantra :—“ May any evil or trouble which is due to me this day be by thy power prevented.” This is followed by the first *abhisheka* or aspersion in which water is taken in the left hand and sprinkled with the right hand over each member as before with the purificatory mantra :—“ *Om bhū*, protect my head ; *om bhuvah*, protect my eyes ; *om svah*, protect my throat ; *om mahah*, protect my breast ; *om janah*, protect my navel ; *om tapah*, protect my feet ; *om satyam*, protect my head ; *om kham*, Brahmā protect me everywhere.” This is known as the *pūrvakamārjana-mantra*. Most of us have seen the natives of India at their devotions and have doubtless wondered what their meditations were and what the curious movements of the hands and muttered words intended. I am not aware that these have ever been the subject of inquiry, or that they have ever been recorded and explained in any European language, and now give the *prānyāma* and its prefaces after a lengthened practice of them by myself.

*Prānyāma*.—The *prānyāma* occurs both in the daily prayers and in the short private devotions performed in temples and is always prefaced by the *anga-nyāsa* and *kara-nyāsa*. These consist of separate sets of salutations to the seven members of the body (*anga*) and to the seven members of the hand (*kara*), each of which is accompanied by a mystical mantra in which the deities of one of the seven worlds is saluted in order that they may come and take up their abode for the time in the member of the

\* *Om vāk, vāk* ; *Om prāṇah, prāṇah* ; *Om cakṣu, cakṣu* ; *Om śrotram, śrotram* ; *Om nābhīh* ; *Om hridayam* ; *Om kantham* ; *Om sirah* ; *Om bāhuh, bāhuh* ; *Om yasobalam* ; *Om karatā-karapriṣṭhe*.

worshipper dedicated to them. This formula will be better understood from the following table :—

| The seven spheres of the | Sanskrit names. | Hindi equivalents. | Members of the hand.                    | Members of the body.         |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Earth ...             | Bhūr-loka ...   | Bhu ...            | Thumb ( <i>angushṭa</i> )               | Chest ( <i>hrīdaya</i> ).    |
| 2. Sky ...               | Bhūvar-loka...  | Bhūvar ...         | Fore-finger ( <i>tarjanī</i> ).         | Head ( <i>śīras</i> ).       |
| 3. Planets ...           | Svar-loka ...   | Svaḥ ...           | Second ditto ( <i>madhyama</i> ).       | Scalp-lock ( <i>śikhā</i> ). |
| 4. Saints ...            | Māharloka ...   | Mahaḥ ...          | Third ditto ( <i>anāmika</i> ).         | Throat ( <i>kanṭha</i> ).    |
| 5. Sons of Brahmā.       | Jano-loka ...   | Jana ...           | Fourth ditto ( <i>kanishṭhika</i> ).    | Eye ( <i>netra</i> ).        |
| 6. Penance...            | Tapo-loka ...   | Tapas ...          | Palm ( <i>karatala</i> )                | Navel ( <i>nābhi</i> ).      |
| 7. Truth ...             | Satya-loka ...  | Satyam ...         | Back of the hand ( <i>karapriṣṭa</i> ). | Back ( <i>pīṭh</i> ).        |

The *kara-nyāsa* is first performed and is made by holding the nose by the right hand and placing the first finger of the left hand inside and against the middle joint of the thumb and drawing it gently to the top of the thumb whilst repeating mentally the *mantra* :—*Oṃ bhūḥ anguṣṭhābhyaṃ namaḥ*. •The second motion is made by drawing the thumb from the first joint of the forefinger to the top whilst repeating mentally the *mantra* :—*Bhuvah tarjanībhyāṃ namaḥ*. The remaining motions are similar and for the second finger the *mantra* :—*Svaḥ madhyamābhyaṃ namaḥ* is repeated ; for the third :—*Tat savitur vareṇyam anāmikābhyaṃ namaḥ*, and for the fourth :—*Bharḡo devasya dhīmahi kanishṭhikābhyaṃ namaḥ*. Then the palms and backs of the hands are touched whilst the *mantra* :—*Dhiyo yo nah prachodayāt karatala-karapriṣṭhābhyaṃ namaḥ* is repeated.

*Anga-nyāsa*.—The *anga-nyāsa* or mental assignment of the members of the body to the protection of the great mantras is as follows :—*Oṃ bhūḥ*, glory to the heart ; *bhuvah*, glory to the head ; *svāhā* (hail) ; *svaḥ*, to the top knot, *vashaḥ* (here meaning hail) ; *tat savitur vareṇyam*, to the navel or the armour of the mantras, *hūṃ* ; *bharḡo devasya dhīmahi*, to the

\* *Bhūr*, *bhuvah*, *svaḥ*, are the three mystical words known as the *Vyāhṛiti mantra* and are untranslatable. The mantras here given simply mean ' *Oṃ*, glory to the thumb' : to the first finger and to the second finger, &c. The *gāyatrī* verse is then brought in and divided into three portions as a preface to the salutation to the remaining parts of the hand. In full it is ' *Tat savitur vareṇyam bharḡo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo nah prachodayāt* and occurs in *Rig-Veda*, III., 62, 10. From being addressed to the sun it is called *Sāvitrī* and is personified as a goddess. Hereafter we shall see that other verses also are called *gāyatrī*. In some cases both hands are used and the nose is not held by the right hand.

eyes, *vaushat*; *dhiyo yo nah prachodayát*, to the weapon of the mantras, *phat, phat, phat* accompanied by clapping the hands. Other gesticulations are bringing the right hand around the head and clapping the hands three times which is supposed to purify all beings; also snapping the thumb against the two fore-fingers thrice with appropriate mantras which bring the deity into one's self.

The earth, air and sky are represented by the mystic syllables *bhúr*, *bhuvah*, *svah*, whilst these again are held by some to represent the old trinity Agni, Indra and Súra, who even amongst the non-Bráhmanical tribes attained to considerable popularity. Again in the mystic word 'Om' we have according to some A. U. M., representing the initial letters of the names of Agni, Varuna (a form of Indra) and Mitra (one with the sun): others refer these letters to Brahmá, Vishnu and Siva, who comprise the *Tri-múrti* of advanced Bráhmanism. A triad is also worshipped at the temple of Jagannátha in Orissa, the actual forms of which represent the double cursive form of 'Om' as ordinarily written in manuscript, and that this is the true meaning of the form which those unnecessarily hideous blocks assume I have little doubt. In a note to his translation of the *Málati* and *Mádhava* of *Bhavabhúti*, Professor Wilson\* explains 'Nyása' as "a form of gesticulation made with a short and mystic prayer to the heart, the head, the crown of the head and the eye, as *Om sirase namaḥ*, 'Om! salutation to the head'; with the addition of the *kavacha*, the armour or syllable *phat*, and the *astra*, the weapon or syllable *hum*. The entire *mantra*, the prayer or incantation, is then '*Om sirase namaḥ, hum, phat*.'" These formulæ were specially used by the sect of Yogis or Pásupatas, "the oldest sect probably now existing amongst the Hindus and with whose tenets and practices *Bhavabhúti* appears to have been thoroughly acquainted." Again Cunningham† in his *Ladák* gives the *mantra* addressed to the Bodhisattvas by the Buddhists of Tibet, taken from an actual Tibetan stereotype block, which ends with the line:—

'*Om Vajra-krodha, háyagríva, hulu, hulu, hum, phat*.'

This important portion of the daily prayer is therefore clearly derivable from the non-Bráhmanical worship of deities which we shall show hereafter were probably of montane origin and common alike to the Sáiva and Bauddha systems.

*Dhyána*.—In the daily worship the *anga-nyása* is usually followed by the *dhyána* or *aghamarshana* or meditation in which with clasped hands and closed eyes the celebrant mentally recites and considers the verses commencing:—*Om řitam cha satyaṃ chábhidhát* &c. In Kumaon, the *práráyána* is occasionally further prefaced by a short address (*chhandah*)

\* Works XII: 5, 11, 53.

† p. 386.

in the form of a *mantra* to the personified 'Om,' the Brahmashis, Vaidik metres and the Supreme Being :—Water is taken from the receptacle in the hand whilst the address is mentally recited, after which the water is thrown away. The first motion of the *prágyáma* is made by placing the fore-finger of the right-hand on the right nostril and exhaling with the other nostril whilst a mystical *mantra*\* is mentally repeated. This occurs three times whilst exhaling and three times whilst inhaling.

*Abhisheka*.—A second *abhisheka* or purificatory aspersion of the body generally takes place next with the *mantra* :—*Om ápo hishtá mayo bhuvah svána úrjye, &c.* Then water is taken in the hand and applied to the nose with the *mantra* :—*Drupadád íva munuchána sannasnáto malád íva hu pútam pavitreya váhyam ápah súdhantu me nasañ.*

*Anjali*.—Next the *anjali* is performed in which water is taken in the hollow of both hands and whilst the *gáyatrí*-*mantra* is slowly recited the water is poured through the fingers on the ground. The celebrant should stand with his face towards the east whilst the verse is chaunted and should repeat it three times.

*Upasthána*.—This is followed by the *upasthána* or approaching the deity in worship in which the celebrant draws the fore-arms parallel to the body with the palms, of the hands open and the thumbs on a level with the ears whilst the *mantra* is repeated :—*Om udvayantamasas, &c.*

Next the head, navel, heart, top-knot and forehead are touched with appropriate mantras.† The sacrificial thread is then wound around the right-hand three times whilst the *gáyatrí* is repeated either 8 or 10 or 28 or 108 or 1,000 times according to the inclination of the worshiper. Water is again taken in the hand and if the *gáyatrí* has been repeated a fixed number of times, the morning's devotion ends with the formula :—*Brahmá svarúpine bhagavin prito'stu*; if at mid-day, with *Vishnu, &c.*, and if at evening with *Rudra, &c.*, whatever the number may be. Where no account of the number of times is kept the conclusion‡ is :—“O Lord, the treasure of mercy, through whose compassionate goodness whatever is worthy in my devotions is accounted for righteousness, may the four objects of existence (religious merit, wealth, pleasure and final emancipation) be attained by me this day.” Whilst these prayers are being repeated the water is allowed to trickle slowly on to the ground. The

\* *Om bhúh, om bhuvah, om svah, om mahah, om janah, om tapah, om satyam, tat savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhímahi dhíyo yo nah prachodayát apo jyoti raso 'mritam brahma bhír bhuvah svaram.* A mixture of the *vyáhrítí* and *gáyatrí* mantras with some additions.

† *Agnir mukhe, brahmá hridaye, vishnuh kíbháyám, rudro taláte.*

‡ *He íscara dayánidhe bhavatkripayánena japopásanádi-karmaná dharmárthakámamokshánám sádhyaśidhír bhaven nah.*

*sandhyá* closes with the *dayāvat* or salutation\* and the *áhamana* or rinsing of the mouth as in the beginning.

*Seasti-váhana*.—The *Seasti-váhana* is seldom read by any class in Kumaon. It opens with the direction that the celebrant should at an auspicious moment bathe, put on clean clothes, affix the frontal mark and seated with his face towards the east in a properly prepared place, recite the invocation of blessings.† The *Gaṇeśa-pújá* follows and is universally observed on all occasions as the *pradhána-anga* or leading section of every rite. The rubric directs that the celebrant should rise early on the morning of the ceremony and having bathed and put on clean clothes should, after performing the *nitya-karma*‡, light a lamp and commence the worship of *Gaṇeśa*, which should precede every other rite.

*Gaṇeśa-pújá*.—First adore Vishṇu with the following verse:—  
“Thou who art clothed in white, moon-coloured, four armed, of pleasing face, the remover of obstructions, the bestower of good fortune and victory, what can oppose thee Janárdana, of the colour of the lotus, who dwellest in the hearts of thy votaries.” Next follows the adoration of *Gaṇeśa* with the verse:—“*O Vakratuṇḍa*, great-bodied, bright like a crop of suns, protect me from harm, O God, always in every work.”

*Argha-sthápana*.—Then the ceremony known as *argha-sthápana* or consecrating the *argha*§ takes place. Take some powdered sandal-wood and draw on the ground the figure of a triangle and around it a square and again a circle, then place on them sandal, rice and flowers. Next place the *argha* filled with water in the middle and say:—“In this water may the waters of the *Gangá*, *Jamuná*, *Godávarí*, *Sárasvatí*, *Narmadá*, *Sindhu* and *Káverí* be present.” Next put sandal, rice and flowers in the water of the *argha*. Then set up a brazen vessel on which the image of the sun has been drawn (with sandal or red sandars) in the form of interlaced triangles, the apices of which will represent his rays and a circle around them his form, and before presenting to it the water of the *argha* with flowers recite mentally the *dhyána-mantra*|| and in

\* The hands are clasped in front of the breast whilst this mantra is repeated :  
*Om namah sambhaváya cha mayodbhaváya cha namah sankaráya cha namah śiváya cha śivataráya cha etc.*

† The *váhana* consists of numerous verses in praise of the gods.

‡ The *sandhyá*, already noticed.

§ A small cup usually made of brass.

|| *Arṇvo'cuṇapankaje nishaynah kamale, bhítivarau karair dadhánah svaruchdhita-  
maṇḍalas trinetra racir ákalpaśatákulo vatánah.*

offering the water of the *argha*, the mantra\* in which the sun is invoked as the thousand-rayed, full of brightness, lord of the world, &c., and is asked to accept the domestic *argha* of his worshipper. Next sprinkle mustard-seed, sesamum and rice in order that no evil spirit may approach and interrupt the ceremony and use the *mantra*† for keeping off demons goblins. Then crack the thumb and second finger together three times and behind the back in order that the goblins behind may be driven away. The earth should next be saluted and afterwards Vishnu with the verse :—‘ O thou whose throne is the lotus, &c.’ Fill the *argha* once more and sprinkle all the materials for worship and go through the *pránáyána*. Next take sesamum, *kuśa*-grass, barley and water, and make the great dedication‡ with the mantra :—‘ Om Vishnu, Vishnu, Vishnu, adoration to the supreme, the first eternal male,’ &c., with the usual definition of place, time and person, *viz.*, in the island Jambu, the division Bharata, the country of the Aryas, in this holy place, the Himavat and hills, in the latter half of the life of Brahmá, in the holy *Váráha-kalpa*, at the end of the *Krita*, *Tretá* and *Dwápara Yugas*, &c., giving the year, season, month, fortnight, day and hour of the ceremony, with the name of the person in whose behalf the ceremony is performed, his father and grandfather’s name, caste and family, and the ceremony itself, with the prayer that the benefits to be derived from its performance may be bestowed on him.

*Name of Gaṇeśa*.—The worship of Gaṇeśa now proceeds, each step in the ceremony being accompanied by an appropriate mantra. First the *píttha* or triangle is addressed with the mantra containing the names of

\* *Ehi sūryya sahasráṅśo tejorāśe jagatpate anukampaya mām bhaktiyá grihāyárg-gham díśákara.*

† *Apakrámantu bhútáni píśácháśsarvato díśám sarveshám avirodhena brahmakarma-saṁdrabhet píśchāṅkáśríṅśo bhúta bhūman ye śhántaríkshayáś díśiloke sthítá ye cha to naśyantu śivájyāyá nirgachchhatáy cha bhútaánám cactma dadyát swavámataś.* The following is used in Bengal (Prof. Williams) for the same purpose :—“ Help me, goddess of speech’ : *Am* to the forehead, *Am* to the mouth, *Im* to the right eye, *Im* to the left eye, *Um* to the right ear, *Um* to the left ear, *Im* to the right cheek, *Im* to the left cheek, *Em* to the upper lip, *Am* to the lower lip, *Om* to the upper teeth, *Aom* to the lower teeth, *Tom*, *Thom*, *Dom*, *Dhom*, and *Nom* to the several parts of the left leg, *Pom* to the right side, *Phom* to the left side, *Bom* to the back, *Mom* to the stomach, *Yom* to the heart, *Rom* to the right shoulders, *Lom* to the neck bone, *Fom* to the left shoulders, *Lom* from the heart to the right leg, *Hom* from the heart to the left leg *Kshom* from the heart to the mouth.”

‡ *Om vishnuś vishnuś vishnuś namoś paramátmāne śrípuráṅgapurushottamáya Om tatsadatraprithivyám jambúdvípe bháratakhāṅḍe áryyávarṭte puriyakshetre hima-vatparvatáibádese brahmanúdvítíyapurárdhe śríśvetavárahakalpe kṛítatretádicápa-ránte saptame caiváśeatanámvantare aśhṭávimśatítame kaliyugasya prathamacharaṇe śhashṭyacodánamadye, &c.*

Gaṇeśa and of his mother:—*Oṃ* thou who art fierce (*tīvrá*), blazing (*jedliní*), Nandiní, the giver of pleasure (*bhogadá*), Kámarúpá, Satyá, the terrible (*ugrá*), the bright (*tejocatí*), thou who removest all obstacles (*vighnanáśiní*). *Oṃ* thou who sittest on the lotus, I meditate on thee, the one-toothed, elephant-headed, large-eared, four-armed, holder of the noose and goad, perfect Vináyaka."

*Áváhana*.—This is followed by the invitation (*áváhana*) to Gaṇeśa to be present and take the place prepared for him with the mantra:—*Vináyaka namas te'stu umámalasamulbhava imám mayá kṛitám pújám gṛiháṇa sura-sattama*.—'Glory to thee Vináyaka, born of Umá, accept my worship, best of gods.'

*Ásana*.—Next comes the *ásana* or throne to which the deity is invited with the mantra:—*Nánáratna-samáyuktam muktáhára-vibhúshitam svarnasimhásanam cháru práyartham pratigríhyatám*. 'Accept this golden throne, set with various gems and adorned with strings of pearls all for love of thee.'

*Pálya*.—Next water for washing the feet (*pálya*) is offered with the mantra:—*Gaurípriya namas te'stu śankarapriya sarvadá bhaktyá pályam mayá dattam gṛiháṇa praṇatapriya*.—'Glory to thee beloved of Gaurí, ever beloved of Sankara, accept the water devoutly presented by me.'

*Argha*.—Next the *argha* with the mantra:—*Vratam uddiśya deveśa gandhapushpákshatair yutam gṛiháṇárgham mayá dattam sarvasiddhipradodbhava*.—'O lord of gods, who art the bestower of all blessings, accept this *argha* furnished with sandal, flowers and rice, and given by me.'

*Snána*.—Then the ablution (*snána*) with the mantra:—*Snánam pañchámṛitair deva gṛiháṇa gaṇanáyaka anáthanátha sarvrajña gireśa paripújita, oṃ gaṇánám tvá gaṇapati gvaṃ havámake priyáṇám tvá priyapati gvaṃ havámake nidhínám tvá nidhipati gvaṃ havámake vaso mama áham ajáni garbbhadham á tvam ajáni garbbhadham*.—'O god, leader of the heavenly troops, protector of the defenceless, omniscient, thou that delightest in invocations, accept this ablution made with the five kinds of ambrosia.\* *Oṃ* thou who art leader of the attendants of S'iva, thou who art lord of the beloved, lord of the treasures (of Kuvera), thou who art my treasure, I who am without wife and relations invoke thee the procreator.'

*Vastra*.—Next sprinkle a little water with a spoon (*úchamani*) on the image of Gaṇeśa and proceed to clothe it (*vastra*) with the mantra:—*Raktavastra-yugam deva devángasadríśaprabham, bhaktyá dattam gṛiháṇedaṃ lambodara harapriya*:—'O God Lambodar, beloved of S'iva, accept this pair of scarlet garments, devoutly given.'

*Janeo*.—Then the *janeo* (*yajñōpacítá*) or sacrificial thread is placed on the image with the mantra—*Rájatam brahmasútram cha kánchanasyotta-*

\* Milk, curds, butter, honey and sugar.

*riyakam, grihána cháru sarvajña bhaktánám siddhítáyaka.*—'O giver of happiness to thy worshippers, do thou who art omniscient, accept this pleasing sacrificial thread woven with gold and silver.

*Gandha.*—Next sandal (*gandha*) with the mantra:—*Gandham karpúrasamyuktam divyam chandanam uttamam, vilepanam suraśreshtha prítartham pratigrihyatám.*—'O best of gods, let this agreeable sandal mixed with camphor be accepted as an unguent for thy person, for the love I bear thee.'

*Akshata.*—Next rice (*akshatáh*) with the mantra:—*Akshatán dhavalán devasuragandharecapújita sarvadevanamaskáryya grihána mad-anugrahát.*—'Thou who art worshipped by the gods, Gandharvas and all the deities, accept my offering of white rice.'

*Pushpa.*—Next flowers (*pushpáni*) with the mantra:—*Sugandhíni supushpáni nálatyádíni vai prabho mayánítáni pújártham pushpáni pratigrihyatám.*—'O Lord, accept the sweet-smelling garlands and flowers brought by me for thy worship.'

*Dhúpa.*—Then incense (*dhúpa*) with the mantra:—*Dasángaṃ guggulam dhúpaṃ sugandhiṃ sumanoharam, Umásuta namas tubhyaṃ dhúpaṃ me pratigrihyatám.*—'Hail to thee, O son of Umá, accept from me this incense consisting of bellium and ten (other) ingredients, fragrant and very pleasing.'

*Dípa.*—Then a lamp (*dípa*) with the mantra:—*Grihána mangalam dípaṃ ghritavarttisamanvitam, dípaṃ jñánapradam devarudrapriya namo'stu te.*—'Accept this lamp, supplied with clarified butter, the bestower of knowledge, established in thy honour, O beloved of the gods.'

*Naivedya.*—Then sweetmeats (*naivedya*) with the mantra:—*Sagudán saghrítám-kchaiva modakán ghritapáchítán naivedyam saphalam dattam grihyatám vighnanásana.*—'O thou who removest difficulties accept these sweetmeats cooked in clarified butter.' One of the sweetmeats should then be taken up and placed before the image of Gaṇeśa, who should also receive some article of value. Then repeat the *múla*-mantra, which consists of a mental recitation (*japa*) of the formula *Om Gaṇeśáya namaḥ*—'Om, glory to Gaṇeśa.'

*Pán.*—Next *pán* (*támbúla*) is presented with the mantra:—*Púgíphalasanáyuktam nágvallílaláncítam, karpúrádisamayuktam támbúlam pratigrihyatám.*—'May this *pán* with betel and the leaves of the betel and spices be accepted.' When presenting the sweetmeats which are usually ten in number (hence the name *dasamodaka*) the following formula is used:—'I (so and so) for this (so and so) purpose bestow on this Bráhman for the sake of Gaṇeśa these sweetmeats, rice, flowers and goods with this mantra:—*Vighneśa viprarúpeṇa grihána dasamodakán dakshinághrítátámbúlagudayuktán manesháda.*—'O Vighneśa (obstacle-lord), in Bráhman form, accept these ten sweetmeats with the gifts,

clarified butter and *páu*, and grant my desire.' In reply the celebrant accepts the gift on the part of Gaṇeśa and says:—*Dātá vighneśvaro devo grihīta sarvavighnarātāsmāt idaṃ mayá dattam paripúrṇam tad astu me.*

*Prárhana*.—Next follows the prayer (*prárhana*):—*Vináyaka namas tubhyaṃ satatam modakapriya avighnaṃ kuru me deva sarvakáryyeshu sarvadá*.—'Glory to thee Vináyaka, fond of sweetmeats, always protect me from difficulties everywhere.'

*Dúrva*.—This is followed by an offering of a stalk of *dúb* grass with the mantra:—*Om gaṇádhipa namas te'stu om umáputra namas te'stu om aghanúšana namas te'stu om vináyaka namas te'stu om íśaputra namas te'stu om sarvasiddhipradáyaka namas te'stu om ekadanta namas te'stu om íbhaktra namas te'stu om múshakaváhana namas te'stu om kumáraguro tubhyaṃ namo'stu om chaturthíśa namo'stu te om káṇḍát káṇḍát prarohanti paruśaḥ paruśas pari evá no dúrve pratana sahasreṇa śatena cha.* 'Om, glory to the lord of the heavenly hosts, the son of Uma, the remover of obstacles, Vináyaka, the son of Íśa, the bestower of happiness, the one-toothed, with an elephant's head, having a rat as his vehicle, the preceptor of Skanda, the lord of the fourth day, to thee rise our hymns from these stalks of *dúb* budding at every knot with hundreds and thousands of shoots.'

*Nírájana*.—Next follows the *nírájana* or waving of a lamp before the image, which is accompanied by the following mantra:—*Antastejo bahistejo ekíkṛityámitaprabham árátrikam idaṃ deva grihāna mad-anugrahát, Om agnir jyotirjyotir agniḥ sváhá súryyo jyotir jyotiḥ súryyaḥ sváhá agnir varechho jyotir varechhaḥ sváhá súryyo varechho jyotir varechhaḥ sváhá súryyo jyotir jyotiḥ sváhá*.—'O god accept from favour to me this ceremony of waving the light (*árátrika*) before thee who art light, hail to Agni who is light, to the Sun who is light.'

*Pushpánjali*.—Then follows the offering of flowers in the hollow of both hands (*pushpánjali*) with the mantra:—*Sumukhaś chaikadantaś cha kapilo gajakarṇakaḥ lambodaraś cha vikaṭo vighnanáśo vináyakaḥ dhúmra-keṭur gaṇádhyakśho bhálachandro gajánanaḥ*. This verse gives twelve names\* of Gaṇeśa, and it is promised that whoever reads them or even hears them read when commencing to study or in making the preparations for a wedding, in coming in or going out, in war or in trouble will never meet with any obstacle that he cannot overcome. As the axe is to the jungle-creeper so this verse containing the names of Gaṇeśa is to all obstacles and difficulties.

\* The usual names are Sumukha (beautiful-faced), Ekadanta (one-toothed), Kapila (red and yellow complexion), Gajakarṇaka (elephant-eared) Lambodara (corpulent), Vaikṛita (misshapen), Vighnanáśa (deliverer from difficulties), Vináyaka (leader), Dhúma-keṭu (smoke-bannered), Bhálachandra (better moon), Gajánana (elephant-visaged),

*Dakṣiṇá-sankalpa*.—Next comes the gift of money as an honorarium to the celebrant with the formula as in the first *sankalpa* and the usual definition of place, time, name, caste, &c., of the person who causes the ceremony to be performed and that it is for the sake of Gaṇeśa. The celebrant in return on the part of Gaṇeśa, asperses his client and places flowers, rice, &c., on his head, concluding with the mantra :—*Oṃ gaṇánuṃ teá gaṇapati gaṇ havámahe priyánuṃ teá priyapati gaṇ havámahe*, &c., as before. The Kṣátriya very considerably abridges these observances but he knows Gaṇeśa (the Gaṇapati of the Dakṣin) and reverences him and Gaṇeśa is clearly a non-Bráhmanical deity and is honoured as a follower of Ś'iva by the Pásupatas from a very early period.

*Mátri-pújá*.—The ritual for the *Mátri-pújá* comes into use after the service for Gaṇeśa and usually forms a part of the preface to any other ceremony. The celebrant takes a plank and cleans it with rice-flour and then draws sixteen figures representing the *Mátris* and to the right of them a figure of Gaṇeśa. Then in the upper right-hand corner the sun is represented as in the *Gaṇeśa-pújá* and in the upper left-hand corner the moon by a number of lines intersecting a central point and having their extremities connected by a series of semi-circles. The celebrant then makes a brush from five or six stalks of *dúb*-grass and

Gaṇádeva (lord of the celestial hosts). The following is a rough translation of the address :—

1. Whosoever shall worship thee under these twelve names and even whosoever shall attend and hear them read shall certainly prosper in this world.
2. Whosoever shall repeat these twelve names on the day of marriage or on the birth of a child, or on proceeding on a journey or on going to battle or in sickness or on entering a new house or business shall be freed from the effects of evil.
3. O Vakratuṅḍa, O Mahákáya, resplendent like a thousand suns, prosper my work always, everywhere.
4. O thou of the great body and short in stature, whose head is like that of an elephant. Thy breath like nectar attracts the insects hovering in the ether to thy lips. Thou art able with one blow of thy tusk to destroy the enemies of thy suppliants. Thou that art the adopted son of Devi hast vermilion on thy brow and art ever liberal. Thou art such, O Gaṇeśa, that I bow to thee, the beautiful one of a yellow complexion and three-eyed.
5. Presenting this lamp I wave it before thee. Thou, O Lambodara, who art the ruler of the universe, the adopted son of Párvatí, aid me.
6. All men worship thee and adore thy feet; thou that livest on sweets, and art borne on a rat and whose abode is magnificent, aid me.
7. Thou that bestoweth wealth and accomplisheth the desires of thy worshippers, aid me.
8. Thou wieldest the trident and hast ever been merciful to me. Most assuredly all who worship thee shall obtain every happiness.

dipping it in cow-dung touches each of the figures which represent the *Mātris*. Then the *argha-sthāpana*, *prāṇāyāna* and *sankalpa* as in the preceding ceremony are gone through with the formula as to place, time, caste of celebrant and object, &c., of the ceremony which is addressed to Gaṇeśha and Gaurī and the other *Mātris*.

*Pratishthā*.—Then the *Mātris* are praised in certain verses\* known as the *pratishthā*, then again in the *dhyāna* or meditation, and again by name whilst presenting a flower to each:—“*Oṃ gaṇapataye namaḥ*,” followed by Gaurī, Padmā, Sachi, Medhā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svāhā, Mātri, Lokmātri, Dhṛiti, Pushti, Tushti, and the household female deities. The formulæ connected with the invitation, &c., in the preceding ceremony are then gone through, viz.:—*arāhana*, *āsana*, *pādya*, *argha*, *snāna*, *āchamana*, *vastra*, *gandha*, *akshata*, *pushpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *naivedya* and gifts.

*Vasordhārā*.—Next comes the *vasordhārā*, which is performed by taking a mixture of clarified butter and a little sugar and having warmed it in the *argha*, letting it stream down the board some three, five or seven times whilst repeating a mantra. The celebrant then receives a piece of money from the person for whose benefit the ceremony is performed, and dipping it in the clarified butter (*ghṛ*) impresses a mark on the forehead and throat of the person from whom he receives it and keeps the coin. Then comes the *nīrājana* or waving of a lamp before the figures as in the preceding ceremony. Next follows the offering of flowers in the upturned palms of the hands (*pushpājali*), winding up with a hymn in honour of the sixteen *Mātris* and gifts to the celebrant, who in return places flowers from the offerings on the head of the giver. The worship of the *Mātris* or divine mothers is another very interesting observance of other than Brāhmanical origin. They are revered as separate entities in the *Mātri-pūjā*, *Dvāra-mātri-pūjā* and *Jīva-mātri-pūjā* and here have no apparent connection with the worship of the female energy or consort of the great divinities. They are found under various names amongst the beings worshipped by the aboriginal and non-Aryan tribes throughout the whole of India and in the Bauddha system of Nepāl and Tibet, and have come from that dæmonism which has had such influence on both Buddhism and S'aivism and which found its development in the Tantras of both sects. Enough has not yet been recorded to satisfactorily assign to them their exact place in the cycle of evolution, but there is no doubt that the conceptions known as divine mothers have held a high position and an important influence on the

\* Rice is here taken and sprinkled over each figure whilst the *pratishthā* is spoken and during the *dhyāna* the hands are clasped reverently in front of the breast and the head lowered and eyes closed.

changes in religion which occurred between the eighth and twelfth centuries of our era.

*Nāndī-śrāddha*.—The *Nāndī* or *Nāndī-śrāddha* is also called the *Abhyudika-śrāddha*, and though not universally observed here is sometimes introduced into the preparatory ceremonies. It opens with an invocation of Gaṇeśa. The celebrant then draws a figure of a conch and discus on the ground and makes an *āsana* or throne of three stalks of *dāb*-grass, on which he places a *pātra* or small brass-vessel like a *lota* and on it the *pavitra*.\* Water, barley and sesamum are then applied, with appropriate mantras, and in silence, sandal, rice and flowers. The materials for the ceremony are then sprinkled with holy water whilst repeating a prayer. Next comes the *prōṇāyāma*, a prayer for the presence of the deities in the house, a story of the adventures of seven hunters on the Kālanjar hill and the *sankalpa* or dedication. Then the enumeration of the ancestors for three generations on both the paternal and maternal side† and their adoration. This is accompanied by the invitation, &c., as in the preceding ceremonies for each of the twelve ancestors named and by special mantras which are too tedious for enumeration here.

*Kalaśa-sthāpana*.—The *kalaśa-sthāpana* or consecration of the water-pot is usually observed, and commences with the washing of the *kalaśa* or vessel with sandal, curds and rice and covering it with a cloth. Beneath it is placed a mixture of seven sorts of grain, and then the person who causes the ceremony to be undertaken places his right hand on the ground whilst the celebrant repeats the mantra:—‘*Oṃ mahī dyauḥ pṛithivī cha na imāṃ yajñāṃ mimikshatām pipritān no bhārimabhīḥ*.’ Then barley is thrown into the vessel and a hymn is chanted whilst water is poured over the vessel. Then the *kuśa-brahma*‡ is placed on it and sandal,

\* The *pavitra* is made from a single stalk of *kuśa* grass tied in a knot of the form of a figure of eight. Each stalk has three leaves which some suppose are emblematic of the deity.

† In the male line an addition is made to the name to show the degree: thus the father has the addition *vasu svarūpa*, the grandfather that of *rudra svarūpa*, and the great-grandfather that of *āditya svarūpa*. Another addition is made to show the caste: thus a Brāhman is called *śarmana*, a Kshatriya is called *varmana*, and a Vaiśya or Sudra is called *gupta*. Amongst Brāhmins the real names of females are not given: the first wife of a Brāhman is called *sundarī* and the second and others *mundarī*. In other castes the real names are given as in the case of males. Thus Rāmapati Brāhman's father, known in life as *Kṛishṇadatta*, would, at a ceremony undertaken by Rāmapati, be called *Kṛishṇadatta śarmana vasu svarūpa*, and Rāmapati's mother, if the first wife of his father, would be called *Kṛishṇadatta sundarī vasu svarūpa*.

‡ This consists of fifty stalks of the grass tied together and separated at one end into four parts by pieces of the grass placed at right angles to each other and to the bundle itself. The projecting edges of these pieces prevent the bundle falling completely into the pot or vessel.

*dúrca*, turmeric, milk, curds, clarified butter, the five leaves (*pippala*, *khadira*, *apámár̥ga*, *ulumbara* and *palása*), the earth from seven places (where cows, elephants, white-ants live), the five gems,\* coins and articles of dress with appropriate mantras. Then Varuṇa is invoked and the water, &c., in the *kalāṣa* is stirred whilst these verses are recited in honour of the vessel:—‘Vishṇu dwells in thy mouth, Rudra in thy neck and in thy bottom Brahma: in thy midst dwell the company of the Mātṛis: within thee are the seven oceans, seven islands, the four Vedas and the Vedāngas. Thou wert produced at the churning of the ocean and received by Vishṇu, thy waters contain all places of pilgrimage, all the gods dwell in thee, all created things stand through thee and come to thee. Thou art S’iva, Vishṇu and Prajāpati, the sun, Vasu, Rudra; all the deities and all the Maruts exist through thee. Thou makest works fructuous and through thy favour I perform this ceremony. Accept my oblations, be favourable to my undertaking and remain now and ever with me.’ Then the vessel is worshipped with praise and prayer to the same intent. Next the *ar̥gha-sthāpana*, *prāṇāyāma* and dedication as in the previous ceremonies take place, and again the *kalāṣa* is declared to be the abode of all the gods to whom the invitation, &c., as in the previous ceremony are given, viz.:—to Brahma, Varuṇa, Aditya, Soma, Bhauma, Buddha, Vṛihaspati, S’ukra, S’anaiśchara, Rāhu, Ketu, Adhidevatás, Pratyadhidevatás, Indra, the ten Dikpálas and the five Lokapálas. Then follows the waving of a lamp, offering of flowers and gifts with a dedication as before.

*Rakshávidhāna*.—The ceremony of *rakshávidhāna*, commonly known as *rakshábandí*, is seldom carried out in its entirety except by the wealthy. It consists in binding as an amulet a bracelet of thread on the right wrist, and the rite commences with making a mixture of barley, *kuśa*-grass, *dúb*-grass, mustard, sandal or red sandars, rice, cow-dung and curds, which is offered on a brazen platter to the bracelet forming its *pratishthá*. Then the person about to put on the bracelet invokes the presence of various deities to protect him from evil and says:—“To the east let Govinda protect me; to the south-east, Garuḍadhvaj; to the south, Várāha; to the south-west Nára Siṃha; to the west Keśava; to the north-west Madhusúdana; to the north S’ridhara, and to the north-east Gadádhara, above let Govardhana protect me; below, Dharanidhara and in the ten quarters of the world Vasudeva who is known as Janárdana. Let the conch protect me in front and the lotus behind; on the left, the club and on the right, the discus. Let Upendra protect my Bráhmaṇ and Vishṇu in his dwarf incarnation protect my Āchárya; let Achyúta protect the

\* Gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby and pearl; but it may easily be supposed that these are seldom given.

Rigveda; Adhokshaja, the Yajurveda; Kṛishṇa, the Sámaveda; Mádhava, the Atharvaveda and Aniruddha the other Bráhmans. May Puṇḍarika protect the performer of the sacrifice and his wife and let Hari protect all defenceless places." The rubric goes on to say that the defence of the unprotected can always be effected by using *mantras* from the Vedas and the seeds of white mustard. In Kumaon a few coins are with turmeric, betel and white mustard seed tied up in a small bag (*poṭalí*) of white cloth and attached to the *rakshá* or bracelet until the work in hand, whether marriage or other ceremony, be accomplished. When this takes place the bag is opened and the contents are given to the officiating priest. The mantra commonly used in tying on the *rakshá* is as follows:—" *Yena baddho balirájá dánavendro mahábalah, tena twám abhibadhnámi rakshemá chalamáchala,*" &c.

*Játakarma*.—The ceremony known as *játakarma* takes place on the birth of a son and is the next more important of those observed in Kumaon. It is divided into several sections which are considerably abbreviated in practice. The rite should be performed either on the day of the boy's birth or on the sixth day afterwards. If the father be at home, he should rise early and bathe and make the dedication as already described for the boy's long life, health and wisdom. He should then worship Gaṇeśa and make this his object that the boy should always be good, strong and wise, and that if the mother has become impure by violating any of the laws as to conduct or what should not be eaten, that her sin should be forgiven her and its consequences should not be visited on her boy. With the same object he performs the *Málṅgí-pújá* and the *Nándí-sráddha* already described. Sometimes the *punyáha-váchana* follows, which is merely the citation, feeding and rewarding some Bráhmans to be witnesses that the rite has been actually performed. The *kalaśa-sthápana*, already described, follows and after it the *navagraha* or nine planets are invoked to be present and assist. A vessel of some bright material is brought, and in it is placed a mixture of clarified butter and honey, with which the tongue of the child is anointed either with a golden skewer or the third finger of the right hand, whilst a prayer is read asking for all material blessings for the boy. The father then presents a coin to the celebrant, who dips it in a mixture of clarified butter and charcoal and applies it to the forehead and throat of both father and son and then with a prayer places flowers on their heads. The father then takes the boy in his lap and touches his breast, head, shoulders and back, whilst appropriate mantras praying for strength for those parts of the body are read by the celebrant. A present is again given to the celebrant and after it the umbilical cord is cut, leaving four finger-breadths untouched. The *abhisheka* or purification is then performed by

aspersing the assemblage with a brush formed from *dáb*-grass and dipped in the water of the *argha*. The frontal mark is then given with red sandars and a flower is presented with a verse committing the donee to the protection of the great god.

*Shashthí-mahotsava*.—The *shashthí-mahotsava* or great rejoicing in honour of Shashthí is held on the sixth day after the child's birth. If the father cannot afford to engage the services of a priest he can perform the ceremony himself, but usually he sends for his *purohita* and commits its duties to him. The father rises early and bathes, performing the *nitya-karma* as usual. He fasts all day and towards evening makes a ball of clay and smears it with cow-dung. He then takes a plank of wood and having cleaned it with rice-flour draws on it images of Skanda, Pradyumna and Shashthí. He then surrounds each figure with a hedge of cow-dung about a finger-breadth high and sticks upright in this hedge grains of barley. The image of Shashthí is then smeared with cow-dung in which cowries or coins are placed, and next follows the *Dwára-mátri-pújá*. The father of the boy collects the materials for worship near the door of the house, and there drawing the figures of the mothers with rice, consecrates an *argha* and dedicates the rite to the day's ceremony. The goddesses are then installed:—‘*Om bhúr bhuvah svah Dwára-mátarah* be established here and grant our reasonable desires.’ Then a short meditation takes place, followed by an ‘*Om*, hail’ to Kumá, Dhanadá, Nandá, Vipulá, Mangalá, Achalá and Padmá, and the usual invitation, &c., as far as the dedication. Next comes the *Gaṇeśa-pújá* with rinsing of the mouth and a dedication, then the *Mátri-púja* with similar detail the *puṇyáha-váchana* and *kalasa-gthápana* with an invitation to the nine planets to be present. The worship of Skanda and Pradyumna then proceeds with the usual installation address (*pratishthá*), meditation, invitation, &c., and prayer (*prásthana*) during the offering of flowers. This is followed by the *Shaṅkrittiká-pújá* or worship of the six nymphs, the foster-mothers of Skanda when amongst the *Kṛittikás*, with an enumeration of his names and an invocation to S'ivá, Sambhúti, Sannati, Priti, Anusúyá and Kshamá. Next comes the worship of Shashthí with the usual consecration of the *argha*, *pránáyama*, dedication and installation.

The *pratishthá* in honour of Shashthí is as follows:—“*Om bhúr bhuvah svah (vyáhríti-mantra)*, O Shashthí-deví, come here to this magical place which is smeared with cow-dung, remain here, consent to be honoured here. Then follows the unintelligible mystical formula *ॐ श्रीं श्रीं क्रौं यं रं लं वं शं पं हं चं हंसः सोहं* followed by “May Shashthí-Deví in spirit and essence be here and may the regents of all the senses be present.” The mental assignment of the different parts of the body to its own peculiar tutelary deity (*nyása*) follows and should be made with the following for-

mula :—*Oṃ khá*, glory to the heart ; *Oṃ khí* to the head, *sváhá*, (here meaning ' Hail ' ) ; *Oṃ khá*, to the top-knot, *vashaṭ* (here meaning ' Hail ' ) ; *Oṃ khai*, to the mystical armour of the mantra, *hún* ; *Oṃ khaṇ*, to the eyes, *vaushaṭ* (like *vashaṭ*) ; *Oṃ khá*, to the mystical weapon of the mantra, *phat*. The *Shashṭhi-nyása* differs little from the *Anga-nyása* formula already described. Then follows the meditation on Shashṭhi as Mahá-deví, of the large breasts, four-armed, the consort of Śiva, swollen out like a peacock, clad in yellow clothes, beautiful, bearing a lance in her hand, Maheśvari, &c. After the worship of Shashṭhi has been finished a garland of sweetmeats is thrown around the neck of a male kid. The ears of the kid are pulled until it bleats loudly some five or six times in order to frighten and drive away the evil spirits who are supposed to seek to disturb the ceremony. Shashṭhi is again addressed to protect the boy from evils by flood or field, by hill or dale, from wild animals by night or day ; whilst the father takes the child in his lap and again touching the several parts of the body listens to the appropriate prayers for strength, wealth and long life. The ceremony ends with a story illustrating its origin. The above fairly represents the character of the mantras used in the ceremonies, and that these are of Tántrika origin and common alike to Buddhism and the Hinduism of the present day may be distinctly shown. Cunningham in his *Ladák* (p. 384) gives several mantras collected by him from Tibeto-Buddhist sources which in form and character are the same as those in use in the Kumaon Himálaya. Compare his mantra of Śakya Thubba (Buddha) :—*Namaḥ Sámanta buddhinám sarvaklesha níśuddhana sarva-dharma vahiprapta gagana sama sama sváhá*—' glory to the chief of Buddhas, reliever of all suffering, master of all virtue, equal, equal to the heavens, hail.' Again we have :—*Namaḥ sámanta vajránám chaṇḍa mahároshana hún*—' glory to the chief of Vajras, fierce and greatly hungry, hail ' ; and :—*Oṃ vajra—krodha, háyagriva hulu hulu hún phat*—*Oṃ* O wrathful Vajra, flame-necked, *hulu hulu hún phat*. This last ' is addressed to the supreme Buddha (Bhageśwara), to the celestial Bodhisattwas, Padmapáni and Vajrapáni (the lotus and sceptre-bearers) and to the Tántrika divinity Íswara.' The same ideas permeate the mystical formulae used by Musalmáns of the lower classes, descendants of Hindú converts, only the names of Jibráíl, Azráíl, &c., are generally used instead of the names of the Indian and Tibetan spell-compelling deities. In a curious figure given by Herklots we have names derived from all three systems and common to the Tantras of all. It represents the double Nága emblem of the male and female principle, and is used by exorcisers in avoiding the influence of evil spirits. It is shown in Plate I, fig. 2, as giving a fair example of a magic figure and showing how wide practices here referred to are.

Another is addressed to Hanumán, Narasiṅha, Baitála and Bhairava : another is adorned with the *triśúla*, the distinctive emblem of the montane S'aivas, and all are of the same character as the *yantras* used by Hindús.

*Namakaraṇa*.—The *namakaraṇa* or naming the child takes place on the tenth to the twelfth day after birth. In Kumaon, it is held almost universally on the eleventh day and the ritual opens with a series of somewhat abstruse general rules for selecting names. The Gaṇeśa-*pújá* is as usual first performed, stating the particular object for which it is undertaken. Then follows the *Nándi-śrāddha* and an oblation to the fire made with clarified butter. Then a mixture called the *pancha-gavya* is formed of the following ingredients :—the urine of a slate-coloured cow, the dung of a black cow, the milk of a copper-coloured cow, the curds of a white cow and the clarified butter of a pie-bald cow. This mixture is made up into small balls and a portion used as a burnt-offering (*homa*), and the remainder is strewn about the house and byres and also thrown on the mother of the boy to purify her. A *homa* is then made of coins which are thrown into the fire and afterwards become the property of the celebrant. The child's name is next settled and written on a small piece of clean cloth and also whispered in his ear :—“Thy name is so and so, may thou have long life, health and prosperity.” Gifts are then made to the celebrant and all retire to the courtyard, where a figure of the sun, such as already described, is drawn on the ground and revered with the usual ceremony. The boy is allowed to see the sun this day and is made to plant his foot on a piece of money placed on the ground (*bhūmī upareśana*) whilst calling on the names of the deities that hereafter he may be able to esteem money as the dirt under his feet. The party then return to the house, where the *Jīva-mātri-pújá* is performed. It consists in the rinsing of the mouth followed by the consecration of the *argha* and a dedication as in the *mātri-pújá*, but the figures are only seven in number and are drawn on the wall of the house, not on wood, and the deities honoured are Kalyáni, Mangalá, Bhadrá, Puṇyá, Puṇyamukhá, Jayá and Vijayá. These are worshipped with the usual ceremonies including the invitation, &c., and the *vasorihará* already described and then gifts are made to Bráhmans.

*Janmotsava*.—The *janmotsava* takes place on the anniversary of the birth of a male and the ceremony connected with it may be performed either by the person whose birth-day is celebrated or by the family *purohita* on his behalf. In either case the person for whose benefit the rite is performed must rise early in the morning and have his body anointed with a mixture of sesamum, black mustard and water and then bathe in warm water and put on clean clothes. When bathing, a prayer is read which brings in the place and date, his name, caste and race, and

asks for long life and prosperity, and to be truly effective this prayer should be said when the past year of the native's life merges into the coming year. Then the names of the principal deities are repeated in the form of a short litany, and their aid and assistance during the ensuing year are invoked. Should the anniversary fall on a Tuesday or Saturday which are regarded as unlucky days, the ceremony cannot take place, but in its stead, the person who desires to derive benefit from the rite should bestow gifts on Brāhmins and in charity, and in this way he shall obtain all the advantages which the performance of the complete ceremony is supposed to ensure. It is only in this abbreviated form, moreover, that the majority of Hindūs in Kumaon observe this rite.

*Karṇavedha.*—The *karṇavedha* or piercing the ear may, according to the family or tribal custom, take place at any time between the third and seventh year. The rite is said to have been established by Vyāsa, and the date for its performance is always fixed by the family astrologer. The father of the boy must rise early and perform the *Gaṇeśa-pūjā* and state precisely the object by giving place, time, name, &c., and declaring that it is for the increase in length of life, strength, wisdom and good fortune of his son, whose name is also given. He then goes through the *Mātṛi-pūjā*, *Nāndi-śrāddha*, &c., as in the preparatory ceremonies already described. The mother takes the child in her lap and gives him sweetmeats whilst the operation of piercing the ear is performed: first the right and then the left ear with appropriate mantras, winding up with the usual gifts to the astrologer and *purohita*. Then follows the *abhishēka* or aspersion and the presentation of flowers and the *mahānīrājana*, in which the family barber appears with a brazen tray bearing five lamps made of dough, four at the corners of a square and one in the centre in which the wick floats in molten clarified butter. These are waved in the manner of a censer in front of the assembly, who each make an offering to the barber according to his ability.\*

*Worship of the planets.*—The *Upanayana* or ceremony of putting on the *janca* or sacrificial thread is always preceded by the worship of the planetary bodies. For this purpose a *yajñasālā* or hall of sacrifice is prepared to the east or north of the house and purified with the *panchagavya*,† whilst prayers are read as each article of the mixture is used. As a rule, however, the ceremony is performed in the cow-shed, in the

\* I omit the ceremony styled *Aksharasikāra vidyārambha*, which takes place when a boy first goes to school, as I have never heard of its having been used. It consists principally of an enumeration of all the books, teachers and schools of philosophy known to the compiler with laudatory verses and prayers that they should be present and assist in the ceremony and in the youth's studies.

† Already described.

northern corner of which a very simple miniature altar of three steps\* known as the *grahavedī* is raised. On the top of the altar the figure of a lotus with eight petals is drawn and each petal is coloured to represent a planet, red for the sun; white for the moon; reddish-brown for Bhauma (Mars); whitish yellow for Būdhā (Mercury); yellow for Vṛihaspat or Guru (Jupiter); white for Ś'ukra (Venus); black for Śanīchāra (Saturn) and for Rāhu (an eclipse) and brown for Ketu (a comet). For the other deities the intervals between the petals are used. Offerings of rice and curds are then made to each and the usual invitation, &c., are made. On the morning of the day after these preparations have been completed, the usual preparatory ceremonies already described are gone through, including the *Nitya-karma*, *Gaṇeśa-pūjā*, *Mātri-pūjā*, *Nāndī-śrāddha* and *Puṇyā-ha-vāchana*. Then the person who causes the ceremony to be performed gives the *tilaka* or frontal-mark to the *purohita* also the *argha*, flowers, rice, sandal and presents of coin, ornaments and wearing apparel and requests him to preside at the ceremony.† The parents of the child with the celebrant and the assembled friends then march round the *yajña-śāla* to the sound of conches and other instruments and enter by the western door, when the ceremony of purifying the hall with the *pancha-gavya* is again performed. To the south-west of the *grahavedī* a small *homa-vedī* or altar for burnt sacrifice is built and a fire is lighted thereon.

*The worship.*—The celebrant then performs the *kalaśa-sthāpana* and appoints the *pradhāna-dīpa* or guardian of the lamp to stand in the east and prevent the lamps going out, lest the ceremony should be interrupted by sprites and goblins. The worship commences by the celebrant presenting to each leaf of the lotus on the *graha-vedī*, a piece of metal stamped with the conventional image of the particular planet to which the leaf is sacred. (Then the greatness of each planet is praised and litanies are read and each is invited to be present in the place assigned to it on the *graha-vedī*.) All face towards the sun and the figure of the sun towards the east. These are then addressed in the *agnyuttāraṇa* and then washed with the five *amṛita*, each ingredient as it is applied being accompanied by a separate mantra. Then cold water is offered and the dedication made with the hymn of praise to:—Omkāra,

\* The lowest step is two finger-breadths high and broad, the next is of the same height but four finger-breadths broad, and the last is four finger-breadths higher than the second and one cubit square at the top.

† Arrangements are made in the ritual for the presence of the *Āchārya*, *Brāhman*, *Ritwika* or prompter and *Sadasya*, but as a rule all these offices are performed by one person. The ritual for this ceremony extends over eighty pages of my manuscript and is said to occupy three days in recital: it need hardly be said that the full ritual is seldom or never gone through.

Brahmarshi, Gáyatri, Chhandah and the supreme deities; the Vyákrítī-mantra, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, the metres known as the *gáyatri*, *ushñi* and *anushñubh* and the deities Agni, Vāyu and Sūryya, who are asked to assist in the ceremony. Then the *vyákrítī*-mantra is recited separately and together thus:—*Oṃ bhūh* I invite and set up the sun; *Oṃ bhuvah* I invite, &c.; *Oṃ svaḥ* I, &c.; *Oṃ bhūr bhuvah svaḥ*, I, &c., and the figure of the sun is placed on a small circular altar erected in the middle of the *graha-vedī*, then the invitation is made with the mantra:—*Oṃ akṛishṇe*, &c. Next Agni is addressed as *adhideva* of the sun, and invited to be seated on his right hand with the *vyákrítī*-mantra separately and together as in the case of the sun and also a special mantra for the invitation:—‘*Oṃ Agnim dūtām*,’ &c. Next on the left side Rudra is invited as the *pratyadhideva* in the same manner and the invitation mantra commences:—‘*Oṃ tryambakam*,’ &c. Next in the south-east corner the figure of Soma is set up with a similar ceremony on a small square altar. Next comes Angāraka or Bhauma on a triangular altar, Budha on an arrow-shaped altar, four finger-breadths long, Guru or Vṛihaspati on an altar six finger-breadths square, Śukra on a five-cornered altar, nine finger-breadths across, Śani on a bow-shaped altar two finger-breadths broad, Ráhu on a sword-shaped altar, and Ketu on one like a standard. Then the other deities are invited: first the protecting deities, Gaṇeśa, Durgá, Kshetrapála, Vāyu, Akáśa, and Aświni. Then the guardians of the rite, Indra on the east, Agni on the south-east, Yama on the south, Nirṛiti on the south-west, Varuṇa on the west, Vāyu on the north-west, Kuvera on the north and Íśa on the north-east. Next Brahma is invited to take his place in the upper part of the central space on the *graha-vedī* and Ananta in the lower portion. Next in the north-eastern corner already sacred to Íśa, the *kalaśasthápana* is made and the figure of Varuṇa is placed on the cover over the mouth of the vessel. All this is supposed to be done with the same tedious ceremony.

*The meditation.*—The thread from which the bracelet is made (*ra-ksha-sútra*) is now tied round the neck of the vessel (*kalaśa*). Then rice is taken in the hand and sprinkled over all the figures whilst they are asked to come and take their place in the vessel and in the bracelet. Then follows the dedication of the rite to the ceremony about to be performed on behalf of the boy. Next the *dhyána* or meditation is given:—“*Oṃ* who sittest in the position called *padmāsana* (*i. e.*, with thighs crossed, one hand resting on the left thigh and the thumb of the other on the heart and the eyes looking towards the nose), with hand like a lotus, sprung from a lotus, who driveth the chariot yoked with seven steeds, two-armed, ever present *Ravi*. *Oṃ* thou who art white, clothed in white garments, driving white horses, adorned with white, bearing a club, two-armed, ready to do what is right, *S’asī*. *Oṃ* thou with the reddish garland and clothes, bearing

a pike, lance, and club, four-armed, moving like a goat, granter of requests, *Dharā-suta*. *Oṃ* thou clothed in yellow garments encircled with yellow garlands, sprung from the pericarp of the lotus, club-holder, two-armed, seated on a lion, granter of requests, *Budha*. *Oṃ* Guru of the Devas and Daityas, clothed in white and yellow, four-armed, who grantest the wishes of ascetics, with rosary, thread and alms-dish. *Oṃ* thou who shinest like a sapphire, holding a lance, granter of requests, vulture-borne, arrow-discharger, *Arka-suta*. *Oṃ* thou who art clad in blue, whose body is blue, crested with a diadem, bright, seated on a blue lion, such O *Ráhu* is praised here. *Oṃ* thou who art of a brown colour, two-armed, club-wielder, with distorted face, always mounted on a vulture, granter of desire, *Ketu*.\* A second meditation of the same import is then prescribed and others for Varuṇa, &c. Then to all the deities named the *ásana*, &c., as far as the flower-offering, are given and Vyása is quoted in praise of the nine planets. When procurable, coconuts should now be offered with fruit, flowers, and goods as well as the food supposed to be agreeable to each deity: thus for the sun, balls of rice and molasses are provided: the moon receives a *bali* of rice, clarified butter and milk; Bhauma, one made of rice, molasses, clarified butter and milk (*atkarika*); Budha, one made of milk and rice; Vṛihaspati, simply clarified butter and rice; S'ukra, curds and rice; S'ani obtains a mixture of rice, clarified butter and vegetables; Ráhu has goat's flesh; Ketu, rice of various colours; whilst the remainder obtain milk and rice. If these different ingredients are not procurable an offering of milk and rice is made to all.

*Consecration of the materials for sacrifice.*—The celebrant then approaches the *homa-bedí* and looking towards the east makes the usual rinsing of the mouth, and then proceeds through the whole ceremony of consecrating the materials for the sacrifice from the appointment of the Bráhmaṇ (*brahmopaveśana*) to the general aspersion (*paryukshana*), after which gifts are made to the celebrant. A kind of preface is then read giving the names of the several deities and the materials with which they should be worshipped. This is followed by the *agni-sthāpana* by which Agni is invited in the different forms in which he is present on the altar as each of the nine planets, receives worship, and the throne, &c., are presented to him. Lines which represent the tongues of flame on the altar are then drawn and adored, and the father of the boy receives fire from the celebrant and bending the right knee so as to allow the thigh to lie flat on the ground before the altar, meditates on Prajāpati, and commences the burnt-sacrifices by the offer of the *āghāra-homa* with clarified butter. Fuel\* (*samidh*) for the altar is supplied from the wood of the following

\* The wood of these trees is supposed to be cut up into pieces measuring a span of the hand of the boy who is the subject of the rite. Three stalks of *dāru* or *kuśa* make one *samidh*.

trees and plants:—*Arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*), *Paláśa* (*Butea frondosa*), *Khadira* (*Acacia catechu*), *Apámárga* (*Achyranthes aspera*), *Pípala* (*Ficus religiosa*) and *Uđumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*), *S'ami* (*Acacia sumi*), *Dúrcá* (*Cynodon dactylon*) and *kuśa* (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*). These pieces of wood and plants must not be crooked, broken, worm-eaten, &c., and must be steeped in curds, honey and clarified butter before they are offered to the nine planets as a *homa*. If the wood of the other trees mentioned is not procurable that of the *paláśa* or *khadira* may be used alone. There are three positions for the hand during the *homa*:—(1) the *mṛigí* (doe), (2) the *hamśí* (female swan) and (3) *śúkari* (sow). In the *śúkari* the hand is closed and the fingers lie in the palm on the hand; the *mṛigí* extends the little-finger whilst the remaining fingers continue within the palm of the hand, and the *hamśí* extends the fore-finger whilst the hand is closed. The *mṛigí-mudrá* comes into use in all ceremonies undertaken in order to avoid threatened dangers or the retribution due to evil deeds: the *hamśí-mudrá* in the rites observed for increase in health, wealth or prosperity, and the *śúkari-mudrá* in spells for malevolent purposes, in incantations against an enemy and for causing any mental or bodily misfortune to him. If the *homa* takes place without its proper spell (*mudrá*), the offering is fruitless and misfortune shall assuredly occur to both the celebrant and his client.

*The oblation.*—The *homa* is then offered in the name of each deity with a short dedication and mantra whilst the name of the presiding Rishi supposed to be present is given as well as the form of Agni. As this ceremony is gone through forty-two times, the result may be tabulated as follows:—

The nine planets.

| No. | Name of deity. | Material employed in the <i>homa</i> . | Initial words of mantra.                         | Presiding Rishi.                            | Form of Agni. |
|-----|----------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1   | Sun ...        | <i>Arka</i> ...                        | <i>Oṃ Akriśnye, &amp;c.</i>                      | Hiranyastúpa.                               | Kapila.       |
| 2   | Moon ...       | <i>Paláśa</i> ...                      | <i>Oṃ imam devá asa-<br/>patna gvaṃ, &amp;c.</i> | Gautama.                                    | Pingala.      |
| 3   | Bhauṃa ...     | <i>Khadira</i> ...                     | <i>Oṃ agnir mūrddhā, &amp;c.</i>                 | Virúpáksha.                                 | Dhúmraketu.   |
| 4   | Budha ...      | <i>Apámárga,</i>                       | <i>Oṃ uđbudhyascágne,<br/>&amp;c.</i>            | Parameshthi.                                | Játhara.      |
| 5   | Vṛihaspati,    | <i>Pippala</i> ...                     | <i>Oṃ vṛihaspate, &amp;c.</i>                    | Gṛitsamada.                                 | S'ikhi.       |
| 6   | Sukra ...      | <i>Uđumbara,</i>                       | <i>Oṃ annátparisrutora-<br/>sam, &amp;c.</i>     | Prajápati, Aśvi,<br>Sarasvatí and<br>Indra. | Hátaka.       |
| 7   | Sáni ...       | <i>Sami</i> ...                        | <i>Oṃ śannodevīr abhiśh-<br/>tayah, &amp;c.</i>  | Dadhyañúáthar-<br>vana.                     | Maháteja.     |
| 8   | Ráhu ...       | <i>Dúrcá</i> ...                       | <i>Oṃ kayá náś chitra, &amp;c.</i>               | Vámadeva.                                   | Hutáśana.     |
| 9   | Ketu ...       | <i>Kuśa</i> ...                        | <i>Oṃ ketum, &amp;c.</i>                         | Madhuchchanda.                              | Rohita.       |

*The Adhidevatás.*

For these and the succeeding deities *palása* is the wood prescribed and no particular form of Agni is mentioned.

| Number. | Name of deity. | Initial words of mantra.                       | Presiding Rishí.      |
|---------|----------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 10      | Agni ...       | <i>Om agnim hítam, &amp;c.</i> ...             | Kaṇva and Medhátithi. |
| 11      | Apā ...        | <i>Om āsvántara, &amp;c.</i> ...               | Vṛihaspati.           |
| 12      | Prithiví ...   | <i>Om syonáprithiví, &amp;c.</i> ...           | Medhátithi.           |
| 13      | Vishṇu ...     | <i>Om idam vishṇur vichakrama, &amp;c.</i> ... | As in 10.             |
| 14      | Indra ...      | <i>Om sajośháh, &amp;c.</i> ...                | As in 4.              |
| 15      | Indrápi ...    | <i>Om adityá, &amp;c.</i> ...                  | Ditto 7.              |
| 16      | Prajápati ...  | <i>Om prajá pate, &amp;c.</i> ...              | Hiranyagarbha.        |
| 17      | Sarpa ...      | <i>Om namo' stu sarpebhyo, &amp;c.</i> ...     | Devás.                |
| 18      | Brahmá ...     | <i>Om brahmaya jānān, &amp;c.</i> ...          | Prajápati.            |

*The Pratyadhidevatás.*

|    |              |                                              |                                       |
|----|--------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 19 | Rudra ...    | <i>Om tryambakam, &amp;c.</i> ...            | Vaśiṣṭha.                             |
| 20 | Umá ...      | <i>Om śrís cha te laksmí, &amp;c.</i> ...    | Uttaranóráyana.                       |
| 21 | Skanda ...   | <i>Om yadakraṇḍaḥ prathama y &amp;c.</i> ... | Bhārgava, Jamadagni and Dirghatamasa. |
| 22 | Purusha ...  | <i>Om sahasra-śirśhá puruṣaḥ &amp;c.</i> ... | Asyanáráyana.                         |
| 23 | Brahmá ...   | <i>As in 18</i> ...                          | As in 18.                             |
| 24 | Indra ...    | <i>Om trátāram indram, &amp;c.</i> ...       | Gárgya.                               |
| 25 | Yama ...     | <i>Om asi yamaḥ, &amp;c.</i> ...             | As in 21.                             |
| 26 | Kála ...     | <i>Om kárshirasi, &amp;c.</i> ...            | Ditto 15.                             |
| 27 | Chitrágupta, | <i>Om chitrávaso, &amp;c.</i> ...            | Ditto 4.                              |

*Other deities.*

|    |              |                                       |             |
|----|--------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| 28 | Vináyaka ... | <i>Om gayánán twá, &amp;c.</i> ...    | As in 18.   |
| 29 | Durgá ...    | <i>Om jātavedase, &amp;c.</i> ...     | Kaśyapa.    |
| 30 | Váyu ...     | <i>Om vāto vāmano vá, &amp;c.</i> ... | Gandharvás. |
| 31 | Ākása ...    | <i>Om árdhváh, &amp;c.</i> ...        | As in 18.   |
| 32 | Áśvinau ...  | <i>Om yávanakāsa, &amp;c.</i> ...     | Medhátithi. |

*Dikpálás.*

Sesamum and clarified butter are here added to the offering of *palása*.

|    |             |                                       |              |
|----|-------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 33 | Indra ...   | <i>As in 24</i> ...                   | As in 24.    |
| 34 | Agni ...    | <i>Ditto 10</i> ...                   | Ditto 3.     |
| 35 | Yama ...    | <i>Ditto 25</i> ...                   | Ditto 21.    |
| 36 | Nirriti ... | <i>Om eṣato nirrite, &amp;c.</i> ...  | Varuṇa.      |
| 37 | Varuṇa ...  | <i>Om imam me varuṇa, &amp;c.</i> ... | Sunahṣepha.  |
| 38 | Váyu ...    | <i>As in 30</i> ...                   | As in 30.    |
| 39 | Kuvera ...  | <i>Om vaya gram, &amp;c.</i> ...      | Bandhurishi. |
| 40 | Íśána ...   | <i>Om tam íśānam, &amp;c.</i> ...     | Gautama.     |
| 41 | Brahmá ...  | <i>As in 18</i> ...                   | As in 18.    |
| 42 | Sarpa ...   | <i>Ditto 17</i> ...                   | Ditto 17.    |

Should any error occur in naming the deities in the order above given, the entire ceremony must be gone through again, but no penalty

is attached to the use of the materials for the *samidh* in other than the prescribed form.

The position assigned to each deity on the *graha-vedi* will better be understood from the diagram in Plate, I, fig. 2. In the petals of the lotus, the letter 'A' stands for 'Adhideva': the letters 'Pradh' for 'Pradhána-deva' and the letters 'Pr.' for 'Pratyadhideva,' the titles given to each triad. We have next a *homa* of clarified butter with the *vyáhṛiti*-mantra repeated nine times: hence the name *naváhuti-homa*. Another offering of clarified butter is made with the mantra:—'Om to Agni who causeth a good sacrifice *sváhd.*' Then a *púrṇa-pátra*, or vessel, is presented to the celebrant with a dedication that all imperfections in the ceremony may be forgiven and the rite be completed.

*Balidána*.—The *balidána* follows and comprises offerings of milk or rice and curds to the north of the *graha-vedi* or near the *homa-vedi*. A portion of the mixture is taken and placed on a brazen platter or stone in the name of the sun with the address:—'Bhó bhó Sun accept this offering; be thou the bestower of long life, the giver of forgiveness, the alleviator of trouble, the giver of good fortune and the increaser of prosperity to thy worshipper.' Above this an offering is placed for the moon with the same address and so on for each of the forty-two deities assembled and to whom a *homa* has been offered. It will be noticed that a *homa* is not offered either to the Kshetrádhpati or the Vástoshpati. To the former, however, a *bali* is presented with considerable ceremony; a mixture of clarified butter and rice known as *khichri* is placed on a platter of leaves and on it four lamps of wheaten dough with clarified butter for oil and a few coins. Then an ignorant Bráhman or a Sudra is honoured with an offering of sandal which, as a rule, is smeared over his face to make him look hideous. The *dhyána* or meditation on Kshetrapála follows, after which the offering is taken and presented with the mantra.\* "Om glory to the venerable Kshetrapála \* \* \* to all sprites, goblins, demons and their followers, glory to this offering of clarified butter and rice with its light, gifts and betel. Hail Kshetrapála \* \* filled with the howling of the fierce-mouth protect me, eat this offering of *khichri* with its light prepared for thee. Protect the person who causes this

\* Om namo bhagavate kshetrapáláya वां चीं वृं चैं वः bhúta-preta-pitácha-dákiní-sákiní-betáldádi-parivárayutáya esha sadápaḥ sadakshināḥ satámbulāḥ kṛisaránna-balir namaḥ bhó bhó kshetrapála maru maru, turu turu, lala lala, shasha shasha, phen-kára-púrta-diimukha raksha raksha grahamakshakarmmani amuṣṣ sadápaṃ kṛisarán-nabalim bhaksha bhaksha yajamánam páhi páhi mama vá saputra-saparivdrasya yajamánasya vá, &c.

ceremony to be made, be for him and his child and those belonging to him, the bestower of long life." &c.

*Párnâhuti-homa.*—After this follows the *párnâhuti-homa* in which Bharadvâja is the Rishi and the deity is Mahâvaisvânara. The offering is prefaced by the usual dedication of time, place, person and object, followed by the hymn in four verses beginning:—' *Om mûrddhânam divo,*' &c., and ending with ' *Om pârâ,*' &c., whence the name.

*Agni-pûjâ.*—The *Agni-pûjâ* comes next in which Agni is addressed on behalf of the boy:—' *Om Agni* thou that protectest the body, protect my body; *Om Agni* that grantest long life, grant me long life; *Om Agni* that bestowest energy, bestow on me energy; complete whatever is deficient in my oblation; *Om* holy Savitâ, accept my sacrifice, holy Sarasvatî accept my sacrifice; ye twin Aśvins, crowned with lotuses accept my sacrifice.' Then warming his hands in the flame of the altar he applies them in succession to the various parts of his body saying:—"May each member of my body increase in condition." Similarly the mouth, nostrils, eyes, ears and arms are separately addressed to the same intent.

*Tryâyusha.*—After this the rite called *tryâyusha* for acquiring the three-fold vital power is celebrated. It consists in the application of the *tilaka* or frontal mark to the head and throat of both the boy for whom the ceremony is performed and his father. The material for the *tilaka* is taken from the ashes of the *homa* and then mixed with clarified butter and applied by the celebrant. This is followed by the distribution of gifts which are divided amongst all the Brâhman present. But in addition to the ordinary presents suitable to the occasion, the wealthy and devout are instructed that the following are specially acceptable to each of the nine planets:—to the sun, a brown cow; to the moon, a conch; to Bhauma, a red bullock; to Budha, gold; to Vrihaspati, yellow clothes and gold; to S'ukra, a white horse; to S'ani, a black cow; to Râhu, a sword, and to Ketu, a goat. These subsequently become the property of the officiating priests, but it is allowed to commute these gifts in detail for a sum of money which is made over to the priests with the usual dedication of place, time, person and object, and that the money is in lieu of the gifts due to each of the nine planets. All then march around the altar singing:—" *Om, go, go, best of gods, omnipotent, in thy own home, where Brahma and the other gods are, there go thou Hutâsana.*" The planets are then worshipped and afterwards the celebrant and his assistants asperse the assembly with water taken from the *kalaśa* whilst chaunting a hymn.\* This is followed by a mantra† in

\* This is called a Vaidik hymn and commences:—" *Om sarve samudrâh saritas hrthâni jalâdnadâh,*" &c.: it contains thirty-four verses.

† Called a Paurânika-mantra.

which all the deities are invoked that the aspersion may be fructuous and their protection be extended to all. The *tilaka* of sandal is then given by the celebrant to the men of the assembly with the mantra\* :—" *Om*, may it be well with thee, be thou fortunate; may Mahá-lakshmi be pleased with thee; may the gods always protect thee; may good fortune be always with thee everywhere; may evil planets, sins, impurities and causes of quarrel seeing the mark on thy forehead be powerless to harm thee." The rice is applied with the mantra :—" *Om* may this rice protect thee." The *tilaka* is given to women merely as an ornament without any mantra, but the rice is applied with the mantra used for men. The mantra-*pátha* follows, of which twenty-one verses are for the men and three for the women whose husbands are alive at the time; when finished, flowers are distributed to all present. After this the ceremony of fastening on the bracelet (*rakshábandhana*) takes place as described, and the *bhúyasí-dána* with its gifts in which all the dancers and the musicians share. The worship of the planets concludes as usual with a feast to Bráhmans.

*Chúra-karana*.—The rite known as *chúra-karana* or shaving of the head is also included amongst those preparatory to the assumption of the sacrificial thread. • The favourable moment is fixed by the family astrologer and when arranged for, the father of the boy commences the rite the night before by going through the *Gaṇeśa-pújá*. He then takes ten small bags of cloth and wrapping up in them portions of turmeric, *dúb*-grass, mustard and a coin, ties them in the hair of the boy with the mantra :—" To-morrow you will be cut off," &c. Three are tied on the right side of the head, three on the left side, three at the back of the head and one on the top. The next morning all proceed to the *yajña-sála* in which the *graha-vedí* of the previous ceremony was erected. The duties of the day are opened with the rinsing of the mouth, next the *argha* is set up and consecrated and the *pránáyáma* is gone through followed by the dedication.

In the last rite, the celebrant defines the object by stating that the ceremony is performed for the *chúra-karana* and *upanayana* (initiation) of so and so, the son of so and so, &c. Next follow the whole of the usual preparatory ceremonies as far as the *Punyáha-váchana*. The celebrant now approaches the *chúra-karana-vedí* and again consecrates the *argha* and makes a dedication to Agni and then lights a fire upon the *vedí* or altar. The father now takes the boy in his arms and the mother seats herself to his left, and all assist in the installation of the altar and the invitation, &c., is gone through as before. Then an offering of clarified butter is thrown on the fire with the mantra :—" *Om* *prajápa-*

\* *Om* *bhadramas tu*, &c.

tañe,' &c., and gifts are bestowed on the celebrant. The hair of the child, except the top-knot, is now cut off whilst an appropriate service is read. The hair is then buried with cow-dung near some water and the boy is bathed and clothed in his best and placed near the celebrant and is held to be entitled to the name *mānavaka* or religious student. The ceremony as usual winds up with gifts to the celebrant and associates. The Bráhmans, replied to by a mantra and the gift of a flower (*ásisha*) as benediction.

*Assumes the garb of a student.*—According to the *Párasukasūtra*, the son of a Bráhmaṇ may assume the *janca* at seven or eight years of age, the son of a Kshatriya at eleven years of age and the son of a Vaiśya at twelve years. These limits can be doubled where necessity exists, but the ceremony cannot take place after the second limit has expired. The father and son now approach the *upanayana-vedí* and the boy presents the *tilapátra* to the altar. This *tilapátra* is an iron pot containing sesamum oil in which coins have been placed and which form a portion of the honorarium of the celebrant. The invitation, &c., is again recited and the dedication is made to ensure the success of the young student in his studies. Next follows a formal burnt-sacrifice of clarified butter. The celebrant then receives from the father of the boy a loin-cloth, belt, sacrificial-thread, waist thread, walking-stick and bason for receiving alms and gives them one by one to the boy with the mantra for each. Separate woods are prescribed for the walking-stick according to caste; for the Bráhmaṇ, *paláśa*; for the Kshatriya, *bel*; and for the Vaiśya, *gular*. The celebrant then asperses the head and breast of the boy and accepts him as one duly prepared and fit to be raised to the degree of a religious student. The boy next seats himself to the north of the celebrant and his father goes through the *Agni-pújá* and offers a sacrifice of clarified butter and presents gifts to the Bráhmans. The title *bhaṭṭa* is given to the student who has assumed the sacrificial thread.

*Saluting the religious preceptor.*—The astrologer fixes the *lagnadána* or propitious moment for repeating the *gáyatrí*, and when it comes the boy seats himself in front of the celebrant and turning his face towards the north-east salutes the celebrant and presents gifts to his *purohita*. He then crosses his arms and places his right hand on the right foot and his left hand on the left foot of the *purohita* and bows his head down until it touches his hands. The *purohita* then gives the *ásisha* and for a Bráhmaṇ reads the *gáyatrí* three times, thus:—

- (1) *Oṃ bhúr bhuvah̄ svaḥ tat savitur varenyam.*
- (2) Repeat first line adding *bhargo devasya dhímahi.*
- (3) Repeat both preceding and add *dhiyo yo naḥ prachodayát.*

The Kshatriya *gáyatrí* is as follows :—

*Oṃ devasya savitur matim úsavam víśvadevyaṃ dhíyá bhagam ma-  
námahe.*

The Vaiśya *gáyatrí* is as follows :—

*Oṃ víśvá rūpāṇi prati munchate kavíḥ práśávid bhadram dwpáde cha-  
tushpáde vi nákam akhyat savitá vareṇyo 'nu prayánam ushaso virájati.*

The boy again brings presents and falls at the feet of his *purohita* and prays that with his teacher's aid he may become a learned man. The *purohita* then instructs his pupil in the *sandhyá*, already described. Next the *samidh* or small faggot of sticks from five trees previously mentioned is taken by the boy and with one of the pieces he touches his eyes and then dips one end of it in clarified butter and again the other and then places it on the fire on the altar. Similarly the ears, nose, hands, arms, forehead, lips, and breasts are touched in order and the stick are burned. The celebrant then performs the *tryáyusha* by applying the frontal and throat-marks with the ashes of the *homa* and clarified butter. The boy then goes through the *daṇḍawat* or salutation as already described and again receives the *ásisha*. He then addresses Agni, stating his name, caste, parentage, &c., and asks the deity to take him under his protection and again prostrates himself before his *purohita*, who usually delivers a homily on general conduct. The boy then begs from his friends and presents the results to his *purohita* saying :—“O Mahárája accept these alms which I have received.”

*Vedárambha*.—Then commences the rite connected with the first study of the Vedas, the *Vedárambha*. Gautama has said that the Veda of the division to which the student belongs should first be read by him. The celebrant prepares the altar called the *Vedárambha-vedi*, for which the usual *Gaṇeśa-pújá* is performed and a fire is lighted thereon. The flame is then fed with the numerous offerings made in the names of the deities invoked to be present and assist, for whom the whole invitation, &c., is repeated, followed with the usual gifts and dedication. Then comes the worship of the Vedas themselves with invitation, &c., followed by the worship of *Gaṇeśa*, *Sarasvatí*, *Lakshmi* and *Kátyáyana*, accompanied with the usual installation address (*pratishthá*), invitation, &c. Then the boy looking towards the north-east performs the *pránayána* and recites the *gáyatrí* and mantras in honour of the four Vedas, commencing with that belonging to his own division. He next recites the *mahá-  
vyáhrítí* with the *gáyatrí* three times, i. e., the *gáyatrí* with the *nama-  
kára* :—“*Oṃ bhúr, Oṃ bhuvah, Oṃ svah.*” He is then told to go to Benares and study there and for form's sake actually advances a short distance on the road and then returns, when the ceremony is closed with the usual distribution of gifts.

*Samāvartana*.—Next comes the *samāvartana* (returning home after finishing his studies) which commences with the gift of a cow to the celebrant. The boy takes hold of the cow's tail with one hand and holding water in the other repeats a short formula and gives the cow to the celebrant. There is in this rite also an altar or *vedī*, the consecration of which takes place exactly as in the previous rite. The father, son and celebrant approach the altar and the son coming forward and laying hold of his right ear with his left hand and his left ear with his right hand (*vyastapāni*) says, he has ceased to do evil and wishes to learn to do well. The celebrant answers "may you have long life." The celebrant then asperses the boy and his relatives from the water of the *udakumbha* or small vessel for holy-water usually placed near the *kalāśa*, and subsequently takes whatever water remains and pours it through a metal sieve called *sahasradhārā* on the head of the boy. These operations are each accompanied by a mantra, as also the taking off of the belt (*mekhala*) and the applying of the *tilaka* to the twelve parts of the body:—(1) the forehead in which Keśava resides; (2) the belly with Nārāyaṇa; (3) the heart with Mādhyama; (4) the right side with Viṣṇu; (5) the left side with Vāmana; (6) the hollow below the throat with Govinda; (7) the right arm with Madhusūdana; (8) the left arm with Śrīdhara; (9) the root of the ears with Trivikrama; (10) the back with Padmanābha; (11) the navel with Dāmodara, and (12) top of the head with Vāsudeva. The boy then clothes himself, and the celebrant repeating appropriate mantras directs the boy to remain pure for three whole days, *i. e.*, not touching a Śūdra or a dead body, &c. On the fourth day they again assemble, and the *homa* known as *pūrṇāhuti* is made, and again the entire ceremony of consecrating the *graha-vedī* is gone through as well as the worship of the nine planets and *jīvamātṛis*, and the boy's sister or mother performs the *mahānīrājana* (waving of lights) before him, and all winds up with the usual gifts and a feast.

*Vivāha-karma*.—The ceremonies connected with marriage come next and occupy no inconsiderable place in the services. They include those arranged in the following five divisions:—

- (1) *Agni-pūjā*; clothing, perfuming and anointing the body; the *purohita* of the boy shall then ask the other the name and caste of the girl and communicate the same information regarding the boy.
- (2) Presentation of a cow and coin in honor of the girl: procession from the house to the *agni-vedī*.
- (3) Invitation to the father of the bride and formal conclusion of the arrangements; then circumambulation of the fire-altar and performing the *kuśa-kaṇḍikā*.

- (4) The bride sits to the right, and the bridegroom sits to the left close together, while a *homa* is made.
- (5) Next follows the *samśrava-práśana*, *púrnapátra*, gifts to Bráhmans, and the verses suited to the ceremony.

*Vágdána*.—Commencing with the first group we have the *vágdána-ridhi* or rules for the preliminaries to a marriage. Some days before the wedding takes place the father of the girl performs the *Gaṇeśa-pújá* and the dedication declaring the object to be the correct and successful issue of the *vágdána*, with detail of his own caste, name, race, and that of the boy to whom he has given his girl. The girl then performs the *Indráṇi-pújá* (one of the divine mothers) before a likeness of that deity drawn on gold or other metal. Next day the *sarvavárambha* or the beginning to collect the materials necessary for the wedding takes place. The father of the bride takes a mixture of turmeric and *láhi* (parched grain) with water and anoints the body of the girl and performs the *Gaṇeśa-pújá*. The same is done by the father of the boy to the boy, and in addition he takes three small bags (*poṭalí*) of cloth containing coin, betel, turmeric, *roli* (powder on the seeds of *Mallotus phillipinensis*) and rice,\* one of which is buried within the hearth where the food is cooked; a second is suspended from a handle of the *karáhi* or iron-pan in which the food is cooked, and the third is attached to the handle of the spoon. The object of these proceedings is to keep off ghosts and demons from the feast. Thin cakes are prepared of wheaten flour (*sunwála*) and thicker cakes (*púri*) of the same, which, with sesamum and balls of a mixture of rice-flour, ghí, and molasses (*laddú* and *chhol*) are made by the women.

*First visit*.—Next comes the *púrvánga* which takes place on the day before or on the morning of the wedding. The parents of both children, each in their own house, commence with the *Gaṇeśa-pújá*, followed by the *Mátri-pújá*, *Nándi-śráddha*, *Punyáha-váchana*, *Kalaśa-sthápana* and *Navagraha-pújá* as already described. The parents of the girl seldom perform more than the first two, and remain fasting until the *Kanyá-dána* has taken place. The father of the girl then through his daughter adores Gaurí, Maheśwari, and *Indráṇi*, and ties a *poṭalí* on her left hand. The father of the boy binds a similar bag on the right wrist of the boy, and also on the left hand of the boy's mother. Four days afterwards the bags are removed. On the morning of the wedding day the family astrologer sends a water-clock, to mark the exact moment, with other presents to the father of the girl, and declares his intention of being present with the marriage procession at a certain hour. The boy is then

\* These are the contents of the *poṭalí* commonly used, though a much more elaborate inventory is given in the ritual.

dressed in his best, perfumed, anointed, and painted and placed in a palanquin, and, accompanied by the friends of the family and musicians, he sets out for the bride's house. He is met on the road by a deputation from the bride's father, conveying some presents for the bridegroom, and near the village by a relative of the bride, who interchanges further presents. The procession then halts for rest whilst dancers and musicians exercise their craft. All then proceed to the house of the bride, where a clean-swept place opposite the principal entrance has been decorated by the women of the family with rice-flour and red sanders. On this place the celebrant and parties to the ceremony with their fathers and principal relations take their place, whilst the remainder of the procession stand at a respectful distance. Next comes the *dhūlyargha* which commences with the consecration of the *argha*. Then the father of the bride recites the *baraṇa sankalpa*, dedicating the rite to the giving of his daughter to the bridegroom, after which he offers the water of the *argha* to the celebrant who accompanies the bridegroom, as well as water for washing his feet, the *tilaka* with flowers and rice, and the materials necessary for the ensuing ceremonies. Similar offerings are made to the bridegroom; and his father is honoured with flowers and the *śīsha*, and all sit down to a feast.

*The marriage hall.*—The near relatives of the parties then assemble in the marriage-hall. The bride is placed looking towards the west and the bridegroom towards the east with a curtain between them, whilst the fathers of each perform the *Ganeśa-pūjā*. The bridegroom's father sends a tray of sweetmeats (*laddū*) to the girl's father, on which the latter places flowers and returns the tray to the boy's father. The bride's father then washes the bridegroom's feet and fixes the *tilaka* on his forehead. Again the girl's father sends a tray of sweetmeats which is accepted and returned adorned with flowers. The bridegroom then performs the *āchamana* and receives from his father-in-law a tray of sweetmeats (*madhuparka*) made from honey, &c. He should then taste a portion of them, and say that they are good and express his thanks for the present. He then washes his hands and rinsing his mouth performs the *prāṇāyāma* and sprinkling of his body with the right hand merely and the usual mantra. The bride's father takes a bundle of *kuśa* grass in the form of a sword and calls out "bring the calf:" the bridegroom says, "it is present."\* Then water is sprinkled over the figure of the calf and several mantras are read, and as in the Kali-Yuga the slaughter of cows is prohibited, the figure is put aside and gifts are substituted.

\* As a rule in Kumaon, the figure of a calf made in dough or stamped on metal is produced.

*Verification of family.*—In the meantime, a Bráhmaṇ of the bridegroom's party prepares the altar, consecrates it, and lights the fire. The bride's father then gives four pieces of cloth to the bridegroom and he returns two for his bride. The bride's father then raises the curtain and allows the parties to see each other. Then the celebrant on the girl's side, after reading the *ásirvāda* verse,\* asks the celebrant on the boy's side the *gotra*, *pravara*, *śákha*, *veda*, ancestors for three generations, and name of the boy. The celebrant on the boy's side recites a similar verse and replies to the questions asked, winding up with a request for like information as to the girl's family, which is given. The questions and answers are repeated three times, the verses alone being changed. This section of the rite winds up with the usual gifts, and dedicatory prayers and a *homa* of four sweetmeats, two from the bride's house offered by the bridegroom and two from the bridegroom's house offered by the bride.

*The giving away.*—At the exact time fixed for giving away the girl, the bride's father turns his face to the north, whilst the bride looks towards the west. The father then extends his hand and the girl places her hand (palm upwards) in her father's hand with fingers closed and thumb extended, and holding in the palm *kuśa*-grass, sesamum, barley and gold. The boy takes hold of the girl's thumb, whilst the mother of the girl pours water on the three hands during the recital of the dedication by the celebrant. This portion of the rite concludes with the formal bestowal of the girl generally called the *kanyá-dána*. When this is concluded the girl leaves her father's side of the hall and joins her husband, when the *dánavákya*† is read, and the father of the bride addresses her and prays that if any error has been committed in bringing her up it may be forgiven. Next an address with offerings is made by the bridegroom to his father-in-law, thanking him for the gift of his well-cared-for daughter. In return the father declares the girl's dowry, and the clothes of the two are knotted together. Then come the usual gifts, aspersion, and offering of flowers. The bride and bridegroom then proceed to a second altar‡ which is usually erected outside the marriage hall and whilst mantras are recited by the celebrant circumambulate the outer circle.

*The circumambulation.*—This being done the *ághára-homa* follows which comprises twelve offerings conjointly made by bride and bride-

\* In praise of Hara and Hari.

† Containing four verses from the Puráṇas.

‡ This altar is about a cubit square and is surrounded by a hedge of branches of the sacred trees connected together with twine, outside which the circumambulation takes place either three, five, or seven times.

groom, the former of whom holds her husband's arm whilst he places each offering on the altar and the celebrant recites the prescribed prayers. Next come the usual gifts and returns in flowers and rice. Then follows the *rāshṭrabhṛit-homa*, which also consists of twelve offerings, conjointly made, winding up with presents as before. Also the *jayā-homa* with its thirteen offerings, the *abhyātāna-homa* with its eighteen offerings, the *pañchaka-homa* with its five offerings and the *lājā-homa* with its offerings of flowers and fruit. Then the altar is again circumambulated and parched rice sprinkled from a sieve on the pair as they move slowly around. The bridegroom then lifts the bride and places her a short distance apart, when her brother approaches and gives her some parched rice with which she makes a *homa*. The bridegroom then asperses his bride with water from the *kalāśa* whilst repeating the mantra:—"Om āpaḥ Sivāḥ śivatamāḥ," &c., and also touches her chest and head with appropriate mantras. She then goes to the left of her husband and lays hold of his garments, and whilst another mantra is read, the *brahma-homa* is made by the bridegroom. The bride then washes her husband's feet, who in return makes her a present, and each applies the *tilakā* to the other and eat curds and molasses together. After washing of hands the *pūrnāpātra* takes place, in which forgiveness is craved for all defects in the ceremony or in the amount of gifts, &c., and the *mantra-patra* or leaf is placed on the bridegroom's head by the celebrant with the prayer that he may be well and have long life, and for this the celebrant is again rewarded. Then follows aspersion, the giving and receiving of the *tilaka*, &c., and the bridegroom is told to look well at his bride. A homily is now given regarding their conduct, the one towards the other, that they should above every thing keep themselves pure for three nights or until the *chaturthī-karma* had taken place. The party then proceed in doors and the *Gaṇeśa-pūjā*, *jīvamātri* and *vasodhāra* rites are performed; the *mahānīrājana* also takes place by the bride's mother, who presents sweetmeats and opening the knot in their garments gives a portion of the sweetmeats to both bride and bridegroom, who then retire.

*Dwāra-mātri-pūjā*.—Next morning the young married couple arise early and after domestic worship again tie their garments together and perform the *dwāra-mātri-pūjā* at the bride's father's home. The door-leaf is cleaned with rice flour and on it figures of the *Mātris* are drawn and revered conjointly, the bride assisting by holding her husband's arm. Again she alone prepares the threshold and performs the *dehaliya-pūjā*, by sprinkling rice and flowers. After breakfast both proceed to the bridegroom's house, where in the presence of a child who bears on his head a small lotā of water with a green branch on it, indicative of prosperity, he formally commits his wife and her dowry to the safe keeping

The *dwára-mátri-pújá* again takes place and after entering the *Gañeśa-pújá* is performed with the dedication that the bride and groom be propitious and the usual gifts, &c., winding up with the *práthana* by the sister of the bridegroom and the aspersion of the *tilaka* by the celebrant. After this gifts are distributed and all the guests are permitted to disperse.

*Chaturthi-karma*.—On the fourth day the *chaturthi-karma* takes place, which consists of the usual preparatory ceremonies followed by the removal of the *potali* or small bags from the wrists of the bride and bridegroom preceded by a *homa púrṇapátra* which concludes the ceremony.

*Dvir-ágamana*.—The next ceremony is the *dwirágamana* or 'second-coming.' The instructions direct that on a propitious day the boy's parents shall cook certain cakes called *phenika* and placing them in a basket, the boy proceeds with them to his father-in-law's house, where he salutes all the family and presents the food. Early in the morning he performs the *Gañeśa-pújá* and at a favourable time places his wife near him. The *tilaka* is then interchanged between him and the relatives of his wife and formal salutations take place. He then takes his wife and whatever portion of the dowry that is now given to his own house, and on arriving at the threshold the garments of both are again knotted together. Both are then seated together and the husband rinses his mouth, consecrates the *argha* and performs the *pránáyama* and dedication to the *dwirágamana* and the *dwára-mátri-pújá*. *Gañeśa* and the *Mátris* are then worshipped and the fixing of the favourable time is again gone through that the whole rite may be undertaken at the auspicious moment and be free from defects. Gifts are then made to the family *purohita* and astrologer as if to the deity, and the couple go within while the *svastiváchana* is read. On entering the inner apartments the young couple worship the *Jíva-mátris* whose figures are drawn on the walls. The *kalasa* is then consecrated and the couple circumambulate the vessel and the usual offerings and dedication are made; winding up with the aspersion, after which the knots on the garments are untied and the couple feast and retire to rest.

*Arka-viváha*.—Should any one desire to marry a third time, whether his other wives are alive or not, he must go through the ceremony known as *arka-viváha* or marriage to the *arka* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*). The aspirant for a third marriage either builds a small altar near a plant of the *arka* or brings a branch home and places it in the ground near an altar. He then goes through all the preparatory ceremonies and also the *Súryya-pújá* with its invitation, &c., and *prásthana* or adoration with hands clasped and appropriate mantras. He then circumambulates the altar and asks the caste, &c., as in the regular ceremony; a *purohita*

answers on the part of the *arka* that it is of the Kaśyapa, the granddaughter of Aditya, the granddaughter of Sava and the daughter of the *Arka*; then follows the caste, name, &c., of the real bride. The bridegroom then wound ten times around the *arka*, accompanied each time by the *tra*, and again around the neck of the *kalaśa*. To the north of the *arka* a fire-altar is raised and the *āghāra-homa* is made to Agni with the *tra* dedication. Next comes the *pradhāna-homa* with the mantras, "Om *sangobhik*" and "Om *yasmaitvākā*;" the *vyāhṛiti-homa* with its own mantra and the *bhūrādi-navāhuti-homa* with its nine mantras closing with the *pūrṇāpātra* and dedication. After this a second circumambulation follows and a prayer and hymn. Four days the *arka* remains where it has been planted, and on the fifth day the person is entitled to commence the marriage ceremonies with his third wife. If, however, she be already a widow, he can take her to his home without any further ceremony.

*Kumbha-vivāha*.—The *Kumbha-vivāha* or marriage to an earthen vessel takes place when from some conjunction of the planets the omens for a happy union are wanting, or when from some mental or bodily defect no one is willing to take the boy or girl.\* The ceremony is similar to the preceding, but the dedication enumerates the defects in the position of the planets in the worshipper's horoscope and states that the ceremony is undertaken to avoid the malign influences of the conjunction of the adverse planets or of the bodily or mental defects of the native as the case may be. The nine planets are honoured and also Vishṇu and Varuṇa, whose forms stamped on a piece of metal are amongst the furniture of the ceremonial. The *añchala* or border of the garment used in the knot-tying is represented by connecting the neck of the girl or boy with the neck of the vessel, when the aspersion is made from the water of the *kalaśa* with a brush made of the five leaves.

*Casual ceremonies. On killing a snake*.—Several ceremonies are prescribed for alleviating (*śānti*) the evil effects of accidents, bad omens, portents, unlucky acts, &c., which may be briefly noticed here. Thus, if in ploughing, the share injures or kills a snake, a short ritual is prescribed to appease the lord of the snakes. Gaṇeśa, the Mātṛis and Kshetrapāla are first worshipped on the spot: then the figure of Mṛityuñjaya is drawn on cloth and with it that of the snake-god, and both are worshipped with the invitation, &c., and the *sarpa*-mantra is recited and a *homa* made.

*Death of a plough-bullock*.—One-sixteenth of the value of the cattle

\* The Vishṇu *prātimā-vivāha* is similar to the *Kumbha-vivāha*. The girl is first married to a picture of Vishṇu in order to avert the influence of the planets when the conjunction of the latter would show her to become a widow or a bad character.

should be paid as a *devadaṇḍa* to Bráhmans. Another ceremony known as the *vrishabha-patana* takes place when a bullock dies or is injured while ploughing.

*Unlucky conjunctions.*—It is believed that if the *megha-sankránta* comes within the conjunction of the planets noted in the horoscope, the native will die within six months, and similarly if the *túla-sankránta* come within the horoscope the native dies before the next *megha-sankránta*: to avert these evils a special ritual is prescribed in which Govinda is the principal deity invoked. A more elaborate service takes place on the occasion of an eclipse when numerous articles are placed in the *kalasha* and the image of the snake-god stamped on metal is worshipped and the usual gifts are made.

*Born again from a cow's mouth.*—The ceremony of being born again from the cow's mouth (*gomukha-prasava*) takes place when the horoscope foretells some crime on the part of the native or some deadly calamity to him. The child is clothed in scarlet and tied on a new sieve which is passed between the hind-legs of a cow forward through the fore-legs to the mouth and again in the reverse direction signifying the new birth. The usual worship, aspersion, &c., takes place and the father smells his son as the cow smells her calf. This is followed by various burnt-offerings and the usual gifts, &c.

*Dentition, &c.*—Ceremonies are also prescribed when the teeth are cut irregularly, when the father and son are born in the same lunar mansion, when three children are born at the same time or in the same lunar mansion, when snakes are seen *in coitu*, when a dog is seen during a ceremony, when a crow evacuates on one's clothes, on seeing a white crow, when gifts of land, money or grain are made, and when building a house, &c.

*Múla-nakshatra.*—The misfortunes that are supposed to follow any one born in the *Múla-nakshatra*, which is presided over by Nirriti, the goddess of evil, are such that the parents are advised to abandon such a child, whether boy or girl, or if not, to go through the ritual prescribed for the occasion with great care and circumspection. The *Múla-sánti* commences with the *Gaṇeśa-pújá* followed by the setting up of the *argha* and the dedication. The sesamum, *kuśa*, barley and water are taken and the *pradhána-sankalpa* is recited and also the *Mátri-pújá*, *Punyáha-váchana* and *Nándi-śráddha* are gone through. The celebrants are then appointed and duly revered and the person who causes the ceremony to be performed stands before them with the palms of his hands joined together in a submissive attitude and asks them to perform the rite according to rule. The celebrants consent and proceed to the *grihasála*, or as usual in Kumaon to the place where the cows are tied up. A place

is selected and purified either with holy-water (*i. e.*, water which has been consecrated by using the names of the sacred places of pilgrimage) or the mixture called *pancha-gavya*. To the south-west a hollow is made and a fire is lighted therein, and this is followed by the ritual contained in the formal appointment of the Bráhmaṇ to the aspersion. An altar is then made, and on the top a lotus of twenty-four petals is drawn and coloured and named as described below.\*

A handsome metal vessel is then placed in the midst of the figure and four other vessels are placed one at each corner of the principal altar. A figure of Nirṛiti stamped on metal is placed in the centre of the altar on its vessel and small pieces of gold, silver and copper on the other vessels after having been washed with the five nectars applied with the usual mantras. Next comes the address to Nirṛiti prefaced by the *vyáhr̥iti* mantra :—‘Come hither and remain here O Nirṛiti mistress of the *Múla-nakshatra*, grant our requests and accept our reverence.’ Her companions and the twenty-four deities residing in the petals of the lotus are similarly invited with the same formula.

Three of the vessels are dedicated to Brahmá, Varuṇa and the nine planets who are invited to attend. Then the meditation on Nirṛiti and the deities to whom the altar is dedicated follows :—‘Nirṛiti, black in colour, of beautiful face, having a man as thy vehicle, protectress, having a sword in thy hand, clad in shining robes adorned with jewels.’ A similar short meditation on Indra and Toya is given and for the remaining deities, the recital of their names is held sufficient. Nirṛiti then receives the formal invitation, &c., with the mantra :—‘*Oṃ moshúna;*’ &c., whilst the others are merely named. Then those deities invited to occupy the three vessels above named receive the invitation, &c., and commencing with Nirṛiti all are in order worshipped with flowers, sandal and water. The vessel placed to the north-east of the altar is dedicated to Rudra, and on it are laid the five varieties of *svastika* and below it, a *drona* of grain. On the covered mouth of the vessel the image of Rudra

\* The name on the petals is that of the initial letters of the *nakshatra* or lunar mansion, above which is the name of the regent of the mansion and below the colour which should be given to it. The names in order commencing with the mansion over which the Viśvadevás preside are as follows :—

|                       |                    |                      |                     |
|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Uttará-Ashárhá.    | 10. Kṛittiká.      | 19. Uttara-phalguní. |                     |
| 2. Sravana.           | 11. Rohiṇí.        | 20. Hastá.           |                     |
| 3. Dhanishthá.        | 12. Mṛiga-śiras.   | 21. Chitrá.          |                     |
| 4. Śata-bhishaj.      | 13. Ardrá.         | 22. Svátí.           |                     |
| 5. Púrva-bhádrapadá.  | 14. Punarvasú.     | 23. Viśákhá.         |                     |
| 6. Uttara-bhádrapadá. | 15. Tishya.        | 24. Anurádhá.        |                     |
| 7. Revatí.            | 16. Áśleshá.       | 25. Jyeshthá.        |                     |
| 8. Ásvini.            | 17. Maghá.         | 26. Múla.            | } In the<br>middle. |
| 9. Bharaní.           | 18. Púrva-phalguní | 27. Púrváshárhá.     |                     |

stamped in metal is placed after being washed in the five nectars as before followed by the dedication, meditation, hymn of praise and invitation, &c. Then the *anga-nyāsa* to Rudra is repeated six times, and the *Rudrādhyāya*, eleven times, &c., &c. Next incense formed from the burnt horns of goats is offered to Nirṛiti and also wine, barley-cakes, flesh and the yellow pigment from the head of a cow (*go-rochanā*); flesh, fish, and wine, however, should not be used by Brāhmins, who should substitute milk with salt for wine and curds with salt for flesh. Lamps are now waved to and fro before all the deities and a fire is lighted on the altar and a *homa* made. Next the *āghāra-homa*, the *kṛisara-homa*, the fifteen-verse *homa*. fuel, rice, &c., with the *śrī-śukta* mantra, the *pāyasa-homa*, *pūrṇā-huti-homa* and the *agni-homa*, are made, after which the fire on the altar is extinguished and Agni is dismissed. The vessel on the principal altar sacred to Nirṛiti is now filled with various materials and whilst these are stirred round several mantras are recited. The parents of the child and the child then bathe outside in a place prepared for the purpose and ornamented with *śvastikas* and all are sprinkled with holy-water. Some hundred verses are then repeated with the prayer that the evil influences due to birth in the *Mūla-nakshatra* may be effectually prevented. A similar ceremony is performed on account of any person born in the *Āśleshā-nakshatra*.

(To be continued.)

*On the Psychological Tenets of the Vaishnavas.*—By RA'JENDRALĀ  
MITRA, LL. D., C. I. E.

What was the ontological doctrine which Chaitanya inculcated? is a question which was lately put to me by a distinguished European scholar. It is one which has not yet been discussed in any English paper that I am aware of. Nor is it well understood by the Paṇḍits of Bengal. Even among the Vaishnavas of the higher orders there seems to be considerable differences of opinion, and distinguished commentators on the Bhāgavata and other leading texts of the Vaishnavas have propounded such contradictory and at times diametrically opposite theories that several polemical tracts had to be written on the subject. I have lately found one of these. It is entitled *Sarva-sampradāyabheda-siddhānta*. In it an attempt has been made to reconcile the theories of the different sects of the Vaishnavas and of Sankarā Āchārya. Its author's name is unknown to me, but the author was evidently a distinguished scholar, thoroughly conversant with the leading topics of Indian Philosophy and the various arguments which Vaishnavas of different schools brought to bear upon

the question. A brief analysis of the work may not, therefore, be unwelcome to the readers of this Journal.

The writer of the work naturally takes for granted that his readers are perfectly familiar with the values of the technical terms and the bearings of the various schools of thought in this country, and therefore plunges at once *in medias res*. This course, however, will not be convenient for English readers, and it is necessary, therefore, to preface this note with a few words on the leading Indian theories on soul, as a spiritual, self-conscious monad, distinct from the body, and concentrating in itself all the purest and most refined of human excellences—a spirit distinct from the entelechies of Aristotle.

These theories may be described under three heads: 1st, Nihilistic; 2nd, Monistic; 3rd, Dualistic.

The first is represented by the Chárvákas, who deny the existence of a soul. Like the Pessimists of this century they say there is no psyche. They hold that the soul, or the spiritual principle which vivifies and sensitizes living beings, is, like the body, derived from the parents, and dies with it. This means that vitality and consciousness are the results of organization, and cease with the complete ataxy of that organization. In other words, there is, apart from the body, no distinct essence, which, in association with matter, gives it life, and, dissociated from it, lives on, either to vitalize other bodies, or in an ethereal or spiritual form. The most essential attribute of this soul is its immortality, and most Indian philosophers add to it eternity, and these being wanting in the doctrine of the Chárvákas and other atheists, it is rightly called Nihilistic. One school of Buddhists, and that the most important, professes a modified form of this nihilism, allowing the soul functional existence for æons, but reducing it to ultimate vacuity from which it is held to arise. This is called *Sūnyavāda*, 'the theory of vacuity,' or *Asadvāda* 'the theory of non-existence.' None of these, however, is accepted by any leading Vaiṣṇava school of thought, and need not, therefore, be noticed at greater length here.

The second head resolves itself into two divisions—1st, Generically Monistic; 2nd, Absolutely Monistic. Those who entertain the theory implied by the first division hold that every living being has a separate soul, which is uncreate and immortal. It is consciousness itself, and spiritual in nature, but defined in character, no one soul merging into, or bearing any relation to, another, and yet it is essentially so identical with one and another, that as a genus all souls are exactly alike, and as such there is perfect unity. Unity is also predicated of this soul on the ground of there being no species of soul of any other kind, and thereby is meant that there is no Divine or Supreme soul. In fact it is with a

view to deny a supreme intelligent Creator and Preserver of the universe that unicity is insisted upon in regard to the soul of created beings. The founders of the Sāṅkhya and the Jaina doctrines, as also some Bauddhas are the followers of this theory. They hold that this soul, though consciousness itself, is, in its ordinary state, so worked upon by its own energy (variously called *Māyā* 'illusion,' *S'akti* 'power,' *Prakṛiti* 'nature,' *ajñāna* 'ignorance,' &c., but meaning in reality the laws of nature) that it does not thoroughly perceive itself. It is the *ego* in a more or less latent, or potential, or mystified state, subject to various malign and beneficent influences which some times make it more and more mystified, and at other times less and less so; its aim, however, is to separate itself from its energy, or to shake off its unintelligent condition, and in course of time under the influence of its beneficent environments and earnest exertion gradually becomes more and more manifest, until at last its beclouding energy melts away, and the soul abides in its perfect purity. This melting of the energy may be compared, and in fact is substantially the same, with the progressive evolution theory of the modern European schools, except that the European Progressionists (or most of them) assume a beginning, or a first start, whereas their Indian congeners believe the universe to be uncreate and eternal. This state of perfect purity is the *summum bonum* which the Sāṅkhyas and the Jains look upon as *mukti* or final deliverance, and the Bauddhas as *Buddhahood* or *Nirvāna* 'perfect Intelligence,' or 'absolute quietude.' The goal of the Progressionist is thus eloquently summarised by Browning:—

"I, that trace Providence without a break,  
 I, the plan of things, drop plumb on this plain truth—  
 That man is made in sympathy with man,  
 At outset of existence, so to speak;  
 But in dissociation, more and more,  
 Man from his fellow, as their lives advance  
 In culture; still humanity that's born  
 A mass, keeps flying off, fining away,  
 Ever into a multitude of points,  
 And ends in isolation, each from each:  
 Peerless above in the sky, the pinnacle,—  
 Absolute contact, fusion all below  
 At the base of being."

Had Browning meant this for the Yogis, it would have been as correct as it is for the Progressionists, omitting only the first four lines in which the idea of Providence and first creation has been sketched, but

which do not at all bear upon the final "Isolation."\* The final stage in either case is a society of immortal beings, each physically, morally, and intellectually perfect, and from this perfection *ex concessio* identical. Some Indian writers do not, however, look upon this theory of unicity as satisfactory, and reckon the doctrine as a form of duality or *Dvaitavāda*. What they mean is that it is a system not of one, but of more than one, soul. This is true enough, and logically following it out, the term for it should imply plurality, and not duality, particularly in the Sanskrit language, where the dual does not mean plural. In the case of the Sāṅkhyas, it has further to be noted that they do not absolutely deny a supreme soul, but hold that there is no proof of the existence of such a being. In other words they are agnostics in this respect.

The Absolutely Monistic theory discards the idea of a separate individual soul for each being, as illogical and unphilosophical. Following the principle that two causes should not be assumed where one is sufficient, it repudiates the assumption of an uncountable number of soul monads, each uncreate and eternal, and holds a single soul, the Supreme Soul, as amply sufficient for all purposes. It is more consonant with reason, and at the same time it removes the stain of atheism which the preceding theory necessarily involves.

The idea of a spirit distinct from the body is of remote antiquity. In the earliest stage of human society every unintelligible phenomenon was accounted for by the assumption of a supernatural power or spirit, and the disposition of that spirit, as malevolent or beneficent, regulated the character of the phenomenon. This idea, once formed, multiplied rapidly, and every mountain and every plain, every wood and every tree, every pool and every river, was soon peopled by its appropriate spirit. These spirits could not, however, be accepted to be equally powerful, and in course of time and advancing reason, it was felt that the more powerful of these must be the rulers or governors of the less powerful, and the ultimate logical resultant was the assumption of one supreme God. God, thus evolved, did not negative the existence of the spirits and the soul of man, but took His place at the head of them all, and mankind at large was perfectly satisfied with this evolution. The theory did not, and could not, jar against their preconceived notions and universally spread beliefs, it bore no taint of atheism, and reason was in its favour. Philosophers, however, did not continue to rest satisfied. The process of thinking which brought them to one God pushed them still onward, and they at last abandoned the theory of separate souls for separate beings, whether

\* The Hindu idea of isolation will be found fully described in my translation of the *Yoga Aphorisms* of Patanjali.

human or celestial, and took to a single soul which gave vitality and consciousness to all. This is the theory of Absolute Unity, and is known under the name of *Advaitavāda* or the theory of 'Nonduality,' or 'Aduality.' From its very name it is obvious that it is subsequent to belief in Duality, or of one Supreme Soul on the one side and of many individual souls on the other. Had unity been the only idea to express, the term would have for certain been formed of a Sanskrit word implying *one*, and not a derivative of *two* with a negative particle before it. It was to exclude the idea of *two* which was current, that recourse was had to the circumlocutory forms of "not two" *advaita*, "one without a second" *ekamevādvyūtiyam*, and so forth. These forms gave greater emphasis to the idea than what a simple statement of one would have done. Indeed, a term implying *one* would leave room for doubt as to whether the unity applied to the especial character of the soul or to its numerical individuality, and this is precluded by these negative forms.

The Upanishads dwell very largely on this idea. When Nachiketā, in the Katha Upanishad, repeatedly urges in varied phraseology 'I am that,' and Svetaketu, in the Chhândogya Upanishad, is told "thou art that," the idea conveyed is that the *ego* is no other than the Divinity himself. But the brief enigmatic way in which the theory was disclosed led to much misapprehension. And it was left to the renowned S'ankara Achārya, the apostle of this school, to elaborate this Nondual or Adual theory at considerable length in his great commentary on the Vedānta Aphorisms of Vyāsa. He would tolerate nothing that did not coincide in every detail with this cardinal theory, and he argued it out in very much the same form in which Berkeley worked out his celebrated theory regarding the essential non-reality of matter.

Sankara, however, left it in a position which could not be final, and his followers could not rest satisfied at the point where he left it. The question soon arose as to, how does this Supreme Soul, one without a second, provide souls for the countless individual units of creation? To admit the theory of universal pervasion—of an infinite mass made finite by enclosing bodies, like the atmosphere enclosed in jars, which the followers of Sankara developed at great length—was to admit a system of Pantheism, or animism, the *anima mundi* of Stahl, which was open to serious logical defects, and likewise inconsistent with the doctrine of faith which the Bhagavadgītā had promulgated, and which got extensive currency a while before the time of S'ankara. Indeed S'ankara himself had felt this, and provided for it by a faint outline of a theory of shadow or reflection,—a shadow from the Great Soul forming individual souls. This is the doctrine of the Bhāgavata Purāna. Vishṇu Svāmī, the founder of the Rudra-sampradāya, changed the shadow into a scintilla or

spark—something more substantial than a mere shadow—and worked it out into a regular system. This is called *S'uddhāvaitavāda*. It was further developed by Vallabha A'chārya, whose dogma has since degenerated into hideous licentiousness. The idea is, that since every individual soul is the Supreme Divinity, that soul should not be tortured by penance and privation, but fed and nourished and kept in an everlasting round of pleasures, and the result is a system of Epicureanism. Rāmānuja was not satisfied with this shadow or spark. He assumes that the Supreme Soul (Vishṇu as he names it) divides itself into a twofold form—a Supreme Spirit or *Paramātmā*, the cause, and a gross one, or effect, the individual soul units together with the universe or matter. This idea led him to the three categories, soul (*chit*), non-soul or matter (*achit*), and the Lord (*īśvara*). This tenet is called *Viśiṣṭādvaita* or 'qualified unicity.' Professor Wilson puts it thus :—

"Creation originated in the wish of Vishṇu, who was alone, without a second, to multiply himself : he said, I will become many ; and he was individually embodied as visible and ethereal light. After that, as a ball of clay may be moulded into various forms, so the grosser substance of the deity became manifest in the elements, and their combinations : the forms into which the divine matter is thus divided, are pervaded by a portion of the same vitality which belongs to the great cause of all, but which is distinct from his spiritual or ethereal essence : " (Works, I, pp. 43f.).

Nimbārka or Nimbāditya\* who founded the sect of the Sanakādi-sampradāya, went further, and promulgated the theory of distinct individual souls, or subordinate particles, ordinarily inferior but susceptible of fusing or subsiding in the Great Soul, so as ultimately to end in one. This is called *Dvaitāvaitavāda* or 'the theory of Dualistic Aduality.'

Professor Wilson thus summarises the tenets of this school : "Life, they say, is one and eternal, but dependent upon the Supreme and indissolubly connected with but not the same with him." (Works, I., p. 144). The Mahopanishad feels the difficulty of this position, and evades it by saying "as the birds and the string, as juices and trees, as rivers and oceans, as freshwater and salt, as the thief and his booty, as man and objects of sense, so are God and Life distinct, and both are ever undefinable."

These several ideas of shadow, reflection, scintillation, subordinate particles &c., occur in very ancient works, not excepting the Vedas, but

\* This is a nickname which was given to the saint because he once stopped the motion of the sun on the top of a Nimba tree (*Melia azadiracta*). His original name is not known. Dr. Wilson says it was Bhāskarāchārya, but I suspect this is not correct, for there is extant a commentary by Bhāskara Achārya on the Vedānta Sūtra, which is distinct from the commentary by Nimbārka on that work.

they are there very loosely and promiscuously put forth, without any serious attempt at philosophic precision. The authors named above were the first to give to each a scientific fixity and distinctness. It should, nevertheless, be mentioned that there is yet considerable misunderstanding current on the subject, and the three terms *Suddhādvaita*, *Viśiṣṭādvaita*, and *Dvaitādvaita*, are very carelessly used—the first according to some, is the same with *Advaita*, and the third is identified with the second. For the purposes of this paper it is, however, not necessary to attempt here any detailed exposition.

The last is the theory of Duality or *Dvaitavāda*, of one Supreme Soul and innumerable individual souls, essentially independent of each other. Its teacher was Mādhuva Achārya\* *alias* Ananda Tīrtha *alias* Pūrṇaprajña or Pūrṇamandira, who wrote a short commentary on the Vedānta Sūtra, and therein developed his theory, obviously taking it from the Nyāya-darśana, where it occurs in an unmistakable form. His doctrine is known under the name of *Pūrṇaprajña-darśana*, and his followers call themselves Brahma-sampradāyī. As already stated, it dates from long before the time of the Dual doctrine. It is frequently referred to in the Vedas, and in the Upanishads it is indicated at times. But the idea is not fully worked out, and in some places, the theory of both the Supreme and the individual souls abiding in the same body crops out prominently. This is particularly the case in a remarkable allegory in the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, which occurs also in the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, where it is said :

“Two (birds) of handsome plumage, rivals and friends, nestle in the same tree : one of them eats the sweet fruits ; the other looks on without eating.” †

The obvious meaning of this verse implies a duality ; and those who adopt the Dual theory appeal to this authority ; but Śankara looks upon it as an indication of the Supreme Soul associated with plastic nature or Prakṛiti, or “consciousness associated with ignorance, desire and the residua of former works.” ‡

Closely correlated with the above theories are the doctrines of *Saguṇa* (qualified) and *Nirguṇa* (unqualified) in regard to the Supreme Soul. The nearest equivalent English philosophical terms for these would be ‘con-

\* Grammatically the word should be *Mādhuva* as a derivative of *Madhu*, but in MSS. it is frequently, not always, found with the first vowel short, and both Professor Wilson and Mr. Gough (in the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha) have accepted that form.

† द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिपस्वजाते ।

तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वन्धनमश्नतेनाभिचक्षते ॥

‡ अविद्याकामवासनाश्चल्लिङ्गोपाधिविज्ञानानाम् ।

ditioned' and 'unconditioned,' but they are not exactly to the point. Unconditioned in English has two meanings. Some employ it to denote entire absence of all *restrictions*, while others, and a large number, take it to imply entire absence of all *relation*. Indian philosophers are unanimously of opinion that the Supreme Soul is absolutely unconditioned in the sense of total absence of all restrictions. It is perfectly free from all trammels of laws, rules and conditions, and nothing can restrict it in any sense whatever. But they are divided as regards relation. The followers of the Yoga school hold that there is no relation whatever between the Supreme Soul and the universe. The universe is uncreate and eternal, and its course is regulated by laws or nature which is not subject to Divine will, and human souls, being uncreate and eternal, are equally independent of a creator. But those monitists who believe in a primal creation and trace that creation to a divine architect, have to establish a relation between the Divine and the individual souls, and opinions in this respect vary greatly. Their diverse theories about emancipation also necessitate some relation. The doctrine of incarnation also requires that the Divinity should be, at least at times, subject to conditions. And the process of transition from the unconditioned to the conditioned has been explained in different ways. The word *saguṇa*, moreover, implies personality, and some of those who believe in incarnations insist upon the Godhead being a personal divinity, while others hold him to be always and invariably impersonal (*nirguṇa*).

To turn now to the Vaishnavas. They belong to one or other of the three subdivisions of the Adual school or to the Dual one, under the generic names of Śrī-sampradāya, Rudra-sampradāya, Brahma-sampradāya, and Sanakādi-sampradāya, and the reconciliation of their different theories to subserve the cause of Bhakti is the object of the work under notice.

The work opens with a quotation from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in which Kṛṣṇa says "know ye that I am the preceptor of all preceptors" (*Sarveśhām apy āchāryāṇām āchāryaṃ mām vijāniyāt*), and then argues, since preceptors (*āchāryas*) are incarnations of the Lord, and their instructions must be evidence of truth, it follows that when Vallabha Achārya and others, after refuting the Dual dogma, establish the Nondual one, their doctrine must be accepted as true; but in so accepting it, one must reject the theory of Mādhva as unreliable and untrue. Should he, however, accept the theory of Mādhva, the sayings of Vallabha Achārya and others, which refute the Dual tenet, must of course fall to the ground. 'And on the logical principle of that which is contradictory is incorrect,' all the various doctrines of the Vaishnavas must be condemned as untrue. The question then is, how to solve this riddle? And

the author begins by enquiring what was the doctrine of Chaitanya, the founder of the Vaishnava sect of Bengal? As I have already remarked at the beginning, this was a moot point. Chaitanya has not left us any record of his philosophical ideas. He was an enthusiastic Bhakta, who devoted his entire time to the cultivation of faith, in abstracting himself from all carnal wants and worldly attractions, in dedicating himself, body and soul, to his maker, and in disseminating the doctrine of faith among his followers. It is doubtful if he ever wrote any work or treatise on religion. Certain it is that none has come down to our time. Kavikarnapura, a contemporary of Chaitanya and author of great eminence among the Vaishnavas, flatly denies that Chaitanya ever wrote anything about his doctrine. In the 'Chaitanya-chandrodaya' of that author the question is asked, "Dear Sir, has this Hari published any work explanatory of his principles?" and the reply given is: "Though it is well-known that the Almighty is the author of the Vedas, yet whatever the Knower of the heart teaches, he teaches through agents indirectly, and his lessons are not defined by time or space."\*

His biographers devoted themselves with Boswellian assiduity to the task of recording his sayings and doings, and certainly succeeded in preserving a vivid picture of his life. But their object was to appeal to the masses, to create a lively interest in their teacher, and anecdotes of benevolence, mercy, devotion, self-abnegation, and total disregard of worldly attractions, were calculated to serve their purpose best, and they selected them. Philosophical dogmas and abstruse reasoning about the Unconditioned were the least adapted to subserve such a purpose, and they therefore eschewed them altogether, or kept them in the back ground. And under the circumstances it is but natural that there should be considerable difference of opinion in regard to the saint's system of philosophy. The thesis has to be worked out by a comparison of the bearings of his casual remarks and mode of life, and not proved by the quotation of any positive declaration. Our author starts by saying that Chaitanya inculcated the same doctrine of Dualistic Aduality which Nimbáditya had taught long before him; and in support of his position combats such objections as, in his opinion, might be started against it.

To the faithful followers of Chaitanya the first objection would naturally be, how can Chaitanya, who was the Supreme Divinity, even Vishnu himself, born in flesh, accept the doctrine of a mere mortal, and become his follower? He should teach that which is original, that which none before

\* पारिपार्श्वदः । भाव किं तेनेहे तेने हरिणा स्वाभिमतमत्यञ्जके ग्रन्थः ।

सुबधारः । यद्यपि को न वेद वेदकद्वैतं भगवतस्मायापि स्वल्पन्यामी यामीहते प्रेरणां न खलु सा वाङ्मोपदेशतो देशतो वा कालतय परिच्छिद्रा भवितुमर्हति ।

knew, and not that which was already known. The objection is met by the remark that Nimbáditya was an incarnation of Vishṇu, and his opinion was therefore that of Vishṇu, and Chaitanya being, likewise, an incarnation of Vishṇu, the doctrine expounded is of the same individual given under different conditions, and there is therefore no following in the case. In order to prove that Nimbáditya was an incarnation of Vishṇu, a verse is cited on the authority of Hemádri, who makes the statement. Learned Vaishnavas, moreover, urge that the primary object of Chaitanya was not to inculcate a new tenet in psychology, but to give wide currency to the doctrine of Bhakti, and it was not necessary for him, therefore, to dwell upon universally accepted truths.

Having answered this preliminary objection, the author cites in support of his opinion that Chaitanya was a Dvaitádvaitavádí, several authorities. The first is Viśvanátha Chakravartí who, in his commentary on the Bhágavata, it is said, has made the statement. The words used are, *Chakravartibhiḥ svagranthe nimbáditya-matavarititvena maháprabháññáñ likhanát*, but no quotation is supplied.

The next authority is Gangárúma Gauḍa, who is said to have been a disciple of Chaitanya. In his case, however, there is a specific assertion. In his work called *Nibandha* he begins with the remark that "Nimbáditya was the destroyer of darkness" (*Nimbádityas tamodhvamsí*) and ends by saying "composed by a follower of the doctrine of Nimbáditya," (*Nimbáditya-matavariti-virachitáyám*), and the inference from these passages is that since an immediate disciple of Chaitanya professed himself to be a follower of Nimbáditya's doctrine, his teacher must have followed the same doctrine.

The third authority is Harideva Tarkavágísa, of Saidábád, near Murshidábád, but no passage has been cited, nor is the name of his work given. I have not heard of this personage, and no one can give me any information about him.

The last authority is Nárāyaṇadása, a disciple of a disciple (*anuśishya*) of Advaita Áchárya, and a Vaishnava author of some repute. In his treatise on branding the body with the symbols of Vishṇu, (*Taptamudrá-dháraṇa*) he makes a positive statement to the effect that Chaitanya accepted the Dualistic Aduality doctrine of Nimbáditya.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that this collection of authorities is poor at best, and such as it is, it may be easily set aside, both by circumstantial evidence and by positive statements of the contemporaries of Chaitanya. Bhaktas believe 'that in order to the attainment of supreme beatitude, they must pass through five stages or states of probation. The first of these is called *Sánta* or quietism, or a state of calm contemplation of the Deity. The second is *Dásya* or servitude, which in a more

active state leads on to the third, or *Sākhya*, i. e., an ardent feeling of friendship for the divinity, and that in its turn to the fourth or *Vātsalya* (filial affection), and lastly to *Mādhurya* or love, when the devotee, rising above all idea of divinity, entertains the same ardent attachment for the Deity which a human lover feels for the object of his love, or "what the milkmaids of Vṛindāvana entertained for their charming Kṛishṇa." These ideas cannot be consistent with the theory of Aduality. Service and friendship cannot exist where the adorer and the adored are identically the same. One must start with the idea of inferiority before he can deem worship and service desirable or appropriate, and this would necessarily imply Duality and not Unity. Nor is the reward of the service, &c., as inculcated by the Vaishnavas, such as to support the Adual theory. That reward, according to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is fivefold;\* it may amount to (1) dwelling in the same region with the Divinity, (*sālokya*), or (2) to the attainment of the same supremacy or dominion as that of the Divinity (*sārshṭi*), or (3) to fellow-lodgership, or living in close proximity to Him (*sāmīpya*), or (4) to the attainment of the form of the Divinity (*sārūpya*), or (5) to unity or union with Him, (*ekatva*).† The last is the same with the Nirvāṇa or *Laya* of non-Vaishnava authors, but Vaishnava commentators are not satisfied with it, and explain it away in various ways. The word *sāyujya* is a homonym of *ekatva*, and that has been explained by Tārānātha in his *Vāchaspatya* to mean dwelling together (*ekatra-samavasthāna*); others hold it to mean communion or practically entering a house, but not being identified with it.‡ Any how the Vaishnavas do not care for the last, and rely on the first four, and therein, we have rivalry, independent existence &c., but no union or merging of the human into the Divine Soul, and consequently a dual theory. Kavikarṇapura, who was a contemporary of Chaitanya, and took pride in having seen the saint during his ministry, and for having followed him as a disciple, is clearly of opinion that Chaitanya

\* सालोक्य-सार्ष्टि-सामीप्य-सारूप्यैकत्वमप्युत । Book III, Chapter 29, Verse 13.

† Śrīdhara Svāmī explains these five terms thus: सालोक्यं मया सह एकस्मिन् लोके वासः । सार्ष्टिं समानैश्वर्यं । सामीप्यं निकटवर्तित्वं । सारूप्यं समानरूपता । एकत्वं सायुज्यं ।

‡ कश्चिद्रपि पुस्तके श्लोकमध्ये सायुज्यपाठः बाष्पादृशामसम्मतः । किन्त्वेकत्वमित्यस्य बाष्पानं सायुज्यं । यदि च सायुज्यपाठः केनापि स्वीकृतोति तदा सायुज्यैकत्वयोः को भेदः स्यात् । अत्र समाधानं । सायुज्यशब्दस्य प्रवेशार्थेनेपि परमेश्वरात्मकत्वं न स्वीकार्यं, यथा-पुरं प्रविशतीत्यत्र पुरसंयोग एव प्रतीयते न तु परात्मकत्वमिति । एतद्रपा बाष्पा कश्चिच्चित् स्थाने प्राचीनैः कृतानि ।

was a Dvaitavádi, and in the work above named thus expresses his convictions :

“ACTOR.—Your Bhaktiyoga or exercise of devotion, which, you say, was unknown to the authors of our Śástras, produces a wonderful knowledge the result of which is absorption into the Deity, the same which the professors of the Śástras inculcate ; where lies then the difference ?

“MANAGER.—From the text which says :—‘The recitation of the name of the loved one produces an enamoration and an earnestness which makes him, who adopts the religion, to laugh, and cry, and scream, and sing, and dance like a mad man,’ it is evident that the Bhaktiyoga, of which singing the name of the Lord is a component, produces a peculiar attachment which passes on to an excessive fellow-feeling. It is also said, ‘such truthful beings perceive me to be of pleasing and of benignly smiling—of gratifying and excessively beautiful—forms, with rosy eyes, and talk to me in sweet soothing words. Devotion by the aid of those charming forms and innocently playful and smiling glances and pleasing speech, robs them of their mind and soul, and leads them on unto salvation, against their will.’ From which you see that salvation is a state of fellow-ship with the Deity and not absorption ; therefore the venerable Kapila said : ‘devotion is superior to santification ;’ and hence is the singing of the name of the Lord, in the Kaliyoga, no secondary means towards the attainment of the great object of human existence, and the source of heavenly love.

“ACTOR.—Sir, your words are most wonderful. The Śástras ordain that the name of the Lord leads to absorption, and you maintain the contrary. We have heard, ‘by reciting the name of Náráyana the dying Ajámila obtained *mukti*.’

MANAGER (*smiling*).—The word *mukti* here means fellowship, for in that very place it is said : ‘He immediately assumed the shape of the companions of the Deity.’ The doctrine of Kṛishṇa Chaitanya overthrows all others. All righteous men adopt this doctrine. Even Kali himself is blessed by this incarnation.\*

It should be added, however, that Kavikarnapura has approvingly quoted many passages from the Pancharátras and other works which are strongly adualistic in their purport, and makes Chaitanya say that he entirely subscribed to them. The only way to reconcile this contradiction is to accept the theory of Dualistic Aduality, which after all is but a compromise, and as such affords room for the simultaneous inculcation of the two dogmas. The fact is, Chaitanya never busied himself with pure psychology, and the attribution to him of any specific doctrine is more a matter of convenience than a positive historical fact.

\* R. Mitra’s Chaitanya-chandrodaya, Introduction, pp. xi-xii.

To resume our analysis of the work under notice. The objection which next suggests itself to our author is—since Mádha, Rámánuja and Vishnu Svámí have been recognized as teachers and great Vaishnavas, how can their opinion be rejected? But this is evaded by the remark that their tenets have not been completely developed in their works.

Next comes S'ridhara Svámí, a renowned exegetist on the Bhágavata, in regard to whom Chaitanya himself had said—"What is opposed to the tenets of Svámí should be spurned by us" [*Svámimata-viruddhañyat tad asmákam anádaraniyam.*] He upholds the doctrine of Suddhádvaita, and how is that to be reconciled with the assumption of Chaitanya having followed Nimbáditya? This is met by a reference to the Sandarbhas,\* where it is argued that in his commentary on the Bhágavata, S'ridhara Svámí has devoted very little space to the explanation of the doctrine of knowledge combined with faith (*jñánamiśra-bhakti*), whereas he has dwelt largely on pure faith, (*śuddha-bhakti*), and it is obvious therefore that he preferred the latter. According to the Advaita system, God is always and invariably unconditioned, and never becomes conditioned, but in the Bhágavata Puráña his incarnation is repeatedly admitted, and S'ridhara Svámí having admitted that, it must also follow that he did not entertain the pure Adual doctrine, and *ex necessitate rei* must have accepted the theory of Dualistic Aduality.

The last position opens the way to the question, why not then at once admit the Dualistic theory which is more favourable to the incarnation dogma than the other? If we believe human souls to be emanations of the Divine one, every birth would be an incarnation of the Divinity, and there would be no difference between ordinary births and incarnations, except, perhaps, in the quantity of the divine essence contained in each, and we have to divide the unconditioned into quantities of greater and less proportions, whereas the Dual theory marks a radical difference of essence, and thereby obviates every difficulty. It is appropriate, too, that the inferior should evince faith and devotion to the superior, but where there is no difference in essence, it is inconsistent to talk of faith and devotion. And inasmuch as Chaitanya laid the greatest stress on incarnations

\* Six different works on the religion of Chaitanya bearing the common appellation of Shaṭ-sandarbha. Their specific names are—(I) *Bhakti-sandarbha*, (II) *Tattva-sandarbha*, (III), *Bhagavat-sandarbha*, (IV), *Paramártha-sandarbha*, (V) *Kṛishṇa-sandarbha*, (VI) *Príti-sandarbha*. There is a 7th under the name of *Daśamakrama-sandarbha*, which is looked upon as an appendix to the hexapartite work. These were written by Jíva Gośvámí under the superintendence and instruction of Rúpa and Sanátana, the two foremost disciples of Chaitanya. The object of the works is to prove that the doctrine inculcated in the Bhágavata is the same which Chaitanya taught.

and on the doctrine of Bhakti some person assume that he followed the doctrine of Mádharma Achárya. This is, however, not admitted, inasmuch as Chaitanya has himself said (as recorded by Kṛishṇadása Kavirája, in the second book of the Charitámṛita) that the distinctions of the adorer and the adored is inconsistent with pure faith.\*

He goes further and says, "the two theories of the identity of the Divine and the individual soul, (*abheda*) and of the radical difference thereof (*bheda*) have been inculcated by Vishṇu Svámí and others; among them those who hold the identity doctrine should be known as following the opinion of Vishṇu Svámí, and those who adopt the radically different one follow the opinion of Mádharma, and therefore they are called *támasah* or appertaining the quality of darkness."†

This would have sufficed for an argument; but as the object of the writer is to reconcile all adverse opinions, and not to create dissensions, he goes on to say that, though apparently contradictory, the opinion of Mádharma is not hostile, and he works out this idea by saying that Sankara and others were great devotees or worshippers of Bhagaván (Vishṇu), and as such they could not be otherwise than following the doctrine of Nimbáditya who gave the greatest emphasis to faith, and Mádharma A'chárya, being an immediate disciple of Sankara A'chárya, he and his later followers cannot have forsaken the doctrine of their philosophic tutor, and we are informed in the Sandarbhas, that by following the teachership of Mádharma, Chaitanya could not but continue to belong to the school of Nimbáditya.‡ He then anticipates the objection—what proof have we that the teachership of Sankara and Mádharma was admitted, and urges in reply that the Sandarbhas say so.¶ Passages are also cited from the *Padma Purána*, the *Agni Purána* and Sankara's commentary on the *Vishṇu-sahasrána* to prove this theory. It is argued, further, that even as Srídharma Svámí, so has Sankara, in his work dwelt on both the doctrines of Duality and Aduality, and his instructions differ only with reference to the mental character of his pupils, as householders or hermits, and the

\* यत् भक्तेः साधनं साध्यं च प्रतिपादितं तत् शुद्धभक्तेः । विरुद्धमचेति श्रीकृष्णचैतन्यचरितामृतं मध्यमखण्डे श्रीमहाप्रभुभिः कथितमिति ।

† विष्णुस्वामिभिर्भेदाभेदौ प्रतिपादितौ तन्मध्ये च भेदांशे विष्णुस्वामिनानुसरणं भेदोऽपि तैर्माध्वमतवत् प्रतिपादितं तदर्थं ते तामसा इत्युक्तं ।

‡ किञ्च माध्वमतवर्तित्वस्याभ्युपगमेऽपि न विरोधः । तथा हि शङ्कराचार्याणां भागवतत्वेन निम्बादित्यमतवर्तित्वात् । माध्वाचार्याणाञ्च साक्षात् तच्छिष्यताप्राप्तेरिति तत्त्व-वादिगुरुणामाधुनिकानां श्रीशङ्कराचार्यशिष्यतां लब्ध्वापोत्यनेन च सुन्दर्भेण । तच्छिष्य-प्रतिपादनेन तच्छिष्यभूतमाध्वमतवर्तित्वस्याणां महाप्रभुणां माध्वमतवर्तित्वेऽपि निम्बादित्य-मतवर्तित्वम् ।

difference therefore is not essential. In support of this, a verse is paraphrased from the Gítá which says, "Each beholds God in the same way in which he reflects on Him," (*yádriśi bhávaná yasya tádrig eva tasya svarúpaṃ darśanam*).

In the course of his work the author enters frequently into the question as to how the Unconditioned Divine Soul, formless, qualityless, and all-pervading, makes itself conditioned in incarnations? As a devout Vaishnava, believing with all his faith Chaitanya to be the sum total of Divinity in a human form, he cannot deny that God descends on earth in human flesh, and yet he cannot raise his voice against the great teacher of his faith who has upheld the nondual doctrine, and he gets out of the difficulty by saying, "Verily Brahma is of the form of truth, intelligence and joy, but to extend his grace to his devotees he appears in substantial forms",\* and fortifies his position by a number of quotations. The dogma is of course as old as that of incarnation, and needs no amplification here. Nor need I say anything on the logical consistency of the arguments by which the various reconciliations are effected. The work is intended for men of devout faith, and logic in their case is often quite different from what it is to ordinary common sense.

\* सच्चिदानन्दरूपं ब्रह्मैव भक्तानुग्रहायविभूतवियस्वरूपं ।

# JOURNAL

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## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

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*A Classified and Detailed Catalogue of the Gold Coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India, with an Introductory Essay.—*  
By V. A. SMITH, B. A. Dubl., B. C. S.

(With 4 Plates and a Table of Weights.)

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

Section I.—Preliminary.

The imperial Gupta dynasty is known to have consisted of a lineal succession from father to son of seven sovereigns, not including Budha Gupta, a local ruler in the country between the Jamuná and the Narmadá, nor various other princes who retained a grasp on the eastern portions of the Gupta empire, after the decadence of the imperial family.

No coins are known to exist which can be referred with certainty to the founder of the dynasty, who is in the inscriptions simply named Sri Gupta.\* Ghatot Kacha, Chandra Gupta I, and Samudra Gupta who

\* A gold coin found in Jessore was formerly attributed to Sri Gupta, (*J. A. S. B. XXI, p. 401; Pl. XII, 10*), but this attribution cannot be maintained. The unique silver coin, belonging to Mrs. Freeling, which was at one time believed to belong to the reign of Sri Gupta, is plainly a coin of Skanda Gupta (*Records of the Gupta Dynasty, pp. 49, 50*). General Cunningham, nevertheless, still assigns to Sri Gupta an unpublished coin in his cabinet. In the case of this prince the word Sri would seem to be an integral part of his name, for the past participle 'Gupta' can hardly stand alone. Sri Gupta would therefore mean 'protected by Sri' or Lakshmi. In the names of the succeeding princes the word 'Sri' is used only as the customary honorific prefix, which is, in my opinion, best left untranslated. I-tsing speaks of the king who preceded his time by 500 years as 'Sri Gupta,' not simply as 'Gupta.' (*J. R. A. S. Vol. XIII, N. S. p. 571.*)

were respectively the second, third, and fourth sovereigns of the line, appear to have coined in gold only, and gold pieces of all these princes are extant. It is probable that during their reigns, as in the time of their Indo-Scythian predecessors, the silver currency was supplied "by the abundant issues of the Greek princes."\*

The fifth king, Chandra Gupta II, has left coins in gold, silver, and copper, as also has his son and successor Kumára Gupta Mahendra.

Skanda Gupta, the last of his line who enjoyed imperial power,† did not, as far as is at present known, issue any copper coinage, but specimens both of his gold and silver mintages exist in considerable numbers.

Budha Gupta's money is known in silver only; and the coins of Nára Gupta and other eastern successors of the imperial dynasty occur only in gold, though the metal is often very impure.

The design of my catalogue is limited to a description of the coins of the imperial Guptas, as above defined, but, inasmuch as earlier publications on the subject do not discriminate the local and imperial coinages, I have been compelled to notice briefly in a Supplement some of the coins of Nára Gupta and other minor kings of uncertain date and lineage. The full discussion of these later coins would require a long dissertation to itself. For various reasons I shall not attempt to discuss the silver coinages of the Gupta kings, although there is still room for a comprehensive essay on the subject.‡

The rare copper coins of Chandra Gupta II and Kumára Gupta Mahendra seem to possess comparatively little historical interest, and, except as curiosities, are certainly of less importance than the gold and silver coins. I therefore pass them by for the present, without detailed notice. It is probable, as suggested by Wilson, that the vast Indo-Scythian issues of copper coin supplied the Gupta era with nearly suffi-

\* *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 348.

† On another occasion I may perhaps venture on a review of what is known of Gupta history and chronology, but there is reason to hope that the task may be undertaken by a more competent hand. For the present it will suffice to say that I consider the death of Skanda Gupta, or, at least, the break up of his empire, to have occurred in A. D. 318-319, and both the reign of Sri Gupta and the Gupta era to have begun about 160-170 A. D. I altogether dissent from the view of Prof. Oldenberg and other writers who make the Gupta dynasty begin in A. D. 318-9; and I am equally unable to agree with Mr. Thomas in identifying the Gupta and Śaka eras.

‡ This remark must not be understood as signifying any failure to appreciate the value of Mr. Thomas' and General Cunningham's writings.

cient currency in that metal;\* and, as in modern times, a large proportion of the small change required may have consisted of cowries, and of tokens issued by private persons.

The gold coinage of the Gupta kings is, on many grounds, of exceptional interest. The great variety of type is remarkable, and suggests many problems in the history of art, religion, and nations. Though some of the types are common, others are of extreme rarity, and to be reckoned among the most desirable treasures of the Oriental numismatist. The proper attribution of several of the types is doubtful, and supplies a theme for abundant discussion, and for the exercise of numismatic acumen. The execution of many of the coins is of a comparatively high order of art, and the design is not unworthy of the execution; while, in most of the types, both design and execution have such strongly marked national characteristics that they are far more interesting than the mere imitations of foreign work which are found in the majority of Indian coinages. Foreign ideas are clearly traceable in this series of coins, but they are, in the best types, skilfully assimilated and Hinduized.

The Hindú character of nearly all the Gupta gold coins is a plainly

\* General Cunningham informs me that, so far as he knows, only one copper coin of Kumára Gupta has yet been found. It has not been published. Sir E. C. Bayley (*Num. Chron. for 1882 p. 158*) mentions the Gupta copper coins as being "among the rarest of all Indian coins," and expresses a belief that they "seldom occur except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Gupta capital, Kanauj" [*sic.*]

Copper coins, as Prof. Gardner has observed (*Catal. of Seleucid Coins, p. xxxii*), are very seldom dug up far from their place of mintage, and, therefore, if Sir E. C. Bayley's belief as to the *provenance* of the Gupta copper pieces is correct, the common opinion that Kanauj was the Gupta capital would receive some support. But, the evidence, so far as it goes, indicates that the copper coins, like those in gold, were coined further east. Prinsep describes six specimens, and of these three were from the cabinet of Mr. Tregear, who collected at Jaunpur. The other three were respectively in the Stacy, Swiney, and Prinsep collections, and it is not said that any of them came from Kanauj. I have not any further information as to the find-spots of the Gupta copper coins. Sir E. C. Bayley in the passage above quoted rather exaggerates the rarity of the copper issues of Chandra Gupta II. Ten specimens are in the British Museum, and one is in the India Office collection. The cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains "many" similar to fig. 15 in Pl. XXX of Prinsep's Essays, one like fig. 12 of the same plate, and one of the 'vase' type as figured in J. A. S. B. XXXIV, Pl. V. figs. 20, 21. General Cunningham and Mr. Grant possess specimens, and Mr. Theobald has a large coin, a duplicate of Prinsep's fig. 11, the obverse of which presents the king shaded by an umbrella. Further specimens doubtless exist in the cabinets of other collectors. See Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I, pp. 374-375, and Pl. XXX, figs. 11-15; Ariana Antiqua, Pl. XVIII, fig. 15 (the same as Prinsep's fig. 14); and J. A. S. B. Vol. XXXIV (1868) p. 125, and Pl. V. figs. 20 and 21.

legible record of a native reaction directed by the Gupta kings against the domination of the foreign Scythian ideas.\*

The numerous, and frequently well preserved, legends on the coins of the Gupta dynasty offer much interesting material for the study of the historian and paleographer.

In addition to all the above reasons which render attractive the study of the Gupta gold coinage, another is furnished by the chaotic state of the literature on the subject and the incompleteness of the existing catalogues, which loudly call for re-arrangement and revision.

The difficulty experienced by myself in studying the coins with the help of existing publications first induced me to make an attempt to summarize and systematise the known facts. The work has grown under my hands, and, imperfect as it is in many respects, I trust that the labour bestowed upon it may not have been altogether thrown away.

“No trouble,” says Dr. Burnell, “is thrown away, which saves trouble to others,”† and, even if I have failed to solve any of the numerous historical and numismatic problems suggested by the study of these coins, I can scarcely have failed in smoothing the path for investigators more fully equipped with the needful learning and technical experience. I have been encouraged in my undertaking by the recently expressed opinion of General Cunningham that “the gold coins of the Guptas require to be carefully re-examined.”‡

So far as my opportunities permitted I have made a careful examination of this series of coins, and now submit the results of the investigation and the opinions I have formed to the candid criticism of all competent judges in the hope that they will supplement my facts where they are incomplete, and correct my opinions where they are erroneous.

I have endeavoured to work in the spirit of the words of Saint-Hilaire:—“*La Numismatique est patiente, et elle amasse les faits spéciaux qui la concernent, jusqu'à ce que l'histoire vienne plus tard en donner la véritable clef, si jamais elle le peut.*”§

#### *Section II.—Types and Devices.*

In Mr. Thomas' valuable catalogues|| the several types and varieties are distinguished by an arbitrary alphabetical notation, for example,

\* In the N. W. P. Gazetteer for Basti (*Vol. VI, p. 718*) the rise of the Gupta dynasty is absurdly described as a triumph of Buddhism over Hinduism. Sri Gupta may have been a Buddhist possibly, but certainly his successors were all Hindus.

† Quoted in Max Müller's 'India, What can it Teach Us,' p. vii.

‡ Proc. A. S. B. August 1882, p. 113.

§ Journal des Savants for 1865, p. 413.

|| J. A. S. B. XXIV, pp. 487-502; and Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I, pp. 377-387.

E, E b, 2 E b. Such a notation is confusing and gives little assistance to the memory. I have ventured on a novel nomenclature which will, it is hoped, prove appropriate and convenient.\* The devices, both obverse and reverse, of the Gupta gold coins display a remarkable amount of variety in conception and execution, and thus afford ample facilities for classification. The obverse devices, when regarded with reference to the most prominent or characteristic feature in each, are readily divisible into 19 classes, of which few are common to two or more reigns. The reverse devices, when classified in a similar way, fall into but 9 classes, and are far less characteristic of the several reigns. It is evident, therefore, that the classification of types should be based, as it is in Mr. Thomas's catalogues, on the obverse devices. The main types are named and classified in my catalogue as follows, the name of each type being intended to indicate the most conspicuous, or most characteristic element in the obverse device. The definition of each type will be found in the Catalogue.

| <i>Reign.</i>         | <i>Type.</i>                                                         |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I. Ghatot Kacha.      | 1. Solar Standard. ( <i>Pl. II</i> ; 1).                             |
| II. Chandra Gupta I.  | 1. King and Queen. ( <i>Pl. II</i> ; 2).                             |
| III. Samudra Gupta.   | 1. Javelin. ( <i>Pl. II</i> ; 3, 4, 5).                              |
|                       | 2. Archer. ( <i>Pl. II</i> ; 6).                                     |
|                       | 3. Lyrist. ( <i>Pl. II</i> ; 7, 8).                                  |
|                       | 4. Aśwamedha. ( <i>Pl. II</i> ; 9).                                  |
|                       | 5. Tiger. ( <i>Pl. II</i> ; 10).                                     |
|                       | 6. Boy and Battle-axe. ( <i>Pl. II</i> ;<br>11, 12).                 |
| IV. Chandra Gupta II. | 1. Couch. ( <i>Pl. II</i> ; 13).                                     |
|                       | 2. Archer. ( <i>Pl. II</i> ; 14; <i>Pl.</i><br><i>II</i> ; 1, 2, 3). |
|                       | 3. Lancer. ( <i>Pl. III</i> ; 4).                                    |
|                       | 4. Horseman to Left. ( <i>not fi-</i><br><i>gured</i> ).             |
|                       | 5. Lion-Trampler. <i>Pl. III</i> ; 5).                               |
|                       | 6. Combatant Lion. ( <i>Pl. III</i> ; 6).                            |
|                       | 7. Retreating Lion. ( <i>Pl. III</i> ; 7).                           |
|                       | 8. Swordsman and Umbrella.<br>( <i>Pl. III</i> ; 8).                 |

\* The term 'archer coins' has already been used by Wilson. (*Vishnu Pur.* p. 480, note 70.)

- V. Kumára Gupta Mahendra.
1. Swordsman. (*Pl. III*; 9).
  2. Archer. (*Pl. III*; 10, 11).
  3. Horseman to Right. (*Pl. III*; 12).
  4. Horseman to Left. (*Pl. III*; 13).
  5. Peacock. (*Pl. IV*; 1, 2).
  6. Lion-Trampler. (*not figured*).
  7. Combatant Lion. (*Pl. IV*; 3).
  8. Two Queens. (*not figured*).
- VI. Skanda Gupta.
1. Archer. (*Pl. IV*; 4).
  2. King and Queen. (*Pl. IV*; 5).
- VII. Doubtful (Chandra etc.)
1. Archer. (*Pl. IV*; 7-10).
  2. Lion and Horseman. (*Pl. IV*; 11, 12).

I have not found it practicable to classify the subordinate varieties on any definite principle, and they are arranged as seemed convenient in each case.

The 9 classes of reverse devices all agree in presenting as their main element the figure of a female, associated with emblems which prove that she is intended to represent a divine personage.

These reverse devices may be classified as follows:—

|      | <i>Device.</i>                                                      | <i>Reign.</i>     | <i>Type.</i>          |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| I.   | a. Standing goddess holding lotus-flower and cornucopia,            | Ghatot Kacha.     | Solar Standard.       |
|      | „ $\beta$ . Ditto, holding fillet and lotus-flower, or fillet only. | Chandra Gupta II. | Swordsman & Umbrella. |
| II.  | Goddess standing on dragon, holding standard and lotus-flower.      | Samudra Gupta.    | Tiger.                |
| III. | Female (? goddess) standing, with fly-whisk.                        | „ „               | Aśwamedha.            |

|       |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                     |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| IV.   | Goddess seated on four-legged throne, holding fillet and cornucopia, or fillet and lotus-flower. | <p>” ”</p> <p>” ”</p> <p>Chandra Gupta II.</p> <p>” ”</p>                                                                                                     | <p>Javelin.</p> <p>Archer.</p> <p>Couch.</p> <p>Archer.</p>                                                                                         |
| V.    | Goddess seated cross-legged on open lotus-flower, generally holding fillet and lotus-flower.     | <p>Chandra Gupta II.</p> <p>Kumára Gupta Mahendra.</p> <p>” ”</p> <p>” ”</p> <p>Skanda Gupta.</p> <p>” ”</p> <p>Doubtful (all)</p> <p>” (? Prakásaditya.)</p> | <p>Archer.</p> <p>Swordsman.</p> <p>Archer.</p> <p>Two Queens.</p> <p>Archer.</p> <p>King &amp; Queen.</p> <p>Archer.</p> <p>Lion and Horseman.</p> |
| VI.   | Goddess, seated on wicker stool to left;                                                         | <p>Samudra Gupta.</p> <p>Chandra Gupta II.</p> <p>” ” ”</p> <p>Kumára Gupta Mahendra.</p> <p>” ” ”</p> <p>” ” ”</p>                                           | <p>Lyrist.</p> <p>Lancer.</p> <p>Horseman to Left.</p> <p>Horseman to Right.</p> <p>” ” ”</p> <p>” ” Left.</p>                                      |
| ” a.  | holding fillet and cornucopia.                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                     |
| ” β.  | holding fillet and lotus, or fillet and sceptre, or lotus only.                                  |                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                     |
| ” γ.  | feeding peacock and holding lotus.                                                               |                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                     |
|       |                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                     |
| VII.  | Goddess riding peacock.                                                                          | ” ” ”                                                                                                                                                         | Peacock.                                                                                                                                            |
| VIII. | Goddess standing, feeding peacock.                                                               | ” ” ”                                                                                                                                                         | Combatant Lion.                                                                                                                                     |

|      |                                                                   |   |                        |                      |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---|------------------------|----------------------|
| IX.  | Goddess seated on<br>back of couchant<br>lion;                    | } | Chandra Gupta I.       | King & Queen.        |
| „ a. | holding fillet and<br>cornucopia.                                 |   |                        |                      |
| „ β. | holding fillet and<br>lotus, or fillet<br>only, or lotus<br>only. | } | Chandra Gupta II.      | Lion-Trampler.       |
|      |                                                                   |   | „ „ „                  | Combatant Li-<br>on. |
|      |                                                                   |   | „ „ „                  | Retreating „         |
|      |                                                                   |   | Kumára Gupta Mahendra. | Lion-Trampler.       |

Prinsep quickly perceived that the 'Kanauj series,' as he called the Gupta gold coinage, was a continuation, and, to some extent, an imitation of the Indo-Scythian mintages; and the intimate relation between the two series of coins is well exhibited in Plate XXXVI of Vol. V of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*Pl. XXIX of Prinsep's Essays; ed. Thomas*).

The same relation is more amply demonstrated by the series of plates in the *Ariana Antiqua*, and Wilson was rightly convinced (*p. 418*) that "the coins of the Gupta princes succeeded immediately to those of the Mithraic princes." The fact of such *immediate* succession appears to my mind indisputable, and is in itself fatal to the theories of those authors who seek to date the imperial Gupta dynasty in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. I am convinced that to a certain extent the Indo-Scythian and the Gupta gold coinages were actually contemporary.

The standing king, engaged in sacrificing at a small altar, who appears on the obverse of the coins of Ghatot Kacha, is almost an exact copy of the corresponding figure on many coins of Kanerki and other Indo-Scythian princes.

The altar appears again in the Javelin coins of Samudra Gupta, in the  $\beta$  variety of the Archer type of the same prince, and in the Swordsman and Umbrella type, which I attribute to Chandra Gupta II; and it is seen for the last time in the unique Swordsman coin of Kumára Gupta. The supposition has been hazarded that the object referred to is a vessel containing the sacred *Tulsí* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*), and not an altar, but comparison with the Indo-Scythian coins proves certainly that it is the latter. Moreover, in at least one specimen in the British Museum collection, the grains of incense falling on the fire-altar are plainly indicated.

The coins of Ghatot Kacha possess no distinctive Hindú characteristics. The king, who sacrifices at a fire-altar, grasps a peculiar rose-headed standard, which seems obviously intended to symbolize the rayed sun. The Sun and Fire are in mythology almost convertible terms, and I think it may fairly be assumed on the evidence of the coins, that Ghatot Kacha (though he may have been a Hindú) was a worshipper of the solar fire, as his Indo-Scythian predecessors undoubtedly were. I am also disposed to believe that in most of the types of the Gupta gold coins the figure of the king on the obverse is intended to represent him idealized as a god, and that in the case of Ghatot Kacha, he is represented in the character of the solar god, shedding beneficent influences upon his subjects.

The standing goddess on the reverse bears a lotus-flower and cornucopia. The lotus-flower is an emblem very commonly used in Hindú mythology, but is especially appropriate to the Sun\* and to Śrī or Lakshmi, the goddess of good fortune.† The Sun (Sūrya) may himself be regarded as a form or manifestation of Vishnu the Preserver, the lord of Lakshmi. The cornucopia undoubtedly indicates Western influence, but whether the design was borrowed directly from Greek, or Roman, or Syrian coins, it is not easy to decide. Cornucopiæ occur on the coins of the Seleucid dynasty of Syria‡, but it is perhaps most probable that the device was borrowed directly from Roman *aurei*. In the Gupta series the cornucopia appears for the last time in the rare coins forming Class I of the Archer type of Chandra Gupta II, which were probably struck early in his reign. It is *perhaps* possible that a close comparison between the forms of the Roman and the Gupta cornucopia might help in settling the great question of the Gupta dates.§ According to the chronology which I adopt, the last appearance of the cornucopia on the Gupta coins is to be dated about 240 A. D. I regard the standing goddess on the reverse of the coins of Ghatot Kacha as the equivalent of the Greek and Seleucid *τύχη*, and of the Roman *Fortuna*, and believe her to be a copy, in part, of the *Fortuna Augusti* and similar figures on Roman coins, and, in part, of the elemental goddesses on the reverse of the Indo-Scythian coins. If she must be given a Hindú name, I have no doubt that she must be named Śrī or Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu the Preserver.

\* "The Indian mythology connected the lotus in all manner of forms with the sun." Thomas in Num. Chron. for 1880, p. 26 note. Cf. Burgess Arch. Rep. for W. India for 1874-5, p. 216 and Pl. LXV.

† Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, Vol. I, p. 58.

‡ Gardner's *Catalogue of Seleucid Coins*, p. 46, Pl. XIV. Prof. Gardner informs me that Seleucid coins have been found in India.

§ See Thomas, *Early Faith of Aśoka*, in J. R. A. S. Vol. IX, N. S. pp. 212-217.

Certainly she cannot be intended for Párvati.\* I believe that she also may be regarded as representing the consort of the idealized king on the obverse, for it is a commonplace of Indian panegyric to represent Lakshmi as the king's consort.†

The standing goddess, holding fillet and lotus-flower, or fillet only, who appears on the reverse of the Swordsman and Umbrella coins of Chandra Gupta II with the legend 'Vikramáditya', is, perhaps, as suggested by Wilson, primarily intended to represent Victory, who so frequently appears on the Graeco-Bactrian coins;‡ but she may be only a slightly varied representation of Lakshmi, and it is also possible that, at the time the coins were struck, her effigy connoted equally the ideas of Victory and of Lakshmi or Good Fortune. Different symbolic interpretations are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

I have followed Mr. Thomas in calling the object in the right hand of this personification a fillet, and, if the figure is intended for Victory, no doubt the nomenclature is correct. But, as we shall see, a similar object constantly recurs in the hand of the female deities whose effigies are displayed on the Gupta coins, and in many cases I believe it would be more proper to follow Prinsep (*Vol. I. p. 230*) in calling it a *páśa* or noose.§ For convenience I shall use throughout the term 'fillet,' but it should be interpreted with regard to the qualification now stated.

The goddess standing on what looks like a dragon or marine monster (*makara* or *jalampa*) who is shown on the unique Tiger coin of Samudra Gupta does not appear to be intended for Lakshmi. In my remarks on that coin in the catalogue I have ventured to suggest two alternative interpretations of the symbolism.

The Aśwamedha coins of Samudra Gupta were undoubtedly struck to commemorate the performance of the sacrifice of the horse, with the ceremonies which expressed the performer's claim to be the supreme power in India. These pieces agree in weight with the ordinary coins of the period, but in other respects rather resemble medals, and the conjecture is allowable that they were issued as a special type of coin for

\* Mr. Thomas, however, describes her as "a rather elegant standing figure of Párvati, with the exotic cornucopia." (*Epoch of the Guptas*, p. 23, from *J. R. A. S. (N. S.) 1881*. The same learned writer thinks that the solar standard of Ghatot Kacha may signify a claim to solar descent.

† *E. g.* Apsar inscription of later Guptas, *l. l. 8, 16*, seqq. (*J. A. S. B. XXXV, Pt. I, pp. 232, 234*), and inscription from Nepál (*Indian Ant. for 1880, p. 165*).

‡ *Ar. Ant.*, p. 418.

§ Kittoe also uses the term 'noose' in his description of the Bharsar hoard, (*J. A. S. B. XXI, pp. 390-400*).

distribution among the Bráhmans engaged in the ritual of the sacrifice.\* I cannot guess at the exact meaning of the figure of the female with the flywhisk on the reverse, but she is certainly intended for some sacred personage. Considering the undisputed solar character of Ghaṭot Kacha's coinage it may not be irrelevant to allude to the connection which existed between the Aśwamedha ceremony and Solar worship.† It is quite possible that Samudra Gupta, though a good Hindú, may have been, as many Hindús still are, specially devoted to the worship of the sun.

The legends of the King and Queen coins of Chandra Gupta I leave no doubt that the effigies on the obverse are primarily intended for the sovereign and his consort, for we know from the lapidary inscriptions that the name of the latter was Kumári Deví, and that she belonged to the Lichehavi family. The king is figured leaning on a spear, and this device may be intended secondarily to symbolize Kumára Deva, the god of war, and husband of the goddess Kumári Deví. The reverse goddess seated on a couchant lion is probably Dúrgá, another form of Kumári Deví, but the cornucopia in her left arm indicates that the deity is presented under her beneficent, as well as her terrific aspect.

The device of the king and queen standing facing each other reappears in the coinage of Skanda Gupta, but in a much modified, and thoroughly Hinduised form. It has not yet been met with in the issues of any of the intermediate reigns. The unique coin of Kumára Gupta lately discovered by Mr. H. R. Carnac (*Proc. A. S. B. Nov. 1883. p. 144*), presents the king standing between two females, whom I suppose to be his queens.

The Javelin type is the commonest form of Samudra Gupta's coinage. The device of the obverse is but a slight modification of the ordinary Indo-Scythian pattern, and the throned goddess on the reverse is as obviously a copy of the figure called *Αρδοκρο* or *Αρδοχρο* on the Indo-Scythian coins of Kanerki and his successors.

Mr. Thomas argues that this throned goddess should be identified with Párvatí, the consort of Siva, for five reasons, of which the following is a summary:—

(1.) She is identical in form with the Indo-Scythian *Αρδοκρο* or *Αρδοχρο* whose name is commonly interpreted as Arddh-ogro (*अर्द्धोग्रो*) or 'half-Siva', i. e., Párvatí.

(2.) Even if it be admitted that the early Guptas had Vaishṇava

\* In the northern Bilsaṅ inscription, dated in the year 96, Kumára Gupta is eulogized as the "giver of millions of gold, performer of the Aśwamedha" &c. (*Cunn. Arch. Rep. XI. 20.*)

† Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, I, p. 25

tendencies, the adoption from the Indo-Scythians of the reverse device in question "may well have been a mere act of 'imitation of a foreign design,' irrespective of any aim at demonstration of creed." Reverse devices locally vary, and are not of much significance, *e. g.*, the Sassanians retained the Śiva and Nandi device of Kadphises, and the Muslim Ghaznavis retained the Hindú recumbent bull on their Lahor coinage.

(3.) The female seated on a lion, who appears on the reverse of four types of the Gupta coins, is plainly, Párvati in her form of Dúrgá.

(4.) On four types the same goddess appears in the form of Kumári Devi, associated with her sacred bird the peacock; and

(5.) Skanda, the name of the last of the imperial Guptas, is an *alias* of Kumára Deva, the god of war, son of the goddess Kumári Devi.\*

These arguments seem to me to be of little weight. The interpretation of Ardokro or Ardochro as meaning 'half Śiva' is a very forced one, and I doubt greatly if such a compound as अर्द्धोक्रो, or rather अर्द्धोक्रो could have in Sanskrit the meaning assigned to it. The name is never written Ardogro, whereas the title of Śiva which is supposed to form an element of the compound is Ugra, and I do not see how the 'g' can be converted into κ or χ, nor why the aspirate at the end of *arddha* should be lost. The supposed compound 'Arddhogra' has no analogy with the genuine compound 'Arddhanári'; it is one thing to speak of a creature as half-female, and quite another thing to speak of Joan as half-John.† The Indo-Scythian goddess may or may not be intended to represent Párvati, though I do not believe that she was, but I am convinced that her name does not mean 'half-Ugra,' and that such a compound never existed. The name Αρδοχρο or Αρδοκρο is probably a Scythian name, and not an Indian word at all.

If the throned figure is to be identified with any goddess of the modern Hindú pantheon, I consider that she should be identified, as suggested by Wilson, with Śrī or Lakshmi, the benign goddess of fortune, and not with the terrible Párvati.

The supposed Vaishṇava tendencies of the early Guptas have been believed in chiefly on the testimony of the Bhitari pillar inscription, which, if correctly interpreted by Dr. Mill, proves Chandra Gupta II and Kumára Gupta to have been Vaishṇava, and Skanda Gupta to have

\* J. A. S. B., XXIV (1855) pp. 489-490.

† Cf. Wilson's criticisms in *Ar. Ant.*, pp. 361-362. In the Pa-Shaka coin in the British Museum the name of the goddess is spelled ΟΡΔΟΧ[ΡΟ], a form which it is absurd to identify with 'Arddhogro.' (*This unique coin is described in Mr. Thomas's Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindú Legends*, p. 11.) General Cunningham concurs with me in giving the name of Lakshmi to the goddess, whether seated on the throne or the lotus-flower.

been Śaiva. But the translation of the Bhitari inscription is avowedly imperfect, and, until it has been revised by a competent scholar, is of little use for historical purposes.\*

The interpretation of the device of the throned goddess requires no assumption as to the sectarian preferences of the early Guptas, for the attributes of the figure are manifestly those of Lakshmi rather than of Párvatí, and I venture to affirm that but for the 'half-Siva' interpretation of the word Ardokro, no one would ever have thought of calling the figure Párvatí. The suggestion that the figure of the Ardokro goddess was adopted by Samudra in mere imitation of a foreign design does not appear to be tenable. The coins with this reverse undoubtedly show evident traces of foreign influence, but they are far from being mechanical copies of alien designs. If Samudra Gupta's die engraver had been a mere copyist he would naturally have copied from the coins of Samudra's father and grandfather, but the reverse devices of their coins are totally different both from the Ardokro figure and from each other. Samudra himself employed four distinct reverse devices, and evidently adopted each of them deliberately.

Mr. Thomas' remaining evidence in favour of his interpretation consists in proofs of the Śaiva preferences of Kumára Gupta and Skanda Gupta. But the facts that one of these princes placed on his coins effigies of Kumári Deví and of Durgá, and that the name of the other is a synonym of Kumára Deva, by no means prove that all female figures on the reverses of other Gupta coins are intended for forms of Párvatí. I have discussed above some of the representations of standing goddesses, none of whom can with any probability be identified with Párvatí. The peacock of Kumári Deví, and the lion of Durgá are never associated with the throned Ardokro goddess. She occurs only on the Javelin and Archer coins of Samudra Gupta, and on the unique Couch coin, and the rare coins forming Class I of the Archer type of Chandra Gupta II.

An emblem, which is very characteristic of the Gupta gold coins, makes its first appearance on the obverse of Samudra's Javelin type. This is a standard bearing on the top the figure of a bird, and having a general resemblance to a Roman eagle standard.

Wilson (who is followed by General Cunningham) was inclined to interpret the bird as meaning Garuḍa, the winged vehicle of Vishṇu; but this interpretation appears to me forced and improbable. The object indicated is simply a bird, whereas the mythologists describe Garuḍa

\* For the Bhitari inscription see Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 240, *seqq.* A revised facsimile is given in Cunningham *Arch. Rep.* I, pp. 97—99, and Pl. XXX. A well-edited translation is much wanted, and it is surprising that the want has remained so long unsupplied.

as a monster, half man and half bird. I prefer Mr. Thomas' former opinion that "the most natural and obvious interpretation is to look upon it as designed to represent the peacock, which appears with such frequency on the gold coins, and occupies the entire reverse field of one type of the silver coinage."\*

It is, however, quite possible that the emblem is merely a copy of the Roman eagle, and the term 'bird-standard,' which involves no theory, is the safest to adopt.

In his Archer type Samudra Gupta substitutes for the javelin in the king's hand a bow, and the device thus introduced long remained the favourite obverse pattern. It is found on the coins of Chandra Gupta II, Kumára Gupta, and Skanda Gupta, and is, with few exceptions, the only design used by the rude imitators of the Gupta types, some of whose coins are noticed in the Supplement to the Catalogue.

It seems impossible at present to decide whether the Archer device was an independent invention, or was borrowed from Persia or some other foreign source, and it is equally doubtful whether it has or has not any symbolic meaning. If it has, it may be regarded as another expedient for indicating the analogy between the sun that rules the heavens, and the king who rules the earth. Chandra Gupta II issued gold coins of at least eight different types, but specially favoured the Archer type, specimens of which in large numbers have been found.

The Lyrist type of Samudra Gupta's coinage, which depicts the king as a musician playing the Indian lyre, is interesting in several respects.† The type is rare, and the specimens known are mostly in fine condition, and, with the exception of the India Office example, are broad thin coins well struck, but in singularly low relief. The dress of the king is thoroughly Hindu, but his attitude recalls that of the king on the Indo-Scythian coins classed as 'couch-loungers' by Prinsep. The reverse device is likewise in appearance completely Hindú, though apparently suggested by foreign models. It consists of a female seated sideways to the left on a wicker stool, and holding fillet and cornucopia. The attitude of the goddess, and the form of the stool on which she sits recall the device of Apollo seated on the *ὄμφαλος*, with its cover of the *ἀγρηνὸν* net, as seen on the Selencid coins of Syria,‡ and I believe that

\* J. A. S. B. XXIV, (1855) p. 494, *note*. In 'Records of the Gupta Dynasty' (1876) p. 23, Mr. Thomas adopts the Garuda interpretation.

† Line 24 of the Allahabad Pillar inscription mentions Samudra Gupta's accomplishments in singing and playing. (*Prinsep's Essays*, pp. 233 *seqq.*)

‡ *E. g.*, the coins of Antiochus I, figured in J. A. S. B. Vol. L. for 1881, p. 178, and Pl. XVIII, 14, 15. General Cunningham calls the seat 'cortina,' but 'omphalos' is more correct.

the resemblance is not accidental; but the closest parallel to the Gupta device is met with in an unexpected place. The goddess on the Gupta coins is almost an exact copy of Demeter as represented on a rare coin of the island of Paros, now in the British Museum, and the resemblance is so close that it is scarcely possible to doubt that in some unknown way both devices must be derived from a common source.

The cornucopia in the hand of the goddess of Samudra Gupta's coins shows that she was intended to have attributes similar to those of Demeter, and she may therefore be regarded as a novel representation of the Hindú Lakshmi, the counterpart of the Greek goddess.

The same reverse device, but with some modifications, and associated with other obverse devices, was adopted by Chandra Gupta II, and Kumára Gupta. The goddess, as she appears on the Lancer and Horseman to Left coins of Chandra Gupta II, and in varieties  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  of the Horseman to Right type of his son, would seem to be intended to symbolize nearly the same ideas as the effigy on the Lyrist pieces of Samudra. In variety  $\gamma$  of Kumára's Horseman to Right type, and in all the Horseman to Left coins of the same king, the goddess is represented in the act of feeding a peacock, and may, therefore, be identified as Kumári Deví, to whom that bird is sacred.

In the gold coinage the peacock (except, perhaps, as part of the so-called 'peacock standard') appears to be peculiar to the mintages of Kumára Gupta Mahendra. The goddess on the reverse of his Combatant Lion type stands while she feeds the sacred bird. In his Peacock type the bird is still more prominent, for on the obverse the king is feeding one peacock, and on the reverse, the goddess, presumably Kumári Deví, rides on another. There can be little doubt that in this type at all events the king is presented in the double character of the human king and the divine Kumára Deva. The peacock devices of the Gupta coinage appear to be Hinduized adaptations of the designs of the Roman coins which bear representations of the peacock associated with Juno, or with a deified lady of the imperial house. An exact-prototype of the peacock with expanded tail, which is found on the silver Gupta coins, and on var.  $\beta$  of Kumára Gupta's gold Peacock type, may be seen on the reverse of a coin of Julia Augusta, who was a daughter of Titus and died between A. D. 81 and 90.\*

A coin of Paulina (A. D. 217-238), whose life probably extended into the early years of the reign of Chandra Gupta II, exhibits the peacock in a manner strikingly similar to the device on some of the silver

\* Trésor de Numismatique, Iconographie des Empereurs Romains; Pl. XXII, 11.

coins of Kumára Gupta. Another coin of Paulina's represents her in the character of Juno riding on a peacock, but the treatment of the subject differs from that used by the Gupta artists.\* A standing peacock, like that on the first mentioned coin of Paulina's, appears on a coin of Mariniana, (circa 250 A. D.)†; and a coin of Manlia Scantilla Augusta (193 A. D.) exhibits a standing figure of Juno with sceptre in left hand, and holding in her right hand a *patera* over a peacock standing at her feet.‡

In the Boy and Battle-axe type of Samudra Gupta it is interesting to observe the reminiscence of Scythian influence in the form of the battle-axe, with which the king is armed, as representing the god of Death. The place of the usual bird on the top of the standard is taken by a crescent moon. The same crescent-tipped standard occurs on the reverse of the unique Tiger coin of the same king, on the obverse of which the king is depicted as slaying a tiger.§

The obverse device of this coin is the model of three types of Chandra Gupta II, and two of Kumára Gupta Mahendra, in which the tiger is replaced by a lion. I believe that these devices had some symbolic meaning but am not able to make it out. They may have been suggested by the Greek representations of Hercules contending with a lion.

In the Archer type of Chandra Gupta II we first meet with the reverse design No. V, which subsequently became a common conventional pattern, and was used almost exclusively by the obscure princes who rudely imitated the Gupta coinage. The device consists of the figure of a goddess facing front, seated cross-legged on an expanded lotus-flower, and holding in her left hand a lotus flower, and in her right the 'fillet' or 'noose.' The scholars who give the name Párvatí to the Ardokro goddess, of course bestow the same name on the lotus-throned divinity, but I cannot perceive in the latter device any symbolism specially suggestive of the attributes of Párvatí, whereas the symbolism used is thoroughly appropriate to express the ideas personified as Lakshmi. In justification of my views regarding the symbolism of the reverse devices of the Gupta coins I may appeal to the following description of the attributes of Lakshmi, which is based on the best authorities :—'Laksh-

\* *Ibid*, *ibid* Pl. XLVIII, figs. 5 and 4.

† *Ibid*, *ibid*, Pl. LII, 3.

‡ *Ibid*, *ibid*, Pl. XLI, 1.

§ In his *Records of the Gupta Dynasty* (1876) p. 21, Mr. Thomas calls the ensign a 'Garuda standard,' but I am satisfied (after examination of the coin), that the object on the top of the standard is rightly described as a crescent in the same author's *Revised Catalogue* (1858).

mi, called *Srī*, is Vishṇu's *śakti*. She is the goddess of good luck and plenty...She is worshipped by filling the corn-measure with wheat or other grain, and thereon placing flowers. She is represented as a lovely and benign woman, robed in yellow, holding a lotus in her hand, and seated on a lotus, or beside Vishṇu. Sometimes, as is likewise Vishṇu, she is painted all yellow, and has four arms, and she holds in one of her right hands a rosary, and the *pāśa* or cord in one of her left. This cord is seen also in the hands of Varuna and S'iva, and is emblematical of the sea, which girds the earth."\*

It is impossible to read this description, and not to see that it is in remarkably close accordance with the delineation both of the Ardokro goddess, and of the lotus-throned divinity. But it is quite inapplicable to Párvatī as ordinarily conceived, and the symbolism of the two coin-devices in question is equally inappropriate to the stern and terrible goddess.

I have therefore no doubt that the goddess who is seated on a throne in Samudra's coins, on a lotus flower in the coins of Chandra Gupta II and his successors, and also (in certain cases, as already specified), the divinity seated on the wicker stool, are all intended to express substantially the same conception, that of the benign and kindly Good Fortune, the bestower of happiness and plenty; the same who was named *τύχη* and Demeter by the Greeks, and Fortuna, Ceres, Abundantia, etc. by the Romans.

Although I have been at so much pains to distinguish between Párvatī and Lakshmī, I am aware that the two concepts sometimes coalesce, and become indistinguishable. The names and attributes of gods and goddesses, in India or elsewhere, are all nothing more than the feeble efforts of the human imagination to express by metaphor and symbol imperfectly apprehended ideas of the attributes of the unspeakable divine nature, and it is futile to attempt to draw sharp lines of demarcation between these symbolical expressions. Now one, and now another idea predominates in the symbolism, and "in any lengthened description of one Hindú deity it is almost impossible to avoid mixing up its character and attributes with those of another."† Nevertheless, the ideas personified severally as Lakshmī and Párvatī are ordinarily kept quite distinct, and nothing but confusion of thought can result if the name of Párvatī is given to a personification possessing all the attributes of Lakshmī.

\* Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, Vol. I, p. 58.

† Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, Vol. I, p. 59. As 'Anna Púrṇá,' Párvatī is identical with Lakshmī, *ib.* p. 61.

The only Gupta kings who appear in the coin devices as mounted on horseback are Chandra Gupta II and his son Kumára Gupta Mahendra. In the later coins of Prakásáditya the device consists of a horseman slaying a lion or dragon, but the execution of the design is very poor.

The rare Lancer coins of Chandra Gupta II are designed and executed with considerable freedom and spirit. The device may be an imitation of the very similar device on certain Macedonian coins, transmitted through intermediate channels.\* The rayed turban or helmet of the king in one specimen (*Ar. Ant.* XVIII, 17) was perhaps suggested by the rayed head of Antiochus Epiphanes.† It is noticeable that a crescent is found in the field, either on obverse or reverse, of each of the four Lancer coins known to me.

The Horseman to Left coins of Chandra Gupta II, which are also very rare, resemble generally his Lancer coins, but the horse is turned to the left, the lance is wanting, and there is no crescent in the field.

Kumára Gupta Mahendra copied both these types of his father's coinage, but with some modifications. His Horseman to Right coins correspond with his father's Lancer coins, the lance being omitted, and his Horseman to Left coins differ from the closely similar coins belonging to his predecessor chiefly in the insertion on the reverse of the peacock, the especial emblem of Kumára Gupta.‡

The fact that Chandra and Kumára Gupta used indifferently dies in which the horseman was turned to left or right is worth noting, because a change in the direction of an obverse head on the coinage has sometimes been regarded as an indication of a change of dynasty.§

In some specimens of the curious Lion and Horseman coins of Prakásáditya a small bird-standard is seen over the horse's head. The meaning of the character below the horse in this type, which seems to be intended for 'u', is not known.

I am well aware that the foregoing account of the types and devices of the Gupta gold coins is far from being complete and satisfactory, but it is the best that I can give at present, and may prove the means of stimulating further research. The attribution of the several disputed types is discussed in the Catalogue.

\* For such Macedonian coins see Mionnet, Pl. LXX, 8, and *Trésor de Numismatique* (Rois Grecs), Pl. VIII.

† Catalogue of Seleucid Coins, Pls. XI and XII.

‡ Cf. "That King gave birth to a son, even as did Hara to the rider of the peacock (*scil.* Kártikeya or Kumára the god of war). Forward in battle and renowned strength, this son was named Kumára Gupta." (*Aphsar inscription of later Guptas*, line 7: in *J. A. S. B.* XXXV, Pt. I, p. 273).

§ Records of the Gupta Dynasty, p. 51, with reference to Toramápa's coins.

## Section III.

## MONOGRAMMATIC EMBLEMS.

The so-called monograms (with one doubtful exception) occur only on the reverse of the Gupta gold coins, and, when present, are generally placed over the right shoulder of the goddess.

The forms assumed by these monogrammatic emblems on the coins accessible to me are shown in Plate IV. The most common forms consist of a horizontal line, or two parallel lines, surmounted by either three or four dots or short prongs, and having a square or lozenge attached below by one corner.

Sometimes the square or lozenge is replaced by a cross, and sometimes by other devices, and occasionally the prongs or dots above the horizontal line or lines are wanting. One form (No. 25), which I know only from a drawing, departs altogether from the standard pattern. Examination of the plate will show the large variety of minor modifications in detail which occur.

What is the origin and meaning of these mysterious marks?

To this question I can give no positive and satisfactory answer, but I am not without hope that the distinct enunciation of it, and the systematic presentation of the monogrammatic emblems as they actually occur may suggest to other enquirers the correct solution of the problem.

The following statement exhibits the monograms which have come under my observation, arranged according to reigns:—

|                            |      |                                                                                                                 |
|----------------------------|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ghatot Kacha.....          | Nos. | 1; 2; 4a.                                                                                                       |
| Chandra Gupta I .....      | „    | 3a; 4b; 5; 8d; 22b.                                                                                             |
| Samudra Gupta.....         | „    | 3a; 4c; 6a; 6b; 8a; 9;<br>11; 19a; 20a; 20b; 21;<br>22.                                                         |
| Chandra Gupta II.....      | „    | 3a; 3b; 4c; 7a; 7b; 8a;<br>8b; 10a; 10b; 10c; 12;<br>15; 16; 17a; 17b; 18;<br>19a; 19b; 20a; 21; 22;<br>23; 24. |
| Kumára Gupta Mahendra..... | „    | 8a; 8b; 8c; 10c; 17c; 17d;<br>19b; 20a; 25.                                                                     |
| Skanda Gupta .....         | „    | 3a; 3b; 4c?; 8a.                                                                                                |
| Doubtful.....              | „    | 8a; 8e; 10a; 13; 14; 19a.                                                                                       |

The following types have no monogram;—

|                        |                |
|------------------------|----------------|
| Samudra Gupta .....    | Aśwamedha.     |
| „ „ .....              | Tiger.         |
| Chandra Gupta II ..... | Lancer, var. a |

|                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Chandra Gupta II .....      | Horseman to Left.             |
| "    "    " .....           | Lion-Trampler, var. $\beta$ . |
| Kumára Gupta Mahendra ..... | Horseman to Left.             |
| "    "    " .....           | Peacock.                      |

In the following types the monogram is sometimes present, and sometimes wanting :—

|                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Samudra Gupta.....          | Lyrist.                 |
| Chandra Gupta II .....      | Swordsman and Umbrella. |
| Kumára Gupta Mahendra ..... | Horseman to Right.      |

We learn from the last two lists that the monogram was not indispensable, and was frequently omitted, though more usually inserted.

The monogrammatic devices on the Græco-Bactrian coins, with which the Gupta mint-masters must have been familiar, are real monograms, combinations of letters, usually those of the Greek alphabet.

The so-called monograms on the Gupta coins, and the similar ones on the Indo-Scythian mintages, are certainly not combinations of alphabetical characters, and the application to them of the word monogram, which has become usual, is, strictly speaking, a misnomer. Kittoe preferred to designate them by the term 'emblem', but that word is inconveniently vague, and, for want of a better term, I follow the ordinary practice, and call the marks in question monograms.

Few, if any, of the forms of the Gupta monograms are exactly the same in every detail as those met with on the Indo-Scythian coins, but the general appearance of the monograms on the two series of coins is obviously identical, and many of the Gupta forms are only trivial variations of the Indo-Scythian patterns.

Consequently, whatever interpretation is given to the Gupta monograms must be sufficiently comprehensive to include the analogous and similar Indo-Scythian ones.

It appears to be established that some of the Græco-Bactrian monograms are names, more or less abbreviated, of mint-cities. General Cunningham's ingenious interpretations of a large number of these monograms cannot be implicitly accepted, but the proposition that *some* of those which "are common to a number of different princes" express the names of the mint-cities may safely be admitted. Others probably indicate the names of mint-masters or other functionaries.\*

The monogrammatic emblems on the Indo-Scythian and Gupta coins look as if intended to take the place of the Græco-Bactrian monograms, and the hypothesis that they bear the same meaning or meanings

\* Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East, in Num. Chron. N. S. VIII (1868), pp. 185 seqq.

naturally suggested itself. Wilson noticed that the three and four-pronged patterns of monogram were continued from the coins of the Indo-Scythian sovereigns Kadphises, and Kanerki on those of the Gupta kings, and observed that "agreeably to the purport which there seems reason to assign to these monograms, the recurrence of this emblem on all these coins should denote the place of their coinage."\*

But he hesitated to adopt this theory because it appeared to him that the Indo-Scythian dominions must have lain far to the northwest of the Gupta kingdom, and he suggested the alternative hypothesis that the Gupta monograms might be merely "a proof of imitation" of the Indo-Scythian coinage, and "introduced without any definite object." Such a suggestion is, on the face of it, improbable, and it is at once disproved by a careful examination of the monograms. A mere copyist would have tried to copy the Indo-Scythian monograms as they stood, and, however he might have failed in the mechanical execution, the evidence of the attempt to copy would have been unmistakable. But, as I have already remarked, and as any one can readily verify by comparing my plate of monograms with that in the *Ariana Antiqua*, the Gupta monograms, while following the Indo-Scythian in the general pattern, differ in detail, and it is incredible that the systematic variety which exists could be the result of chance caprice. Moreover, the mechanical execution of the Gupta monograms is nowise inferior to that of the Indo-Scythian. No one can study the designs of the better types of the Gupta gold coinage without seeing that the artists who cut the dies, though indebted in some respects to foreign models, yet possessed considerable originality, and knew how to assimilate and nationalize the conceptions of alien art. The hypothesis that the Gupta monograms are the work of blind and unintelligent imitators may therefore be dismissed without doubt or hesitation.

The hypothesis that the monograms indicate the mint-cities is much more plausible, but is not altogether satisfactory. The Indo-Scythian coins are found chiefly in the Panjáb and neighbouring parts of Afghánistán where Gupta coins are never found,† whereas the Gupta gold coins, as will be proved in a subsequent section, have been found for the most part in the province of Benares and the neighbouring districts. It is extremely improbable that the Panjáb Indo-Scythian and the Gupta coins should have issued, to any considerable extent, from the same mints, or should bear cognate mint-marks. Indo-Scythian coins of Kadphises and

\* *Ar. Ant.* p. 418.

† In *Arch. Rep.* XIV. p. 65, General Cunningham mentions the finding of one Gupta coin among upwards of 1,000 of other kinds at Sanit near Ludíána in the Panjáb.

Kanerki are, however, found in N. E. Oudh and Benares, and it is possible that certain of the Indo-Scythian provincial mints may have been occupied by the Gupta kings when they shook off the Indo-Scythian yoke, and that the 'monograms' on the Gupta and *eastern* Indo-Scythian coins may indicate mint-cities. Unfortunately no detailed catalogue of Indo-Scythian coins has yet been published, and the statistics of their *provenance* have not yet been analysed.

The occurrence of coins together in a hoard raises a presumption that they proceeded, if not from a single mint, at least from mints not very far distant from each other. Few details as to the components of the various hoards of Gupta coins are available, but when such details are known, we find very various monograms associated in a single hoard. Thus, the 32 described coins of the Bharsar hoard exhibit monograms as follows:—\*

|             |                                                                                                              |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| No. 8a..... | 1 coin of Samudra Gupta; 6 of Chandra Gupta II; 1 of Kumára Gupta Mahendra; and 2 of Prakásáditya; total 10. |
| No. 3a..... | 2 of Samudra Gupta.                                                                                          |
| No. 4c..... | 3 of Samudra Gupta; 6 of Skanda Gupta; total 9.                                                              |
| No. 15..... | 2 of Chandra Gupta II.                                                                                       |
| No. 25..... | 2 of Kumára Gupta Mahendra.                                                                                  |
| No monogram | 1 of Chandra Gupta II; 6 of Kumára Gupta Mahendra; total 7. Grand total 32.                                  |

The above considerations seem sufficient to throw doubt on the theory that the Gupta (and consequently the Indo-Scythian) monograms are the indications of mint-cities.

Nor does it seem possible that they should be the marks of mint-masters or other official persons, for the same monogram runs through several reigns. For example, the monogram No. 3a is found on coins of Chandra Gupta I, Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II, and Skanda Gupta, and its use, therefore, continued for at least a hundred years.

If then these monograms are not the result of blind imitation, nor the devices of mint-cities, nor the marks of public functionaries, what are they? It seems to me most probable that (though they *may* be mint-marks) they are religious emblems or symbols of some sort. The description of types in the last preceding section will have left no doubt on the reader's mind that religious symbolism and the effigies of deities appear everywhere on the Gupta gold coins, as they did on their Indo-Scythian forerunners, and it is reasonable to suppose that the same love for religious symbolism dictated the selection of the so-called monograms.

\* For an account of this hoard, see *post*, Sec. V.

I cannot profess to explain the precise significance of any of the Gupta monograms, but it is possible that some Hindú scholar may be able to elucidate the subject.

Mr. Thomas has called attention to the curiously close likeness between monogram No 4a, and the Egyptian symbol for the bee, which was the sign royal in the Hieratic character.\*

A trident which bears a resemblance to some of the Indo-Scythian and Gupta monograms occurs, detached like them, in the field of a coin of Rhescuporis II, king of the Bosphorus (A. D. 17 to 34).†

The standing figure of Victory, who appears on some coins of Azes holds in her right hand a four-pronged symbol which is identical with the upper part of so many of the Indo-Scythian and Gupta monograms.‡

These instances of resemblance between the monograms in question and other symbols may be cases of casual coincidence, but I have thought it worth while to note them on the chance of their suggesting a correct solution of the problem of the origin and meaning of the so-called monograms of the Indo-Scythian and Gupta dynasties.

#### Section IV.

##### WEIGHTS.

The authors of essays on Indian numismatics have in general contented themselves with more or less complete descriptions of the devices and legends of coins, and have paid little attention to weighments.

Numismatists in Europe of late years have become alive to the importance of dry details of the weight of coins, and have spared no pains to obtain copious lists of weights as materials for induction.

A knowledge of the weight standards of ancient coins is indispensable for the attainment of accurate notions respecting the history and development of coin types, and helps to throw light on the ill-understood commercial relations of the states of the ancient world. The scholar who devotes himself to the examination of the numismatic treasures of Europe cannot hope to do more than fill in the blank spaces of a sketch which has already been drawn in firm outlines by the hand of history. The enquirer who ventures to explore the labyrinth of Indian numismatics can expect but little help from the friendly hand of the historic muse, but is perhaps compensated for the difficulties which he encounters by the unflinching hope of discovery, and by the consciousness that he is tracing the plan of the foundations on which history should rest.

\* Records of the Gupta Dynasty, p. 21, *note*.

† Trésor de Numismatique, Rois Grecs, Pl. XXV, 12.

‡ Ar. Ant. Pl. VI, figs 12 and 18.

So general has been the neglect in Indian publications of all systematic study of coin weights, that I may be pardoned if I dwell for a moment on its importance, and call to witness an expert who has studied European and Oriental numismatics with equal ardour.

“The history of the standards of weight on which Greek coins were struck did not, until quite recently, become a subject of serious study. .... Nothing has done more of late years to give a scientific form to Greek numismatics than the great attention given to weight standards. The fact has been recognized that a coin is, after all, but a stamped piece of precious metal, and that its value was derived, when it was issued, not from the stamp, but from the metal. Distinguished scholars like Hultsch and Brandis have in consequence spent years of their lives in weighing coin after coin, recording the results, and trying thence to reach principles. The greatest of living archæologists, Professor Mommsen, has given much time to the study of the weights and developments of Greek and Roman coins, and his strength has opened a way through jungles which were before impenetrable obstacles to science.”\*

It cannot be expected that Anglo-Indian amateur numismatists should devote years of their lives to weighing coins, but, even with such limited opportunities as circumstances permit, they may collect a goodly mass of the necessary details, and do something to give to Indian archæology that scientific form which it frequently lacks.

The weights of all coins mentioned or described in my catalogue are there noted, so far as they could be ascertained, and the results are exhibited in the Table of Weights, which deals with 177 coins. Examination of the devices has already proved that the Gupta gold coinage immediately succeeded that of the Indo-Scythian princes, and this conclusion is confirmed by the study of the coin weights.

Few details as to the weight of the Indo-Scythian coins are available, but, according to Mr. Thomas, the coins of the Kadphises group average 122·4 grains, while those of the Kanerki series are somewhat lighter, but often weigh 122 grains. Some Indo-Scythian pieces weigh as high as 125 grains.†

The source from which the Indo-Scythians derived the supply of gold for their extensive mintages is not known with certainty, but is conjectured, and with much probability, to have been the constant stream of Roman *aurei* which in those times poured into India in exchange for her silk and other commodities.

\* Types of Greek Coins by Percy Gardner, 1883, p. 62.

† Early Faith of Aśoka (*J. R. A. S. IV N. S. p. 223*). It is possible, and even very probable that the Indo-Scythian and Gupta Dynasties and coinages to a certain extent existed contemporaneously in different parts of the N. W. P. and the Panjáb.

The existence of this eastward drain of gold is fully proved by the testimony of Pliny, as well as of other witnesses. The words of Pliny are so vivid and explicit as to be worth quoting afresh. "Minimâque computatione millies centena millia sestertiûm annis omnibus India et Seres peninsulaque [*scil.* Arabia] imperio nostro adimunt. Tanta nobis deliciae et feminae constant."\* Again he observes that the trade with India was worth taking some trouble to maintain. "Digna res, nullo anno imperii nostri minus H. S. quingenties exlauriente India, et merces remittente, quæ apud nos centuplicato veniant."†

The *aureus* was adopted first by Julius Cæsar as a regular element of the Roman currency, and his standard is said to have been 125·66 grains but his coins generally range between 120 and 125 grains. It would therefore appear that the Indo-Scythian gold coinage is based on that of Julius Cæsar, and not on the Macedonian stater, or Persian daric, of which the standard was 134·4 grains, or two Attic drachmæ. This fact helps in some measure to settle the vexed question of the date of the Indo-Scythian kings, and consequently of their Gupta successors.

The weight of the Roman *aureus* after the death of Julius Cæsar gradually declined, and in the reign of Nero is stated to have averaged 115·39 grains.‡

The average weight of 4 coins of Ghaṭot Kacha is 114·95, and the heaviest coin weighs 118. The average weight of the *aurei* of Augustus in the British Museum is 121·26, and it would therefore at first sight appear as if the coins of Ghaṭot Kacha were based on the Roman coinage intermediate between Augustus and Nero. But a fine coin of Chandra Gupta I, son and successor of Ghaṭot Kacha, which is in the British Museum, weighs 123·8, and this fact indicates that Chandra Gupta's coinage was adapted to a standard of about 125 grains, and renders it probable, though not certain, that Ghaṭot Kacha followed the same standard.

I assign the coins of the King and Queen type alone to Chandra Gupta I, and the weight of 4 of these averages 117·57. The light weight of the majority of the coins of Ghaṭot Kacha and his son appears to be due to wear and tear.

The details for the weights of the six types of Samudra Gupta's

\* Pliny, Hist. Nat. XII, 41.

† Pliny, Hist. Nat. VI, 26.

‡ The average weights 125·66 and 115·39 for Julius Cæsar and Nero respectively are those stated by Letronne, as quoted in Smith's Dict. of Antiq. and in Thomas' Early Faith of Asoka, *ut supra*. Mr. Gardner informs me that the *aurei* of Julius Cæsar average 120 to 125, and those of Nero 112 to 114. I adopt Gen. Cunningham's estimate of the weight of the daric; Mr. Heard makes it 130 grains.

coinage will be seen on reference to the table. The heaviest coin of his reign is one of the Boy and Battle-axe type, which weighs 123.4, and the next heaviest is a Lyrist coin weighing 122 grains.

The 5 specimens of the Lyrist type weighed are all in good condition, and yet exhibit a remarkable variation in weight from 111 to 122 grains, of which I cannot offer any explanation. The  $\beta$  variety of Samudra's Archer type is remarkable for its light weight, the highest weight being 114 grains.

The Aśwamedha coins average 116.18, and do not exceed 117.7, but all specimens weighed are more or less worn. The mean of the weights of the heaviest coins, one of each type, is 118.87, for the reign of Samudra Gupta. With the exception, perhaps, of the  $\beta$  variety of the Archer type, I do not believe that the weight standard was intentionally lowered during this reign.

The coins of Chandra Gupta II are somewhat heavier, but for the most part follow the same standard as those of his predecessors. The Wheel coins (Archer type, class II  $\beta$ ) form a remarkable exception, the highest weight (two specimens) being 132.5, and the average weight of 8 coins being 129.77, which figures agree substantially with those for the reign of Skanda Gupta. It would seem as if these Wheel coins were struck on the daric or Macedonian stater standard of 134.4 grains. I can offer no explanation of this fact, but I believe that it is an indication of some important historical event. These Wheel coins of Chandra Gupta's and the coins of Skanda cannot be intended as equivalent for Roman *aurei*, for the heaviest known *aureus* is one of Pompey, weighing 128.2. It is possible that the immediate model of the coins in question was found in the issues of the Seleucid kings of Syria, which frequently weigh 130-132 grains, and are sometimes found in India.

A few coins of the Archer type, class II  $\alpha$  (the commonest variety) and of the same type and class var.  $\gamma$ , exceed 125 grains, the heaviest specimen weighing 127.6, but the average for the type (excluding the Wheel variety) is about 123 grains, and I believe, therefore, that the coins were intended to follow the old Roman and Indo-Scythian standard of about 125 grains.

The mean weight for the reign, calculated as in the case of Samudra Gupta, and excluding the Wheel variety, is 121.61.

In the reign of Kumāra Gupta Mahendra the weight standard was certainly to some extent raised, the mean weight for the reign, (calculated in the same manner as above) being 126.0 grains. The heaviest coin of the reign is one of the Peacock type, weighing 128.6, and very few specimens of any type weigh less than 123 grains. The standard would therefore seem to have been the ancient Lydian standard of 130

grains. Why Kumára Gupta should have reverted to this standard for his coinage is at present an unsolved problem. Skanda Gupta's coinage occurs in two types only, the Archer and the King and Queen. The heaviest Archer coin weighs 132·5, and the average weight of 9 coins of this type is 129·21. The King and Queen type is known from two specimens only, and but one of these has been weighed; its weight is 128·8. These can, therefore, be no doubt, that, as has already been observed, the coinage of Skanda Gupta conforms to the same standard as the Wheel variety of the Archer type of Chandra Gupta II.

The investigation has thus established the remarkable fact that the undisputed coins of the imperial Gupta Dynasty were struck according to at least three distinct standards of weight, of approximately 125, 130, and 134·5 grains respectively.

When we turn to the later coins included in the Supplement to my Catalogue another and more striking change in the weight standard presents itself. These coins are all, except the Prakásáditya coins, of the Archer type, with reverse device of a goddess (Lakshmi probably) seated on a lotus-flower. The execution is rude, and the metal sometimes debased. Of the coins bearing the name of Chandra, the weights of three are known, the average being 145·66, and the highest 148. The corresponding figures for 4 coins inscribed with the name Kumára, or its first syllable, are 146·3 and 148·7. The only gold coin of Skanda Gupta Kramáditya which has been tested, weighs 141·4. The coins of Nára Gupta Báláditya average 145·66, with a maximum of 148·7, and the Lion and Horseman coins of Prakásáditya show an average of 145·6 and a maximum of 146·2.

These figures demonstrate that all these coins were struck according to one standard, and that quite different from any of the standards adopted for the undisputed mintages of the imperial Gupta sovereigns. What was this standard? It seems to me that it was the ancient Hindu weight and coin, the *suvarṇa*, or golden *Kársha* of 80 *ratís*.

General Cunningham finds it "for all practical purposes extremely convenient and sufficiently accurate to assume the value of the *ratí* at 1·75 English grain, which is the value that has already been adopted by Mr. Thomas on the evidence of the coins themselves." If this value for the *ratí* be accepted the weight of the *suvarṇa* must be fixed at 140 grains, and the coins now under consideration, whatever they may be, cannot be intended for *suvarṇas*.

General Cunningham observes that "no one to my knowledge has seen a *suvarṇa*," and in the sense that no one has yet discovered an ancient Hindu pre-Alexandrine coin of that denomination, the observation is accurate; but I venture to submit that the coins of Nára Gupta and

his compeers must be considered as revivals of the ancient *surarṇa*, and that this conclusion is fully warranted by General Cunningham's own researches. He has devoted much time and labour to the task of ascertaining the value of the *ratī*, by weighing the *ratī* seeds (*Abrus precatorius*) and the other kinds of seeds metrically associated with the *ratī* in the Hindu books. The mean of four values of the *ratī* deduced from actual weighments of the seed of the *Abrus* is 1·8143. General Cunningham himself, with the most elaborate precaution, weighed "one thousand sound and tolerably even-sized seeds", with the result that the average weight was 1·823 grain, and Mr. Laidlay's weighments on his behalf gave practically the same result, 1·825.

Weighments of rice and other seeds alleged in the Hindu books to have definite numerical ratios to the weight of the *Abrus* seed gave results varying from 1·791 to 1·825, with a mean of 1·8044. By taking the mean of the two average weights above noted ( $1·8143 + 1·8044 \div 2$ ) says General Cunningham, "we obtain 1·8093 as the true value of the actual *ratī*."\* This expression is not scientifically accurate, because a mere arithmetical average of results obtained from experiments conducted in different ways, and with various degrees of precaution, is not entitled to be called a *true value*.

It seems to me that if witnesses are to be weighed and not counted the nearest possible approximation to the 'true value' is to be found in the result 1·823 obtained by General Cunningham from the truly scientific experiment made by himself which he describes, confirmed as it is by the almost identical result, 1·825, obtained by Mr. Laidlay. General Cunningham, therefore, on his own showing, is not justified in assuming 1·75 grain as the value of the *ratī*; and in 1865 he accepted the value 1·823 grain for the *ratī*.† Mr. Thomas arrives at the seductive figure 1·75 by a different method. He shows, for instance, that the Hindu silver coin known as *purāṇa* should contain 32 *ratīs*, and that *purāṇa* pieces actually in existence weigh as high as 55 grains, and then, so far as I understand him, jumps to the conclusion that the full weight of the *purāṇa* was 56 grains. But I cannot see anything in his arguments inconsistent with

\* For Gen. Cunningham's experiments and opinions see his paper 'On the Monetary System of the Greeks in Bactriāna, Ariāna, and India,' in *Num. Chron.* Vol. XIII, N. S. (1873) pp. 187-219, especially pp. 196-7. Mr. Thomas has explained his views in his essays on Ancient Indian Weights (*Num. Chron.* IV, N. S. (1864) pp. 40-58 and 114-132, especially p. 132.) These essays have been republished with additions in the *International Numismata Orientalia*.

† "The old Indian *paṇa* or copper coin of 145·833 grains." (*Coins of the Nine Nāgas etc.*, in *J. A. S. B.* Vol. XXXIV, 1865, p. 120.) The *paṇa* of copper corresponded in weight with the *surarṇa* of gold.

the assumption that the full weight of the *purāna* was 57, or 58, or 59 grains, and must confess to remaining unconvinced by his reasoning, which seems to make insufficient allowance for loss of weight by wear. I believe General Cunningham's 1·823 grain to be the nearest possible approach to the true value of the *ratī*, but, for convenience, would adopt Mr. Laidlay's value 1·825, which only differs from the other by  $\frac{1}{500}$ th of a grain. The scale of Hindu gold coins and weights, will then stand as follows;—

$$\begin{aligned} 5 \text{ ratīs} &= 1 \text{ māśha} = 9\cdot125 \text{ grains.} \\ 80 \text{ ratīs} &= 16 \text{ māśhas} = 1 \text{ suvarṇa} = 146\cdot000 \text{ „} \end{aligned}$$

The silver *purāna* will thus be equivalent to 58·4 grains, a result apparently quite consistent with the weights of existing specimens when allowance is made for wear. These results are, I submit, much nearer to the truth than the figures 8·75 and 140 and 56 respectively, as adopted by General Cunningham in his later publications and by Mr. Thomas, and they happen to be very nearly as convenient for purposes of calculation. I would urge, however, that mere convenience of calculation does not justify any appreciable modification of the results arrived at by scientific investigation, and that our business is to get at the truth so far as possible, and to make our arithmetic conform. Tried by this test our coins obviously appear to be intended for *suvarṇas*. To make the point clear I repeat the weights:—

|                                                 |                |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Suvarṇa</i> = 80 <i>ratīs</i> @ 1·825 grs. = | 146·00 grains. |
| Av. wt. of Chandra barbarous coins =            | 145·66 „       |
| „ „ Kumāra „ „ =                                | 146·30 „       |
| „ „ Skanda „ „ =                                | 141·40 „       |
| „ „ Nāra „ „ =                                  | 145·66 „       |
| „ „ Prakāśāditya „ „ =                          | 145·60 „       |

It is true that some specimens weigh as much as 148·7, and that a base metal coin of the Kumāra type weighs 150·3, but, considering the rude execution of these coins, and the inferiority of the metal in many instances, I do not think that this excess of weight invalidates the reference of these coins to the *suvarṇa* standard. Whether I am right or wrong on this point, the discussion at least proves that an investigation in detail of the weights of the coins of the Gupta period is not without interest, and may lead to conclusions of some importance.

It is to be regretted that the materials for the discussion are at present comparatively scanty, and I hope that collectors of Indian coins may be induced to pay more attention to the weights of their coins than has hitherto been customary.

*Section V.*

## FIND-SPOTS.

The information concerning the localities in which the Gupta gold coins have been exhumed or otherwise obtained is not so copious as could be desired, and most coin collectors seem to take little interest in ascertaining either the spot where their specimens were found, or the details of the contents of each trove. Yet these points eminently deserve attention. Greek coins usually indicate on their face the locality of the mint where they were struck, but the Gupta and other Indian coins ordinarily have no indication of the sort, and, in the absence of trustworthy written history, the records of the find-spots of coins are almost our only clue to the position of the ancient Hindu mints.

The Guptas, and other dynasties of præ-Muhammadan India, which modern archæological research has rescued from the utter oblivion of centuries, are still for the most part the merest shadows, endowed with names certainly, but without any definite local habitation, and often as unfixed in time as in place.

The fabric, weight, style, devices, and legends of coins help us to fix the chronological position of these dynasties, whose names dance before the eyes of the student in a most perplexing maze. The recorded find-spots of coins, and detailed account of the contents of individual troves should be studied with care equal to that bestowed on the more attractive parts of numismatic science in order to throw light on the position of the old mint-cities, and on the local limits of the dominion of these long-forgotten sovereigns. Full details of the contents of hoards of coins when skilfully used, can be forced to yield to the historian many valuable hints.

These few observations will, I trust, be deemed sufficient justification for the elaboration with which I have worked out this part of my subject, so far as the meagre materials available would permit. I hope that collectors will be good enough to impart to the Society additional facts to complete the imperfect information at my command, and to correct any erroneous inferences which may be based upon insufficient premises.

Professor Wilson, with his usual caution, declined to commit himself to any definite opinion as to the seat of the dominion of the Gupta kings, or the position of their mint-cities, and contented himself with the remark that "all that can be affirmed of them (*scil.* Gupta gold coins) with any degree of certainty is that they are coins of the west and north-western provinces of Hindustán." He also pointed out that these coins are not found in the Panjáb or Afghánistán.\*

\* *Ariana Ant.* p. 417.

Prinsep treated this topic with greater explicitness, but, as will be shown presently, with less accuracy. "Kanauj," he says, "has been fixed on as the locale of the present class of gold coins, for the obvious reason that they are most frequently found in its ruins, not that any history ascribes them to this town."\* In another passage he appeals again to the "frequency of his coins discovered at Kanauj" as a reason for fixing Samudra Gupta's capital at that place.† In a subsequent essay Prinsep to some extent corrects his former attribution of the majority of the coins to Kanauj, and observes, "Since my former paper on the Gupta coins of Kanauj appeared, very important acquisitions have been made to our knowledge of this before unknown dynasty, through the medium of coins and inscriptions; for both of which we are almost entirely beholden to the researches of Lieut. Cunningham and Mr. Tregear in the neighbourhood of Benares."

After discussing the passage in the Vishnu Purána, which defines the territory of the Guptas of Magadha as extending "along the Ganges to Prayága" (Allahabád), he remarks that "the sites, whence these coins have been most frequently obtained, certainly agree with this description."‡

A few pages later Prinsep states that the Gupta gold coins are "discovered in greatest quantity at Kanauj, Jaunpur, Gayá, and even occasionally in Bengal."§

Abstaining for the moment from any comment on the statements above quoted, I shall proceed to state all the facts which I have been able to ascertain respecting the find-spots of the Gupta gold coins; first enumerating the hoards known to me, and then giving statistics of individual coins, including some which formed parts of certain of the hoards mentioned.

172 so-called "gold daries" were found near Benares in the time of Warren Hastings, who sent them home to the Court of Directors, considering himself "as making the most munificent present to his masters that he might ever have it in his power to send them.... The story is that they were sent to the melting pot. At all events they had disappeared when Hastings returned to England."|| It is almost incredible that these 172 pieces should have been Persian daries. The

\* *Essays* I, 284.

† *ibid.*, 239.

‡ *ibid.* pp. 365-6, Mr. Tregear collected at Jaunpur 40 miles from Benares; Lt. (now Genl.) Cunningham was then at Benares.

§ *ibid.* p. 375.

|| Genl. Cunningham on the Oxus Treasure Trove in *J. A. S. B. for 1881*, p. 184; and 'India, What can it Teach us,' by Max Müller, p. 8.

latter are extremely rare, only about 40, I believe, being known to exist, and the neighbourhood of Benares is a place extremely unlikely in which to find a large hoard of them. I consider it highly probable that the trove consisted of Gupta gold coins of the prevailing Archer type, which might in those days be easily confounded with the Persian *αὐξοῦραι*.

Another great golden treasure was found during the reign of Warren Hastings in the year 1783, at Kálí Ghát, ten miles above Calcutta, on the east bank of the Húglí. The hoard comprised over 200 coins, many of which were sent home by the Governor-General and were distributed among the cabinets of the British Museum, East India Company, and other public institutions, where some, at any rate, of the specimens are still to be seen. The coins of this hoard are described by Wilson as being "of rude execution and debased metal," and it is doubtful if any of them are authentic issues of the imperial Gupta dynasty, though agreeing in general design with the Archer type of those issues. A few specimens from this hoard, which I designate by the name of Kálíghát, are noticed in the Supplement to my Catalogue.\*

In 1838 Mr. Tregear dug up some specimens of the Gupta gold coinage in some ruins, known as Jaichandra's Mahal, near Jaunpur. The exact number of the coins so found is not stated, but it does not appear to have been large. Most, if not all, of these coins were subsequently published by Prinsep, and are included in my Catalogue.†

The important trove, which is referred to in the Catalogue as the Bharsar hoard, was found near Benares in 1851 and is described by Major Kittoe as follows:—

"These coins, which are all gold, of different weight and quality, were of a trove of ninety in number, that is, such number were delivered into the treasury. They were found, with about 70 more, by some villagers, buried in a copper vessel, in a mound on which stands the village of Bharsar, in pargana Bharwal, and Thána Chandaulí, about twelve miles from Benares, between the Ganges and Karamnása. Bharsar is the site of one of the many ancient cities, the names of which are lost....."

"Of the number [*scil.* recovered] 71 were coins of Chandra Gupta, 69 being of one type of his coinage [*scil.* evidently, Archer type]. Of these, four were retained of the most perfect, and the remainder were sold by auction; they were all more or less defective, and but few of them had even a portion of the legend round the rim perfect, but the

\* Marsden Num. Or., II, 726; Ariana Ant. pp. 416-17 and Plate XVIII, figs. 21 *seqq.* The barbarous coins figured by Marsden were from this hoard. (*Prinsep's Essays, I, 230.*)

† J. A. S. B. III, (1831), 619.



The same volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* which contains the description of the Bharsar treasure trove supplies a notice of some coins found at Muhammadpur, near the Arunkhali River, in the Jessore District of Lower Bengal. They are described as being "all of the Gupta kings of Kanauj [*sic.*] and comprise specimens of the silver coinage of Chandra Gupta, Kumára Gupta, and Skanda Gupta. The metal of these coins is very impure." The hoard included one gold coin weighing 85 grains, which, at that time, Bábú Rájendralál Mitra believed to be a coin of Sri Gupta, but it is evidently of a date much subsequent to Skanda Gupta.\*

Mr. Thomas alludes, with tantalizing brevity, to "a batch of twenty gold coins found at Gopálpur on 'the Ghágra River, on the site of the old village fort, ten miles west of Barhal' in July 1854." Barhal is in the district of Gorakhpur. Seven of these coins "from the mints of Chandra Gupta II" were submitted to Government, and included a specimen of his Archer type, Class I,  $\beta$ . No particulars are recorded concerning the other constituents of the hoard.† General Cunningham informs me that a great hoard was found at Allahabad some twenty years ago consisting of about 200 of the gold Peacock coins of Kumára Gupta. General Cunningham saw a large number of specimens and obtained possession of four, two of which, namely, one of each variety, are still in his cabinet.

About seven years ago twenty or thirty Gupta gold coins were found at Jhúsi opposite Allahabad, comprising two specimens of Kumára Gupta's Archer type, Class I var.  $\alpha$ ; and eight specimens of the same king's Peacock type in both varieties.‡

Recently, thirteen gold coins of the Guptas were found near Húglí, the hoard being composed as follows:—

|                                             |              |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Samudra Gupta — Javelin type .....          | 1            |
| Chandra Gupta II — Archer ,, Class II ..... | 5            |
| Kumára Gupta Mahendra — Archer ,, .....     | 3            |
| "    "    " — Horseman to Right ,, .....    | 2            |
| "    "    " — "    "    " Left .....        | 1            |
| "    "    " — Lion-Trampler ,, .....        | 1            |
|                                             | Total... 13§ |

\* Note on Three Ancient Coins found at Muhammadpur in the Jessore District, by Babu Rájendralál Mitra (*J. A. S. B.* XXI p. 401; *Pl. XII, figs. 10-12*). One of these coins belongs to Sasánga (A. D. 600). *Cunningham, Arch. Rep. III, p. 138.*

† *J. A. S. B.* XXIV (1855), p. 499.

‡ From information kindly communicated by Sir E. C. Bayley.

§ I am indebted to Dr. Hoernle for my knowledge of this hoard, which I designate by the name of Húglí.

Of the eight Gupta gold coins in the possession of Sir E. C. Bayley, three, as above mentioned, were found at or near Allahabad; the rest are believed to have been found either at Kanauj or Allahabad.

The gold coins of the Guptas in the cabinet of Mr. A. Grant were all obtained in Ondh, and mostly near Faizábád (Ayodhyá), except one, which was bought in Bombay. Mr. J. Hooper's specimens were also obtained in Eastern Oudh. Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac has 13 gold Gupta coins, 6 of these were obtained in the province of Benares, 2 were dug up near Allahabad, 1 was procured at Lucknow, 2 at Cawnpore, and 2 at Mathura.

Col. Tod's coins, including the four gold Guptas figured in *Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I. Pl. XII, 4th series*, were all obtained at Agra, Mathura, Ujjain, or Ajmir, but more precise information respecting them is wanting.

The above notes comprise all the facts which I have been able to collect respecting hoards of Gupta gold coins, and the origin of the collections in various cabinets.\*

I shall now proceed to analyse the available statistics respecting the find-spots of individual coins, including some which were comprised in certain of the hoards already mentioned.

Prinsep was more careful than many other antiquarians have been to record the source from which he obtained his coins. Thirty-seven Gupta gold coins are described in his essays, and the following table of the find-spots of these coins has been compiled from his notes:—

|          |                                                    |     |       |     |     |    |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------|-----|-------|-----|-----|----|
| From     | Kanauj ...                                         | ... | ...   | ... | ... | 3  |
| "        | Jaunpur                                            | ... | ...   | ... | ... | 3  |
| "        | " ? (cabinet of Tregear, who collected at Jaunpur) | ... | ...   | ... | ... | 11 |
| "        | Benares ...                                        | ... | • ... | ... | ... | 1  |
| "        | " ?                                                | ... | ...   | ... | ... | 1  |
| "        | Gayá ...                                           | ... | ...   | ... | ... | 4  |
| "        | Mirzápur                                           | ... | ...   | ... | ... | 1  |
| "        | Gházípur                                           | ... | ...   | ... | ... | 1  |
| "        | not stated                                         | ... | ...   | ... | ... | 12 |
| Total... |                                                    |     |       |     |     | 37 |

In the following general statement, compiled from all the notes of place in my catalogue, the coins described by Prinsep are included.\*

\* There is nothing to show the *provenance* of any of the coins in the India Office collection. The find-spots of a very few coins in the British Museum collection are recorded, but there is reason to doubt the accuracy of some of the notes. Mr. Theobald does not know where any of his Gupta coins were found, except that one was bought in Benares, and one in Mathurá. Information is likewise wanting concerning the *provenance* of nearly all the coins in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The coins of the Bhārsar hoard are placed under the head of Benares and those found at Jhūsi under the head of Allahabad. Tod's coins are described as obtained in N. W. India.

For facility of verification the figures are given for each reign. It is necessary to observe that the notes which form the basis of my tables are often vaguely expressed, and that in some instances it is impossible to say whether the coin was exhumed or only bought at the locality named.

TABLE OF FIND-SPOTS.

| <i>Reign.</i>     | <i>Find-spots.</i> | <i>No. of coins.</i> | Total<br>for<br>reign. |
|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Ghaṭot Kacha.     | Jaunpur ?          | 1                    | 1                      |
| Chandra Gupta I.  | " ?                | 1                    |                        |
| "                 | Ghāzīpur           | 1                    |                        |
| "                 | Benares            | 1                    | 3                      |
| Samudra Gupta.    | Kanauj             | 1                    |                        |
| "                 | " ?                | 1                    |                        |
| "                 | Sahāranpur         | 1                    |                        |
| "                 | Mathura            | 1                    |                        |
| "                 | Oudh               | 10                   |                        |
| "                 | Jaunpur            | 1                    |                        |
| "                 | Benares            | 7*                   |                        |
| "                 | Gayá               | 1                    |                        |
| "                 | Patna ?            | 1                    |                        |
| "                 | Húglí              | 1                    | 25                     |
| Chandra Gupta II. | Kanauj             | 2                    |                        |
|                   | Bulandshahr        | 1                    |                        |
|                   | Cawnpore           | 2                    |                        |
|                   | N. W. India        | 3                    |                        |
|                   | Oudh               | 4                    |                        |
|                   | Ghāzīpur           | 1                    |                        |
|                   | Jaunpur            | 1                    |                        |
|                   | " ?                | 5                    |                        |
|                   | Mirzapur           | 1                    |                        |
|                   | Benares            | 12*                  |                        |
|                   | Gorakhpur District | 7*                   |                        |
|                   | Huglí              | 5                    | 44                     |

\* The Barhal hoard comprised about 20 Gupta coins, of which 7 belonged to the reign of Chandra Gupta II; it is not known to what reign the remaining coins belonged, and I have therefore excluded them from the table. In the case of the Bhārsar hoard I have only taken credit for the few coins described in detail, but the hoard comprised about 160 Gupta coins, of which 71 belonged to the reign of Chandra Gupta II.

| <i>Reign.</i>          | <i>Find-spot.</i>        | <i>No. of coins.</i> | <i>Total for reign.</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Kumára Gupta Mahendra. | N. W. India              | 1                    |                         |
|                        | Allahabad (Jhúsi)        | 14                   |                         |
|                        | Oudh                     | 3                    |                         |
|                        | Jaunpur                  | 1                    |                         |
|                        | Benares                  | 9                    |                         |
|                        | Gayá                     | 2                    |                         |
|                        | Mahanada                 | 1                    |                         |
|                        | Midnapur                 | 1                    |                         |
|                        | Huglí                    | 7                    | 39                      |
| Skanda Gupta.          | Kanauj                   | 1                    |                         |
|                        | Oudh                     | 1                    |                         |
|                        | Jaunpur ?                | 1                    |                         |
|                        | Benares                  | 1                    |                         |
|                        | Gházípur                 | 1                    |                         |
|                        | Mahanada                 | 1                    | 6                       |
|                        | Total for all reigns ... | ...                  | ...                     |

The following figures give the meagre information available concerning the find-spots of the coins mentioned in the Supplement to the Catalogue :—

|                     |           |   |       |
|---------------------|-----------|---|-------|
| Chandra             | Oudh      | 1 | 1     |
| Kumára              | Kálighát* | 1 | 1     |
| Skanda              | Gayá      | 1 | 1     |
| Nára                | Oudh      | 1 |       |
| "                   | Kálighát* | 1 | 2     |
| Prakásáditya        | Kanauj    | 1 |       |
|                     | Benares   | 2 | 3     |
|                     |           |   | Total |
| Grand total 118 + 8 |           |   | 126   |

The next following statement exhibits a result of the investigation which may surprise some of my readers.

I. Coins obtained at Kanauj (including 1 doubtful case).

|                  |     |     |     |   |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|---|
| Samudra Gupta    | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| Chandra Gupta II | ... | ... | ... | 2 |

\* The Kálighát hoard comprised over 200 coins, but its detailed composition is not known.

|      |                                               |     |     |     |     |    |           |           |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----------|-----------|
|      | Skanda Gupta                                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1  |           |           |
|      | Prakásíditya                                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1  | Total 6   |           |
| II.  | Coins obtained west and north-west of Kanauj. |     |     |     |     |    |           |           |
|      | Samudra Gupta                                 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2  |           |           |
|      | Chandra Gupta II                              | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6  |           |           |
|      | Kumára Gupta Mahendra                         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2  | Total 10  |           |
| III. | Coins obtained east of Kanauj.                |     |     |     |     |    |           |           |
|      | Ghaṭot Kacha                                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1  |           |           |
|      | Chandra Gupta I                               | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3  |           |           |
|      | Samudra Gupta                                 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 20 |           |           |
|      | Chandra Gupta II...                           | ... | ... | ... | ... | 36 |           |           |
|      | Kumára Gupta Mahendra                         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 38 |           |           |
|      | Skanda Gupta                                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5  |           |           |
|      | Doubtful                                      | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7  | Total 110 |           |
|      |                                               |     |     |     |     |    | 7         | Total 126 |
|      | Grand total 126                               |     |     |     |     |    |           |           |

The above total refers only to the coins described in detail, but, when the entire contents of the Barhal, Allahabad and Bharsar hoards are included, the total of indisputably Gupta coins found east of Kanauj will be about 480. If the entire Kálighát hoard of rude coins of Gupta type be included, the total must be raised to about 690, and, if it be admitted that Warren Hastings' 172 "gold darics" from Benares were Gupta coins, the grand total would amount to about 860. In any case the figure for Kanauj stands at 6. The fact is therefore established with mathematical certainty that Kanauj supplies only an infinitesimal proportion of the Gupta gold coins, the great bulk of which have been obtained far to the east of that City.

## SECTION VI.

*The Gupta Mint-Cities and Capital.*

In Southern India the ancient native governments permitted subordinate rulers and even private persons to coin in all metals, including gold, with little restriction, but there is no indication of similar laxity having at any time prevailed in Hindustan.\*

In Northern India successive dynasties followed, so far as is known, the practice of the Persian kings and Roman emperors, and jealously retained in their own hands the right of coining gold.

If this be admitted, it follows that the ancient gold coinages of Northern India will have been struck at or near the seats of government of the sovereigns who issued them. If, therefore, we can discover the position of the mint-cities where the gold pieces of the Gupta kings were

\* Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights (Intern. Num. Or.)*, p. 57.

struck, we may feel confident that we have also discovered the site of the capital, or capitals, of those princes.

Prinsep designated the Gupta gold coinage by the name of the 'Kanauj series.' Almost without exception later writers on Indian archaeology have followed him, and it seems to me, have rather blindly followed him, in assuming the existence of a special connection between the Gupta dynasty and Kanauj.

Not to mention other and less authoritative writers, Mr. Burgess speaks of "the Guptas of Kanauj,"\* and Sir E. C. Bayley does not hesitate to affirm explicitly that Kanauj was the Gupta capital†. But what evidence warrants us in asserting that the Gupta kings had their capital at Kanauj? I can find none.

It will not be disputed that the belief in Kanauj being the Gupta capital originated in Prinsep's designation of the gold coins as the 'Kanauj series,' and in his assertion that they were most commonly found at Kanauj. But the statistics given in the last preceding section of this paper, which are indisputable so far as they go, prove that Prinsep was mistaken as to the fact, and that the coins in question are *not* most commonly found at Kanauj. Attention has already been drawn to the circumstance that Prinsep subsequently corrected his earlier and less guarded assertion, and bracketed Jaunpur and Gayá with Kanauj, as the places where the Gupta gold coins were found in greatest abundance; and, from the first, he was careful to note that *no history connected the Guptas and Kanauj*. Prinsep's error, therefore, so far as it was an error, was not a grave one, and his statements offer a very slender foundation for the categorical assertion that Kanauj was the Gupta capital.

It seems to me that Prinsep's misapprehension on the subject can be very easily explained. The fine Retreating Lion coin of Chandra Gupta II was obtained by Lieut. Conolly at Kanauj; and the fact that the publication and study of this coin led to the decipherment of the rest of the series appears to have impressed Prinsep's imagination, and to have influenced him in giving the name of 'Kanauj Series' to this class of gold coins.

However this may be, the solid fact remains that out of 37 coins described by Prinsep, the find-spots of 25 are known more or less accurately, and of these latter only 3 can be traced to Kanauj. Nor have I been able to find a record of a single hoard of Gupta gold coins found at that city, and it need hardly be observed that the occurrence of hoards in certain places is more valuable as evidence for the purposes of the his-

\* *Archæol. Survey of W. India*, II, p. 80.

† *Num. Chron.* II, 3rd S. (1882) p. 158.

torian than the finding of isolated coins, which may have reached their resting places in any of a hundred different ways.

I think, therefore, that the evidence now presented fully warrants the assertion that *the find-spots of the Gupta gold coins in no way support the statement that Kanauj was the Gupta capital.*

I am not aware that evidence of any other kind has ever been adduced in support of that statement, which has been passed from one writer to another apparently without examination.

I do not deny that Kanauj was in existence during the rule of the Gupta kings, nor that it was included in their dominions. Little appears to be known about its early history, but it has always been reputed one of the most ancient of Indian cities, and we know that it was an important place in 400 A. D. when Fa Hian visited it, and it appears to have been known by name to the geographer Ptolemy about A. D. 140. It is also certain that it was the capital of the eastern dominions of the great Harsha Varddhana in A. D. 634, but all these facts in no wise prove it to have been the Gupta capital.\* I am quite willing to admit that Sir E. C. Bayley is right in calling Kanauj 'the Dehli of the Hindus,' if that title be restricted to the centuries between 600 A. D. and the Muhammadan conquest, but I can find no authority for the antedating of this claim to precedence.†

The conclusion arrived at so far is a purely negative one. I shall now consider whether any positive result as to the position of the mints and capital may be obtained from a study of the find-spots of the Gupta gold coins and other evidence.

It may safely be affirmed that the records of the localities, both where hoards and where individual coins were found, indicate unmistakably that the Gupta gold coinage was struck and chiefly current in territories far to the east of Kanauj, and that these territories may be roughly described as the Province of Benares, with some adjoining districts. It seems to me impossible to draw any other conclusion from the evidence which has been set forth in the section on find-spots.\*

\* These references are quoted from Genl. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Rep.* I, 280. Sir E. C. Bayley informs me that in the Basle edition of Ptolemy (1533) the name which is supposed to mean Kanauj is written *Kanoyōpa*.

† The phrase 'the Delhi of the Hindus' is quoted from a letter on this subject with which Sir E. C. Bayley favoured me. His theory about the supposed dates in the Gupta era on the mediæval coinage of Kābul (*Num. Chron.* 3rd Ser. Vol. II, pp. 128-165 and 291-294) is of very doubtful correctness, and even if it were proved, does not contribute to the solution of the question discussed in the text. I see no reason for supposing that the use of the Gupta era was connected with the sovereignty of Kanauj.

‡ The scanty evidence as to the *provenance* of the Gupta copper coins (*ante*

The districts around Benares are rich in remains of ancient cities, and at present it does not seem possible to fix on any one of these with certainty as the Gupta capital. Very probably there was more than one capital, even at one and the same time, in the same way as Mahoba, Khajuráho, and Kálinjar may be appropriately described as respectively the civil, religious, and military capitals of the Chandel kingdom in Bundelkhand during mediæval times.

If a choice must be made, I should be inclined to fix upon Pátali-putra (Patna) as the headquarters of the eastern dominions of the Gupta kings.\* It is a little east of the places where the gold coins have been most often found, but is sufficiently near those places to make it quite credible that it was the capital city and chief mint. It must be remembered that the ancient Pátali-putra has been almost entirely carried away by the Ganges,† and that consequently treasure trove is naturally scarce in the city which is its modern representative. No argument is needed to show that in the time of the Mauryas Pátali-putra deserved to be called 'the Delhi of the Hindus.' It was still a city in the time of Fa-Hian (400 A. D.), but, when Hwen Thsang visited the spot in 632 A. D., the once splendid metropolis had been reduced to a squalid village.‡ The cause of its ruin is not known, but I would conjecture that the White Huns may have destroyed the famous city.

General Cunningham has pointed out that the account of another Chinese traveller indicates that Pátali-putra was still flourishing as the capital of a great kingdom between the years 222 and 280 A. D., and has conjectured that the king referred to by the Chinese author was Kumára Gupta Mahendra and that "the decline of Pátali-putra was due to the fall of the great Gupta dynasty and the consequent removal of the seat of government to another place."§ It will be admitted by all that

p. 153 note) appears, so far as it goes, to indicate that they were issued from the same mints as the gold coins. The silver coinage was evidently provincial.

\* Wilford long ago fixed on Patna as the Gupta capital, but in doing so was guided by a mistaken notion that Padmávati was an equivalent of Pátali-putra (Wilson's *Vishnu Purána*, 4to. edn. p. 480, note 70). I find that the late Mr. Wilton Oldham also speaks of "the Gupta dynasty, the capital of which was in Magadha or Bihár, the city of Pátali-putra, or the modern Patna" (*Hist. and Stat. Memoir of the Gházipur District. Part I. p. 38*). Ayodhya was probably one of the chief cities of the Guptas.

† Arch. Rep. VIII, pp. XII, and 24.

‡ McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 207, note.

§ Cunningham, *Arch. Rep. XI*, 153. An English rendering of Stanislas Julien's revised version of the Chinese text is given in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX (1880) p. 17. An earlier version will be found in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI. pp. 61-75. The Chinese author does not specify Pátali-putra by name, but it is probable that Pátali-

Pātaliputra, by reason of its ancient importance, must have been one of the chief cities in the Gupta dominions. We are not, however, altogether restricted to indirect inference for proof of this fact.

The inscription on the back of the Tāwá cave at Udayagiri near Bhilsa records that the cave was made by one Sāba, whose ancestral name was Virasena a poet, and a resident of Pātaliputra, who had come thither with his king, Chandra Gupta.\*

The broken inscription at Garhwá near Allahabad, which appears to belong, like that in the Tāwá cave, to the reign of Chandra Gupta II, mentions Pātaliputra at the end of the eleventh line, but the inscription is so mutilated that the context cannot be made out.†

The inscriptions which give the genealogy of the Gupta family inform us that Kumári Deví, the queen of Chandra Gupta I, was the daughter of Lichchhavi, an assertion which is fully confirmed by the legend 'Kumári Deví Lichchhavayah' on the gold coins. It is highly probable that the lapidary and numismatic record means that the queen belonged to the Lichchhavi family of Kshatriyas who resided at Vaiśáli, and are famous for their devotion to the Buddha in earlier times. Vaiśáli is the modern Besárh or Besádh, 27 miles distant from Patna, (*Cunn. Arch. Rep. Vol. I, p. 55*), and, if the identity of the Lichchhavi family in Buddhist and Gupta times be admitted, the alliance of the Gupta kings with that family is another indication that their capital was at or near Patna. I may note in passing that the alliance is also a proof that the Guptas were a Kshatriya family, and not either Súdras or foreigners. The narrative of I-tsing (*circa 690-700 A. D.*) shows that the dominions of Sri Gupta, the founder of the dynasty, were situated in Magadha, and included Buddha Gaya. He says, "All parts of the world have their appropriate temples, except China, so that priests from that country have many hardships to endure. Eastward, about forty stages [*scil. yojanas*] following the course of the Ganges, we come to the Mrigasikavana Temple. Not far from this is a ruined establishment called the Tchina Temple. The old tradition says that formerly a Mahárája called Sri Gupta built this for the priests of China. At this time some Chinese priests, some twenty men or so came from Sz'chuan to the Mahábodhi Temple to pay worship to it, on which the king, seeing their piety, gave them as a gift this plot of land. The land now belongs to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Deva Varmma." (*J. R. A. S. Vol. XIII, N. S. pp. 571, 572*). This

putra was the city referred to. If that supposition be correct, Pātaliputra must have been the Gupta capital, at the period indicated, for at that period it was certainly under Gupta rule.

\* Cunningham, Arch. Rep. X, pp. 51, 52.

† Cunningham, Arch. Rep. III, 57.

passage appears to me to be strong evidence that the Gupta dynasty took its rise in Magadha, and that its capital was, consequently, in all probability, Pāṭaliputra, the leading city of Magadha.

The well-known passages in the Purāṇas, which mention the Gupta dynasty, also point to the fact that the centre of gravity of their empire lay east of Kanauj. The Vishṇu Purāṇa states that the Guptas of Magadha reigned "along the Ganges to Prayāga" (Allahabad), and the Vāyu Purāṇa (which is supposed to be more ancient) adds that, besides the regions so specified, Sāketa was included in their dominions.\* The expression "along the Ganges to Prayāga" evidently refers to the course of the river from Magadha (*i. e.*, the country around Pāṭaliputra) on the east, to Prayāga on the west.

I was at one time inclined to suppose that the Paurānic texts referred to the later Guptas of Magadha mentioned in the Apsar inscription,† but I now prefer to accept the general opinion which interprets the texts as referring to the imperial dynasty. Mr. A. Grant's gold Gupta coins were all (except one) obtained in Oudh, and mostly in the neighbourhood of Sāketa (= Ayodhyā, near Faizābād), and Mr. Hooper's were likewise found in Eastern Oudh, which facts are some confirmation of the statement in the Vāyu Purāṇa, if referred to the earlier dynasty. There is, moreover, no proof that the small territory of the later Guptas extended so far west as Sāketa, which may have declined before their time, as in A. D. 400 the famous neighbouring city of Srāvastī had descended to the rank of a petty village, and in A. D. 632 was completely deserted.‡

The distribution of the architectural and sculptural remains of the Gupta dynasty supplies another argument to prove that the capital of the dominions of the dynasty in Northern India lay further east than is commonly supposed.

If the remains in Central India and Guzerat be excluded, which mark the extent of the western conquests of the later members of the family,§ I think that the only records in stone of the Guptas yet discovered west of Allahabad are the broken inscription at Mathurā, which gives the genealogy of Samudra Gupta,|| and the dedicatory inscrip-

\* Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa (quarto edition), p. 479.

† Cunningham, Arch. Rep. III, 136, and XVI, p. 79. A dynasty, with the family name of Gupta, reigned in Orissa probably as late as the tenth century A. D. (*Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 55 seq.)

‡ Cunningham, Arch. Rep. I, 333, referring to Fa-Hian and Hwen Thsang.

§ I concur with Prof. Oldenberg in regarding as a forgery the so-called Jūnagarh tradition published by Major Watson (*Ind. Ant.* II, 312).

|| Cunn. Arch. Rep. I, 237 and III, 36.

tions at Bilsar (20 miles N. E. of Etá) containing the genealogy of Kumára Gupta.\* A copper-plate grant dated in the reign of Skanda Gupta has been found at Indor Khera, eight miles S. S. W. of Anúshahr.† This is a meagre list when compared with the catalogue of inscribed pillars and ruined edifices which are known to exist eastward. Allahabad (Pray ága) possesses the great inscription containing the history of Samudra Gupta, engraved after his death on the pillar set up by the great Maurya emperor of Pátaliputra,‡ and in the neighbourhood of Allahabad numerous ruins and inscriptions of the Gupta period are found at Kosambi (Kosam),§ Garhwá or Bhatgaph,|| and Bithá-Deoriyá.¶ Going further east, we find at Bhitari in the Gházipur district, between Benares and Gházipur, the celebrated inscribed pillar giving the history of Skanda Gupta, associated with the ruins of extensive brick buildings belonging to the reign of his predecessor Kumára.\*\* The uninscribed pillar at Zamániá in the same district appears to be of about the same date;†† and still further east, Bihár has pillars to show, which were inscribed in the reigns of Kumára and Skanda,‡‡ and in the Gorakhpur district, north of Gházipur, is to be seen the Jain pillar at Kahaon dedicated in the reign of Skanda Gupta.§§

The distribution of the architectural and sculptural remains, therefore, closely coincides with that of the gold and copper coins, and is equally adverse to the claim of Kanauj to the honour of having been the Gupta capital.

There is no reason to suppose that the sway of the Guptas extended over Lower Bengal, and it seems probable that the coins found in that province came there in the course of trade and travel, and mark the line of a trade route which led to Támralipti or some other ancient port at the mouths of the Ganges.||||

Sir E. C. Bayley has been good enough to favour me with his criticism on the views above enunciated, the outline of which was submitted

\* *Ibid.* XI, 17.

† *Ibid.* XII, 38.

‡ Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 233.

§ Cunningham *Arch. Rep.* X, 3 *seqq.*

|| *Ibid.*, III, 53 *seqq.* and X, 10, *seqq.*

¶ *Ibid.* III, 48 and X, 7, 8.

\*\* *Ibid.* I, 97 *seqq.*, etc. The second vowel in Bhitari is not long as it is generally marked.

†† *Ibid.* III, 62.

‡‡ *Ibid.* I, 36.

§§ The corrected facsimile and translation with notes are given in *Ind. Antiquary* for 1881, pp. 124-126.

|||| The Chinese account above referred to proves that the Indian capital in the middle of the third century A. D. was a place of active trade.

to him. He urges that "gold, which in old Indian times, was not the current circulation of *every day* transactions, would collect, not at seats of Government, but round centres of commerce, such as Allahabad, Benares, and Faizábád always have been, and they are also centres of pilgrimage, which attract much gold and silver.

"It is almost an infallible indication of the neighbourhood of a sovereign's capital when his coins of very *minute* value are found in large numbers. It is only in the markets of large towns or cities that such a coinage was of use in India, owing to the social habits of the country, but such cities rarely existed except at the head-quarters of Government. The minute coins of the Pathán kings abound within twenty miles of Delhi, but are very rare elsewhere. Their gold coins are as common elsewhere as at Delhi. The copper coins of the Guptas are so rare, however, that no deduction can be drawn from them."

These remarks show the importance of tracing the *provenance* of the Gupta copper coins, which, as already observed, do not appear to be so rare as Sir E. C. Bayley supposes.

His remark that such "markets of large towns or cities" as Allahabad, Benares, and Faizábád were in the Gupta period, "rarely existed except at the head-quarters of Government" appears to me to lend much support to the inference which I have drawn from the recorded find-spots of the Gupta coins, especially the large hoards. However, the reader has now both views before him, and can judge for himself.

## SECTION VII.

### CONCLUSION.

I must now bring to a close this long but imperfect introductory essay, and invite the patient reader to enter upon the dry details of the Catalogue. My general description of the Gupta gold coins is specially deficient in two respects, namely, in omitting all systematic discussion of the fabric and of the palæography of the coins.

The details occasionally given in the Catalogue are sufficient to indicate that the standard of purity of metal was not always uniform, but I have not had an opportunity for procuring analyses of any of the coins, and must content myself with remarking that this subject should not be overlooked.

Circumstances have not permitted me to study the original coins sufficiently at leisure in order to work out the palæography of the legends, but I am convinced that the detailed study of this subject would not be barren of result. The alphabetical characters on the coins do not vary very much, but the variations are sufficient to deserve attention and

investigation.\* It seems to me that in the voluminous discussions respecting the date of the Guptas sufficient stress has not been laid on the palæography of their lapidary and numismatic inscriptions. A good book on the Elements of the Palæography of Northern India is badly wanted.

A minute study of the epigraphy of the coins might perhaps lead to a more satisfactory chronological arrangement of the several types of each reign than I have been able to make. The types are arranged in my Catalogue in an order which seemed to be not inconsistent with chronological succession, but the arrangement does not profess to be satisfactory, and in many respects is arbitrary, and open to correction.

The materials used in the compilation of my Catalogue are detailed below :—

I. PUBLISHED COINS, *viz.* :—

1. Col. Tod's paper in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.* (1827), Vol. I. p. 340, and Pl. XII, 4th series.†
2. H. H. Wilson's paper in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII, and Pl. I.‡
3. Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, Nos. ML-MLIX inclusive.§
4. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVIII.||

\* Some desultory observations concerning the palæography of the Gupta coins generally will be found in Mr. Thomas's essay on the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty (*J. A. S. B.* XXIV, pp. 491, 505, 510; 512 and 517), and concerning that of the silver coins in Cunningham's *Arch. Rep.* IX, 21-26. In one corner of India, the Punjab hills between the Indus and the Jumna, the Gupta alphabet has never been changed, and "the Baniyas of the hills still keep their accounts in Gupta characters." (*Cunn. Arch. Rep.* XIV, p. 121). This very remarkable fact should be borne in mind by all palæographers.

† Fig. 1, Kumára Gupta Mahendra (Archer, class I  $\alpha$ ); fig. 2, Chandra Gupta II (Archer, class II  $\alpha$ ); fig. 3, Chandra Gupta II, (Lion-Trampler, var.  $\alpha$ ); fig. 4, ditto (ditto, var.  $\gamma$ ).

‡ Fig. 5, Samudra Gupta (Javelin, var. 1); fig. 7, ditto. (ditto, var. 2); fig. 12, Skanda Gupta (King and Queen, = P. E. XXIII, 24); fig. 13, Chandra Gupta II (Archer, class II  $\alpha$ ); fig. 17, Prakáśaditya. (Lion and Horseman); fig. 18, Kumára Gupta Mahendra (Horseman to Left); fig. 19, Samudra Gupta, (Lyrist).

§ ML, Chandra Gupta II (Archer, class II  $\alpha$ ); MLI and MLVI, Chandra Gupta? (Archer, barbarous); MLII and MLIII, Kumára Gupta? (Archer, barbarous); MLIV, Nára Gupta, (Archer, barbarous); MLV, Skanda Gupta?, (Archer, barbarous); MLVII, Chandra Gupta II (Archer, class I  $\beta$ ); MLVIII, Chandra Gupta I (King and Queen); MLIX, Kumára Gupta Mahendra, (Horseman to Right, var.  $\gamma$ ).

|| Fig. 1, Chandra Gupta II, (Swordsmen and Umbrella); fig. 2, Samudra Gupta (Aśwamedha); fig. 3, Chandra Gupta I, (King and Queen); fig. 4, Chandra Gupta II (Archer, class II); fig. 5, Chandra Gupta II, (Lion-Trampler, var.  $\alpha$ );

5. Memo. on ancient gold coins found at Bharsar, near Benares; by Major Kittoe and Mr. E. C. Bayley; 32 coins described. (*J. A. S. B. XXI* (1852) pp. 390-400 and *Pl. XII*, figs 1-9.)

6. Prinsep's Essays and Plates. The plates of Gupta gold coins in Thomas's edition are,

|           |                   |                 |              |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Pl. XXII, | figs. 16 and 17 = | J. A. S. B. IV, | Pl. XXXVIII. |
| „ XXIII,  | „ 18 to 32 =      | „ „ „           | XXXIX.       |
| „ XXIX,   | „ 11 „ 20 =       | „ V,            | „ XXXVI.     |
| „ XXX,    | „ 1 „ 10 =        | „ „ „           | XXXVIII.     |

(The engravings of Gupta gold coins in *J. R. A. S. Vol. XII*, O. S. (1850) are reproductions of Prinsep's plates, and Plates X and XI of H. T. Prinsep's Note on the Historical discoveries deducible from the Recent discoveries in Afghanistan (*Lond.* 1844) are equivalent respectively to Pls. XXII and XXIX in Thomas's edition of Prinsep's Essays.)

7. E. Thomas's original Catalogue of Gupta Gold Coins in *J. A. S. B. XXIV* (1855), pp. 487-502.

8. E. Thomas's Revised Catalogue of Gupta Gold Coins in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, (1858), Vol. I, pp. 377-387.

9. E. Thomas's Records of the Gupta Dynasty, (*Trübner*, 1876), pp. 21-24, and Autotype Pl. figs 1-5. (This work is a reprint of Chapter III in Burgess' *Archæol. Rep. for Western India*, for the year 1874-5).

10. Sundry miscellaneous notices, as cited in the Catalogue.\*

II. BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION.†

III. INDIA OFFICE COLLECTION, NOW IN B. M.†

IV. CABINET OF SIR E. C. BAYLEY, K. C. S. I., and other coins communicated by him.‡

figs. 6 and 9, Samudra Gupta (Javelin, var. 1); figs. 7 and 8, ditto, (Archer, var. a); fig. 10, ditto, (Boy and Battle-axe, var. γ); fig. 11, Kumára Gupta Mahendra, (Archer, class II); fig. 12, ditto, (ditto, class I a); fig. 13, ditto (Peacock var. a); fig. 14, Ghatot Kacha, (Solar Standard); [fig. 15, Chandra Gupta II, copper]; fig. 16, Kumára Gupta Mahendra, (Horseman to Right, var. a); fig. 17, Chandra Gupta II, (Lancer, var. β); figs. 18 and 19, Prakásáditya, (Lion and Horseman); fig. 20, "of doubtful authenticity"; fig. 21, Chandra Gupta?, (Archer, barbarous); fig. 22, Nára Gupta (Archer, barbarous); fig. 23, Kumára Gupta? (ditto, ditto); fig. 24, Vishnu Gupta (ditto, ditto); figs. 25-28, rude mediæval imitations of Gupta type.

\* I believe that I have seen all descriptions of Gupta gold coins in English publications, but, if any should have escaped my notice, I hope that some critic will rectify the omission. I am not aware of any foreign publications on the subject.

† I am very specially indebted to Prof. Percy Gardner for the trouble he took in weighing for me all the specimens in the British Museum and India Office collections, and for much kind assistance in other ways. My acknowledgments are also due to Mr. R. S. Poole and the other officials in the Coin Room of the British Museum for their courteous aid.

‡ Sir E. C. Bayley generously lent me his coins for examination, and has

- V. CABINET OF A. GRANT, ESQ.,\* C. I. E.
- VI. CABINET OF W. THEOBALD, ESQ.†
- VII. COLLECTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.‡
- VIII. THE HUGLI HOARD.
- IX. CABINET OF MAJOR-GENERAL CUNNINGHAM, C. S. I., Director Genl. of the Archaeological Survey of India.§
- X. Bodleian collection.||
- XI. Cabinet of J. Hooper, Esq., B. C. S.¶
- XII. Cabinet of H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C. S., C. I. E.

favoured me with several valuable communications. While these sheets are passing through the press the melancholy news of his death has reached me.

\* Mr. A. Grant, C. I. E. was also good enough to lend me his valuable collection of Gupta gold coins, and to give me all the information he could on the subject.

† Mr. W. Theobald has kindly favoured me with full particulars of the specimens in his possession.

‡ I am indebted to Dr. Hoernle for a list of the Gupta gold coins in the cabinet of the A. S. B., and of those comprised in the Hugli hoard.

§ General Cunningham has favoured me with a rough list of the Gupta gold and silver coins in his cabinet, and with sundry valuable notes.

|| Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, F. R. S. has kindly given me information about some of the Gupta coins in the Bodleian collection.

¶ Mr. Hooper has been good enough to let me examine his coins.

TABLE OF WEIGHTS.\*

| Reign.            | Type.               | Variety.       | Number of Coins weighed. | Lowest weight. | Highest weight. | Average weight. | Remarks.                                         |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Ghatot Kacha.     | Solar standard      | .....          | 4                        | 111.0          | 118.0           | 114.95          |                                                  |
| Chandra Gupta I.  | King & Queen        | .....          | 4                        | 113.0          | 123.8           | 117.57          |                                                  |
| Samudra Gupta.    | Javelin             | 1. Genl. type. | 12                       | 113.4          | 118.6           | 115.85          | Excluding W. T., 106, and I. O., 108.2.          |
| "                 | "                   | 2.             | ...                      | ...            | ...             | ...             |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | 3.             | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 119.2           |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | 4.             | 2                        | 114.0          | 119.3           | 116.65          |                                                  |
| "                 | Archer.             | 1. Apratiratha | 5                        | 117.1          | 120.0           | 118.34          |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | 2. Parákrama   | 3                        | 110.0          | 114.0           | 111.33          |                                                  |
| "                 | Lyrist.             | .....          | 5                        | 111.0          | 122.0           | 118.12          |                                                  |
| "                 | Aśwamedha.          | .....          | 6                        | 113.2          | 117.7           | 116.18          |                                                  |
| "                 | Tiger.              | .....          | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 116.6           | Unique.                                          |
| "                 | Boy and Battle-axe. | .....          | 4                        | 116.7          | 123.4           | 118.7           | All varieties; viz., 3 of α, and 1 of β. Unique. |
| Chandra Gupta II. | Couch.              | .....          | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 114.7           |                                                  |
| "                 | Archer.             | Class I, α.    | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 113.2           |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | " β.           | 2                        | 118.0          | 120.9           | 119.45          |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | Class II, α.   | 17                       | 119.2          | 127.6           | 123.04          | Excluding No. 5 Bhar-sar, 112.0.                 |
| "                 | "                   | " β.           | 8                        | 126.6          | 132.5           | 129.77          |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | " γ.           | 2                        | 126.0          | 126.0           | 126.0           |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | " δ.           | 2                        | 112.0          | 118.4           | 115.2           |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | " ε.           | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 122.3           |                                                  |
| "                 | Lancer.             | α              | 2                        | 118.6          | 119.7           | 119.15          |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | β              | ...                      | ...            | ...             | ...             |                                                  |
| "                 | Horseman to Left.   | .....          | 3                        | 122.0          | 124.0           | 122.66          |                                                  |
| "                 | Lion-Trampler       | α              | 2                        | 115.4          | 122.0           | 118.52          |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | β              | 1                        | ...            | ...             | ...             |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | γ              | ...                      | ...            | ...             | ...             |                                                  |
| "                 | "                   | δ              | ...                      | ...            | ...             | ...             |                                                  |

\* The weights of twelve coins belonging to Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac, C. I. E. were received too late for insertion in the Table. They are as follows:—

|                   |                     |                      |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Chandra Gupta I.  | King and Queen type | ; 119.00 and 119.50. |
| Samudra Gupta.    | Javelin             | ; 117.65.            |
| "                 | Aśwamedha           | ; 117.00.            |
| Chandra Gupta II. | Archer              | " (Class I); 118.90. |
| "                 | "                   | " ( " II); 118.60.   |
| "                 | Lion-Trampler       | ; 120.45 and 122.00. |
| "                 | Combatant Lion      | ; 118.60.            |
| Kumára Gupta      |                     |                      |
| Mahendra.         | Archer              | ; 126.75.            |
| "                 | Peacock             | ; 127.50 and 127.60. |

The weight of the unique coin of Kumára Gupta Mahendra of the Two Queens type is not stated.

| Reign.                 | Type.                 | Variety.          | Number of Coins weighed. | Lowest weight. | Highest weight. | Average weight. | Remarks.                                    |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Chandra Gupta II.      | Combatant Lion.       | .....             | 3                        | 111·4          | 120·9           | 116·56          |                                             |
| "                      | Retreating Lion.      | .....             | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 123·0           | Unique.                                     |
| "                      | Swordsman & Umbrella. | .....             | 4                        | 117·5          | 121·0           | 119·7           |                                             |
| Kumára Gupta Mahendra. | Swordsman             | .....             | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 124·2           | Unique.                                     |
| "                      | Archer.               | Class I, a.       | 3                        | 123            | 124·7           | 124·06          | Excluding B. M. Prinsep, worn, weight 106·7 |
| "                      | "                     | " β.              | ...                      | ...            | ...             | ...             |                                             |
| "                      | "                     | " γ.              | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 125·0           |                                             |
| "                      | "                     | " δ.              | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 125·0           |                                             |
| "                      | "                     | " ε.              | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 126·0           |                                             |
| "                      | "                     | " ζ.              | ...                      | ...            | ...             | ...             | Av. of class, 6 coins, 124·7.               |
| "                      | "                     | Class II.         | 3                        | 119·5          | 123·5           | 121·46          |                                             |
| "                      | Horseman to Right.    | a.                | 2                        | 124·5          | 125·0           | 124·75          |                                             |
| "                      | "                     | β.                | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 126·5           |                                             |
| "                      | "                     | γ.                | 11                       | 124·0          | 127·2           | 125·3           | B. M., E. T., worn, wt. 117·3, excluded.    |
| "                      | Horseman to Left.     | .....             | 5                        | 123·2          | 126·0           | 124·2           |                                             |
| "                      | Peacock.              | a.                | 3                        | 126·5          | 128·6           | 127·83          |                                             |
| "                      | "                     | β.                | 5                        | 124·0          | 128·2           | 126·72          |                                             |
| "                      | Lion-Trampler         | a.                | ...                      | ...            | ...             | ...             |                                             |
| "                      | "                     | β.                | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 127·2           |                                             |
| "                      | Combatant Lion.       | .....             | 2                        | 124·5          | 126·1           | 125·3           |                                             |
| Skanda Gupta.          | Archer.               | Srí Skanda Gupta. | 9                        | 125·0          | 132·5           | 129·21          |                                             |
| "                      | King & Queen.         | .....             | 1                        | ...            | ...             | 128·8           |                                             |

| SUPPLEMENT.                |                    |             |     |       |       |        |                                       |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------|-----|-------|-------|--------|---------------------------------------|
| Chandra Gupta (barbarous). | Archer.            | .....       | 3   | 144·5 | 148   | 145·66 |                                       |
| Kumára Gupta (ditto).      | "                  | .....       | 4   | 143   | 148·7 | 146·3  |                                       |
| Skanda Gupta (ditto).      | "                  | Kramáditya. | 1   | ...   | ...   | 141·4  |                                       |
| Nára Gupta.                | "                  | .....       | 5   | 143·5 | 148·7 | 145·66 |                                       |
| Prakásáditya.              | Lion and Horseman. | .....       | 5   | 145·0 | 146·2 | 145·6  | Excluding B. M. Pringle, worn, 136·0. |
| Grand Total,...            | .....              | .....       | 165 | 110   | 148·7 | ...    |                                       |

## CLASSIFIED AND DETAILED CATALOGUE.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

|             |     |     |                                                                                |
|-------------|-----|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. A.       | ... | ... | Wilson's Ariana Antiqua.                                                       |
| A. C.       | ... | ... | Cabinet of Major Gen. Cunningham, C.S.I.,<br>C. I. E.                          |
| A. G.       | ... | ... | Cabinet of Alexander Grant, Esq., C. I. E.*                                    |
| A. S. B.    | ... | ... | Asiatic Society of Bengal.                                                     |
| As. Res.    | ... | ... | Asiatic Researches.                                                            |
| B.          | ... | ... | Bodleian collection.                                                           |
| B. M.       | ... | ... | British Museum collection.                                                     |
| C.          | ... | ... | Cabinet of H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C.S., C.I.E.                                |
| E. C. B.    | ... | ... | Cabinet of the late Sir E. C. Bayley, K.C.S.I.                                 |
| H.          | ... | ... | „ „ J. Hooper, Esq., B. C. S.                                                  |
| I. O.       | ... | ... | India Office collection (now in B. M.)                                         |
| J. A. S. B. | ... | ... | Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.                                          |
| J. R. A. S. | ... | ... | Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.                                              |
| l.          | ... | ... | Left (of reader).                                                              |
| Marsden.    | ... | ... | Marsden's Numismata Orientalia.                                                |
| Mon.        | ... | ... | Monogram.                                                                      |
| P. E.       | ... | ... | Prinsep's Essays, ed. Thomas.                                                  |
| r.          | ... | ... | Right (of reader).                                                             |
| Records.    | ... | ... | Records of Gupta Dynasty (Thomas, 1876).                                       |
| Rev. Catal. | ... | ... | Thomas' Revised Catalogue of Gupta Gold<br>Coins in P. E. Vol. I, pp. 377-387. |
| Wt.         | ... | ... | Weight in English grains.                                                      |
| W. T.       | ... | ... | Cabinet of W. Theobald, Esq.                                                   |

## GHATOT KACHA.

## SOLAR STANDARD TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV, pp. 487-491, class A; Rev. Catal. class A.*)

*Obv.* King, standing, with head to l.; he wears close cap, tailed coat, and leggings, of Indo-Scythian style with some modification; his l. hand either grasps, or extends across, a standard bearing a symbol of the rayed sun; his r. hand casts incense on a small altar. Under l. arm क<sup>३</sup> Kacha,' which is sometimes read as क<sup>३</sup> 'Kácha.'

\* Mr. A. Grant's Gupta gold coins are now in the Ermitage Impérial at St. Petersburg, the Director of which institution, M. Tiesenhausen, obligingly supplied me with impressions of the coins.

Marginal legend, as restored by Thomas, is क्वाभिरुत्तमं जय कचोऽशुभवजत्य द्र [or च], which, after needful corrections, is rendered 'Kacha, having subdued the earth, secures victory by excellent deeds'; but *quatre?* Prinsep read क्वाभ नरुत्तम जय, and interpreted 'Kacha, son of an excellent man resembling Kāma', 'Gha'—standing for 'Ghatot.'

*Rev.* Goddess, standing fo l., holding lotus-flower in r. hand, and grasping cornucopia in l. arm. Legend in r. field distinct सवराजोच्छेत्, 'exterminator of all rājās.' Mon.\*

- References and Remarks.*
- P. E. XXIX, 12; mon. 1; wt. not stated; legend described as being in the "most unequivocal and well-formed Nāgarī"; from Tregear collection.
- B. M. Prinsep; mon. 2; wt. 115.2; the B. M. label may be wrong, for Thomas (*J. A. S. B.* XXIV, p. 491) ascribes mon. 2 to a coin in Freeling collection. (*Pl. I. fig. 1.*)
- A. A. XVIII, 4; mon. 4a; wt. not stated. This figure purports to be a copy of P. E. XXIX, 12, but there is some mistake, for the mons. differ. Pennons attached to shaft of standard. *Obv.* marginal legend misread by Wilson.
- B. M., Eden, two specimens; mon. in both 4a, as in A. A. XVIII, 4; wts. 111 and 115.6 respectively. The latter coin is figured in Records, autotype *Pl. fig. 1*, and described *ibid.*, p. 21, where the wt. is stated to be 116.
- W. T.; mon. imperfect; wt. 118.
- A. S. B.; one specimen, no details stated.
- B. ditto • , ditto.
- A. C.; three specimens, no details stated.

Mr. Thomas (*J. A. S. B.* XXIV, p. 490) notes the existence of a specimen in the Stacy collection, and another in the Bush cabinet, both with the same mon. as A. A. XVIII, 4. He observes that the letter *m* in the Freeling and Tregear coins is of more ancient form than that in the Stacy, Bush, and A. A. specimens, in which latter the form of the letter resembles that used in the Gupta lapidary inscriptions.

The epithet 'exterminator of all rājās' occurs in the Bhitari Pillar inscription.

A solar standard "exactly similar" to that on these gold coins is inserted below the middle of the Tushām inscription, which is supposed to record the conquest of Ghatot Kacha by the Tushāra king Vishṇu, but

\* Throughout the series the *obv.* king and *rev.* goddess have almost always a nimbus round the head, and the *rev.* margin is generally surrounded by a more or less perfect dotted circle. I have not thought it necessary to note these items in the detailed descriptions.

unfortunately the published translation of that inscription is not to be depended on. (*See Cunningham, Arch. Rep. V, p. 140, Pl. XL.*)

## CHANDRA GUPTA I.

## KING AND QUEEN TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV, p. 493, class B; Rev. Catal. class C.*)

*Obv.* King, wearing tailed coat and close-fitting cap, standing to l., facing queen, who looks to r. King's l. arm resting on spear, his r. hand raised.

Under king's l. arm च | गु | 'Chandra Gupta or च | गु | 'Chandra.'

Behind queen कुमारी देवी श्री, 'Kumári Devī Śrī.'

*Rev.* Goddess, holding fillet in r. hand, and cornucopia in l. arm, seated on couchant lion, which faces r., except in two coins. Legend in field to r., लिच्छवयः, 'Lichchhavayah.' Mon.

*References* Marsden MLVIII. B. M. brought from India by Lord Valentine (Mountmorris); mon. 5, wt. 115.3.

*and*

*Remarks.*

Under king's arms च | गु | 'Chandra Gupta.'

Condition inferior, and Queen's name illegible. In Marsden's text *rev.* lion erroneously described as 'a throne'.

P. E. Vol. I, p. 369, Pl. XXIX, 15. Under king's arms च | गु | 'Chandra Gupta.' Queen's name illegible; mon. 8d; wt. not stated. The coin figured was in Stacy collection, and a duplicate in Tregear's.

B. M., purchased from a dealer in 1878. Under king's arm च | गु | 'Chandra Gupta'; diameter 8; mon. 3a; wt. 123.8; condition very fine, and queen's name plainly legible. (*Pl. I fig. 2.*)

A. A. XVIII. 3; B. M., Swiney; under king's arm च | गु | 'Chandra' spear tipped with crescent; queen's name mostly legible; diameter .8; mon. 4b; wt. 118.2.

W. T.; *rev.* lion facing l.; mon. 22b; wt. 113; bought at Benares.

B.; *rev.* lion to l.; king raises open hand in front of queen's face.

C.; two specimens, *viz.*, one obtained at Gházipur, wt. 119; and one obtained at Benares, wt. 119.5.

Queen's name and *rev.* legend read correctly for first time by Cunningham (*Arch. Rep., Vol. I, Introd. p. xxxiv*), who possesses three coins of this type, in two of which the legends are distinct.

The attribution of this type is certain, because we know from the Bhitari and Bilsar Pillar inscriptions that Kumári Devi was the queen of Chandra Gupta I, whereas the consort of Chandra Gupta II was named Dhruvá Devi. No other type of the coinage of Chandra Gupta I, is known. The Swordsman and Umbrella coins are sometimes attributed to him, but should, almost certainly, be assigned to Chandra Gupta II.

The late Sir E. C. Bayley possessed two coins of Indo-Scythian style, which, in his opinion, may possibly have been struck by Chandra Gupta I (wt. 120·3, and 118·3). The name under the king's arm is doubtfully read as 'Chandra.'

The B. M. collection contains two coins, which are nearly, though not quite, identical with Sir E. C. Bayley's. The B. M. coins have a legend behind the spear, which is wanting in the others. I give a figure of one of the B. M. specimens, wt. 119·2 (*Pl. IV, fig. 6*) to illustrate the style, and for comparison with the undoubted Gupta series. Mr. Thomas reads the name under the king's arm on the coin figured as either 'Chandra' or 'Bhadri,' and the legend behind the spear as 'Shañdhi,' a Scythian tribal name. (*Cf. Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindi Legends, Nos. 10 and 11*) Sir E. C. Bayley concurred with Mr. Thomas in classing this piece as Indo-Scythian, and believed that it was minted by one of the Indo-Scythian princes in the Punjab, contemporary with the earlier Gupta kings. The specimens in Sir E. C. Bayley's cabinet, above referred to, resemble the coin figured so closely in style, in spite of the want of legend behind the spear, that I do not think they can be attributed to Chandra Gupta I. They seem to me to belong to the same class as the 'Shañdhi' coin. •

### SAMUDRA GUPTA.

#### JAVELIN TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV, pp. 493-495, class C; Rev. Catal., D, 2 D, and 3 D.*)

*Obv.* King standing, generally to l., dressed nearly same as king in coins of Ghatot Kacha, casting incense with r. hand on small altar in l. field, and leaning with l. arm on spear or javelin; behind r. arm the bird standard.

Under l. arm स मु 'Samudra', or in var. 4, स मु द्र | ग न 'Samudra

Gupta.' In var. 2, king to r., with javelin in r. hand, name under r. arm. Legend (as restored by Thomas, but in parts doubtful) समरशत वततवजयजितरेपरद्वज, which, when corrected into grammatical Sanskrit, is rendered 'Overcoming hostile kings in triumphant victory (over those) opposing in a hundred battles.' This legend follows margin, except in var. 3.

*Rev.* In all var.; goddess, facing front, seated on raised throne with four lathe-turned legs, her feet resting on a footstool, r. hand holding fillet, l. arm grasping cornucopia. Legend, near r. margin, पराक्रमः, 'the hero.' Mon.

- References and Remarks.* *Var. 1, general type, as described above, (class D. of Rev. Catal.)*
- A. A. XVIII, 6; mon. 3a; wt. not stated; perhaps same as B. M. coin without label, and with same mon.; wt. 117.8.
- ib.* *ib.*, 9; mon. 20a; wt. not stated; perhaps same as B. M. Twisden coin with same mon.; wt. 117.4.
- As. Res. XVII, Pl. I, 7; engraved from a drawing; mon. 3a; wt. not stated.
- P. E. XXII, 16; from Gen. Ventura's coll.; mon. 9; wt. not stated.
- ib.*, *ib.*, 17; from cabinet of Col. Smith of Patna; seems to be the B. M. Prinsep coin, with mon. 3a.; wt. 114.
- ib.* XXIX, 14; found at Gayá; mon. 20b; wt. not stated.
- B. M. Prinsep; mon. 8a; wt. 117.8. (*Plate II, fig. 3.*)
- A. G.; mon. 8a nearly; wt. 114.5; *obv.* legend ..... रज समर शत [व]; from Oudh.
- ibid*; mon. 4b; wt. 116.5; *obv.* legend [श] तवतविजयज; from Oudh; in fine condition.
- W. T.; mon. 6b; wt. 114; of pale gold; bought at Mathurá.
- ibid*; mon. indistinct; wt. 106.
- A. S. B.; two specimens; wts. not stated; mon. of one is 19a.
- Húglí hoard; one specimen; no details stated.
- I. O., No. 1; mon. 3a; wt. 114.4; in poor condition.
- ib.* No. 2; mon. 3a; wt. 108.2; ditto.
- ib.* No. 3; mon. 4c; wt. 113.4; ditto.
- ib.* No. 4; ditto, ditto; wt. 114.8; ditto.
- ib.* No. 5; mon. 22; wt. 118.6; ditto.
- Bharsar hoard, No. 4 of Samudra; mon. 3a; wt. 117; "a small dumpy coin, gold pale." (*J. A. S. B. XXI, 396.*)
- A. C.; 4 specimens, apparently of this variety, but details are wanting.
- B.; one specimen.
- H.; two specimens, part of considerable find from ancient mound on the Rapti river in pargana Utraula of Gonda district in Oudh. Mr. H. S. Boys, C. S. also has a specimen from the same find.
- Var. 2; king to r., javelin in r. hand, name under r. arm.*
- As. Res. XVII, Pl. I, 5; mon. imperfect; wt. not stated.
- Var. 3; king to l., obv. legend parallel to javelin (class 2 D of Rev. Catal.).*
- B. M., Eden; *obv.* legend ? तवविजयाजितरे; mon. 4c; wt. 119.2 (*Pl. II, fig. 4*); in fine condition.

*Var. 4; name on both sides of javelin*

|   |   |
|---|---|
| स | ग |
| म | प |
| ३ | ३ |

B. M., Bush; mon. 4c; wt. 119.3; in fine condition (*Plate II, fig. 5*).  
Bharsar hoard, No. 5 of Samudra; mon. 3a; wt. 114 (*J. A. S. B. XXI, 396*).

A. C.; one specimen, no details stated.

C.; obtained at Mathura; wt. 117.65.

### SAMUDRA GUPTA.

#### ARCHER TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV, 496, class C; Rev. Catal., class E.*)

*Obv.* King standing to l. arm resting on bow, and r. hand either holding arrow (var.  $\alpha$ ), or offering incense on altar (var.  $\beta$ ). Bird-standard adorned with pennons behind r. arm; marginal legend imperfect; see details below; under l. arm

स  
म  
द्र  
'Samudra.'

*Rev.* Throned goddess with fillet and cornucopia, as in Javelin type. Legend in var.  $\alpha$  is अप्रतिरथः, 'invincible in his war-chariot,' and in var.  $\beta$  is पराक्रमः, 'the hero,' as in Javelin type. Mon.

- References and Remarks.*
- Var.  $\alpha$ ; no altar on *obv.*; *rev. legend* अप्रतिरथः  
A. A. XVIII, 7; from Swiney coll.; mon. 19a; wt. not stated.  
*ib.*, *ib.*, 8; in I. O.; mon. 22, irregular; wt. 120.  
P. E. XXIII, 19; in B. M.; dug up at Jaunpur by Tregear along with Chandra Gupta the Second's coin of Archer type, class I  $\alpha$ ; mon. 21, irregular; wt. 117.4.  
B. M. Eden; mon. 4c; wt. 118; in fine condition; *obv. legend* [वत्] वज य त्: [य] अप्रतिरथ वजत्यजितिमव (*Plate II, fig. 5*).  
A. G.; mon. indistinct; wt. 117.1; *obv. legend* ... तद्वजयत as in I. O. coin; from Oudh.  
*ibid*; mon. indistinct; wt. 119.2; *obv. legend* on l. margin ... वजयत, and on r. margin जत्य [चिति] मव [or त]; from Oudh.  
A. C.; 1 specimen, no details stated.  
B.; ditto, ditto.  
Var.  $\beta$ ; *altar on obv.*; *rev. legend* पराक्रमः  
Bharsar hoard, Nos. 1 and 3 of Samudra, with duplicate of No. 1; wt. of Nos. 1 and 3, 110 each; wt. of duplicate 114. Apparently no marginal *obv.* legend on No. 1; that of No. 3 "very imperfect;" the gold of No. 3 "pale and alloyed." (*J. A. S. B. XXI, pp. 395, 396, 400.*)

## SAMUDRA GUPTA.

## LYREIST TYPE.

(J. A. S. B. XXIV, 498, class D ; Rev. Catal., class G.)

*Obv.* King, wearing close cap and tight drawers, to front, with head turned to l. seated on high-backed couch, over edge of which his feet are dangling. He is playing an Indian lyre (*vīṇā*), which rests on his lap.

On footstool चै 'Se,' as under horse in Aśwamedha type.

Marginal legend महाराजधिराज श्री समुद्र गुप्तः, 'the supreme king of kings, Samudra Gupta.'

*Rev.* Female figure, turned to l. seated on Indian wicker stool (*mōṛhā*), holding in r. hand fillet, and in l. cornucopia. Between figure and legend a vertical line or mace.

Legend समुद्र गुप्तः 'Samudra Gupta.'

Mon. sometimes wanting.

*References and Remarks.* P. E. XXIII, 26. From Stacy coll.; no mon.; wt. not stated; is probably the B. M. Prinsep coin, wt. 119.5, which is a fine broad, thin coin; design in very low relief. A similar coin in fine condition in A. G. coll.; wt. 117.4, procured in Oudh.

B. M. Eden. Broad coin, in good condition as last; on *obv.* king's name is written समुद्र Sarmudra'; no mon.; wt. 111. (*Plate II, fig. 7.*) There is also a specimen of this variety in A. S. B.; wt. not stated.

I. O. Coin of smaller diameter, and thicker; *obv.* legend imperfect; *rev.* legend as usual; mon. 11; wt. 120.7. (*Plate II, fig. 8.*)

As. Res. XVII, Pl. I, 19. From a drawing of a coin said to belong to Mrs. White of Fatehgarh; seems to be a duplicate of P. E. XXIII, 26; no mon.; wt. not stated. Wilson mistook the lyre for a pillow.

No. 2 of Samudra from Bharsar hoard; *obv.* legend mostly illegible; "a fine specimen and in high relief;" mon. 8a; wt. 122. (*J. A. S. B. XXI, pp. 392, 396, and Plate XII, 5. The description is not quite accurate, and the engraving is very bad.*)

A. C.; 3 specimens, no details stated.

H.; 1 specimen from pargana Nawabganj in Gonda district opposite Ayodhya.

## SAMUDRA GUPTA.

## AŚWAMEDHA TYPE.

(J. A. S. B. XXIV, 498, class E ; Rev. Catal., class I.)

*Obv.* Horse, standing to l. unattended, occupying most of field. In front of horse an altar, from top of which springs a bent pole,

carrying three long streamers (described as 'waving flame' by Wilson), which occupy top of field. Between horse's legs स्त्रे 'Se,' of which meaning is not known, but the same character is found on the footstool on *obv.* of Samudra's Lyrist coins. Marginal legend imperfect; as restored by Thomas it reads नवजस्रधः राजधिराज इथिवी जियत्य, 'King of kings, having conquered the earth ...'; the first word appears corrupt.

*Rev.* Female, standing to l. holding in r. hand handle of yak's tail fly-whisk (*chauri*), which rests on her r. shoulder. In front of her a spear or standard, adorned with pennons; her l. hand hangs empty by her side. Legend in r. field अश्वमेध पराक्रमः, 'the hero of the Aśwamedha.'

No monogram.

*References and Remarks.* P. E. XXIII, 31; in B. M. and labelled as from Kannauj, collected by Conolly, but Prinsep says it was given to him by Miss Watson. No *obv.* legend, except the character स्त्रे under the horse.

Wt. 117.7; condition fair. Seems to be the coin described and figured in Records of Gupta Dynasty p. 22, Autotype Pl. fig. 4.

P. E. XXIII, 32; from Stacy collection; "more perfect" than preceding; traces of *obv.* marginal legend.

Wt. not stated.

B. M. Eden coll. Wt. 117; condition good: part of marginal legend. (*Pl. II, fig. 9.*)

B. M. Payne Knight coll.; condition poor; wt. 113.2.

„ Thomas coll.; worn, but part of *obv.* legend remains; wt. 117.

This seems to be the coin from Sahāranpur figured in A. A. XVIII, 2.

Freeling coll.; mentioned in *J. A. S. B. XXIV, 498*; wt. 115.

B.; three specimens; wt. not stated.

E. C. B., in good condition; *obv.* marginal legend seems to read वि or वी, one letter, जयत्यद् the *h* at the end appears to me distinct; wt. 117.2.

A. C.; 1 specimen, no details stated.

Bush coll.; coin referred to in *J. A. S. B. XXIV, 499*, as appearing "to vary the *obv.* legend, but too much worn to be satisfactorily deciphered." Wt. not stated.

C.; obtained at Lucknow; *obv.* legend very imperfect; wt. 117.

Thomas describes the horse as 'richly bedecked,' or 'decked for the Aśwamedha sacrifice,' but in reality the animal wears nothing but a collar, and in the poorer specimens that has disappeared. The coins of this type are referred with confidence to the reign of Samudra, because (1) the obverse legend 'prithivi[m] jiyatya' recalls the phrase 'sarva prithivi

*vijayanitodaya* ' of Samudra's Allahabad Pillar inscription, (2) the  $\text{ॐ}$  under the horse is found on the footstool on the obverse of the same prince's Lyrist coins, (3) the epithet '*parākrama*' on the reverse is found on his Javelin and Archer coins and not on those of any other Gupta king, and (4) Samudra is known to have enjoyed power sufficient to warrant him in celebrating an Aśwamedha sacrifice.

*Quere*, is the standard in front of the horse the standard of Indra?

### SAMUDRA GŪPTA.

#### TIGER TYPE.

(Class H. of Revised Catalogue.)

*Obv.* King standing to r. wearing tight Indian waistcloth, turban, necklace, armlets, and large earrings, trampling on body of tiger, which is falling backwards, while he shoots it in the mouth. Bow in king's r. hand, his l. is raised above shoulder. Between king's feet a letter (²)

Legend on r. margin  $\text{वृद्ध}$  ... 'the tiger' ... Thomas completes it with the word  $\text{पराक्रमः}$  'hero,' but the letters are really very imperfect and dubious.

*Rev.* Goddess to l. standing on a dragon or marine monster which faces l. grasping in her r. hand a crescent-tipped standard adorned with pennons, resembling that on *obv.* of Boy and Battle-axe coins of Samudra, and in l. hand an expanded lotus-flower.

In field to r.  $\text{राजासमुद्र गुप्तः}$ , 'Rájá Samudra Guptaḥ.' No monogram. Wt. of one coin 116.6.

*References and Remarks.* B. M. unique; described in Rev. Catal.; described and figured in Records, p. 21, and Autotype Plate, fig. 2. (Plate II, fig. 10.) In Hindu mythology the dragon (*makara*) is the vehicle both of Varuṇa, the god of the waters, and of Káma Deva, the Indian Cupid. Perhaps the goddess on this coin represents Rati, the wife of Káma Deva, or, more probably she may be intended as the consort of Varuṇa, with reference to the name of the king, Samudra, which means 'the ocean.\*' Thomas notes that a similar monster is to be seen under the feet of a statue found at Nongarh, and made of Mathurá sandstone.

### SAMUDRA GUPTA.

#### BOY AND BATTLE-AXE TYPE.

(J. A. S. B. XXIV, pp. 496-7, class C 2: Rev. Catal. classes F and 2 F.)

*Obv.* King standing, usually to l., with r. hand on hip, and l. resting on battle-axe. In l. field a boy holds in front of king a

\* Cf. the introduction of Demeter in the coins of Demetrius of Syria. The form of the creature on which the reverse goddess stands is not very distinct, and Prof. Gardner thinks it more like the head of an elephant than anything else.

standard bearing device of crescent moon. Under king's l.

च  
arm मु, 'Samudra. In var.  $\gamma$ , king is to r., and boy in r. field  
इ

Marginal legend in vars.  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$ , as "obtained from several specimens, and determined by Major Bash's coin," is कृतान्न परशु राजधिराज, "King of kings, whose battle-axe is like that of Yama"; but in var.  $\beta$  legend is different.

*Rev.* Throned goddess, facing front, with feet on lotus flower as footstool; fillet in r. hand, cornucopia in l. arm. Legend कृतान्न परशु, 'the battle-axe of Yama.' Mon.

- References and Remarks.*
- Var.  $\alpha$  ; usual type, as described above.*
- P. E. XXIII, 23; B. M., Prinsep; obtained by Conolly at Kannaj; above crescent standard a star; on *rev.* an axe-head attached to back of throne; mon. 6a; wt. 116.7.
- P. E. XXIX, 11; one of two specimens obtained by Cunningham at Benares, Prinsep had a third similar; mon. 6a. nearly; wt. not stated.
- B. M., Thomas; no *rev.* battle-axe, throne indistinct; mon. as in P. E. XXIX, 11; wt. 117.0.
- B. M., Bush; *rev.* as in B. M. Thomas, but legend distinct; mon. 6a; wt. 123.4. (*Plate II, fig. 11.*)
- A. S. B.; no details stated, and the coin may belong to another variety.
- A. C.; 1 specimen, seemingly of this var., but no details stated.
- Var.  $\beta$ , class 2 F of Rev. Catal. ; unique.*
- B. M., Eden; *obr.* legend on l. margin जजतज, and on r. margin कृतान्न; under arm छ 'Kṛi'; mon. 3a; wt. 117.7. (*Plate II, fig. 12.*)
- Var.  $\gamma$  ; unique ; King to r.*
- A. A. XVIII 10; from Swiney coll.; king to r., boy in r. field; no *rev.* battle-axe; mon. 3a; wt. not stated.

Thomas suggests that the miniature figure, which for convenience I call a boy, may be intended for the son of Samudra Gupta, alluded to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, but the figure is probably only that of an attendant designed on a small scale in contrast with that of the divinized king. The *obr.* crescent moon standard is found on *rev.* of Samudra's Tiger type. In v. 13 of the Allahabad Pillar inscription the king is declared to be comparable with Dhanada (Kuvera), Varuṇa, Indra, and Antaka (Yama). These Boy and Battle-axe coins seem to express the comparison with Yama, as the Tiger coin perhaps expresses the comparison with Varuṇa. In the northern Bilsar inscription (*Cunningham Arch. Rep. XI, 20*), Kumāra Gupta is compared with the same four

gods to whom Samudra Gupta is likened in the Allahabad inscription, and he is given the title of "wielder of the battle-axe of death." The use of this epithet convinces me that in the Boy and Battle-axe coins Samudra Gupta is presented as the incarnation or representative on earth of Yama or Kṛitāṇṭa, the god of Death, who was also regarded as the 'king of justice, (*dharmmarāja*). In order of time this type should, perhaps, be placed before the Aśwamedha and Tiger types, which are more distinctively Hindu.

## CHANDRA GUPTA II.

## COUCH TYPE.

(Rev. Catal., class E a.)

*Obv.* King seated on couch, with r. leg tucked up; attitude nearly the same as in Lyrist type of Samudra, but there is no lyre; king's l. hand rests on couch, r. hand upraised, empty; marginal legend (a few letters being indistinct), देव श्री महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्तस्य, '[coin of the divine king of kings, Chandra Gupta.]' Cf. legend of Archer type.

*Rev.* Goddess seated on throne, holding fillet in r. and flower in l. hand. Monogram. Legend श्रीविक्रमः 'Sri Vikrama.'

*References and Remarks.* B. M.; coin unique, so far as is known; worn, wt. 114.7; mon. (3a) (Pl. II, fig. 13).

Assigned to Chandra Gupta II on account of *rev.* legend, and the title of 'Deva;' probably belongs to an early period of his reign. The Sānchi inscription (*P. E. I.*, 246; etc.) states that Chandra Gupta II was 'known among his subjects' as Deva Rāja; his son Kumāra in a Horseman to Right coin (*A. A.* XVIII, 16) describes himself as 'Devajanita,' the son of Deva, or 'the divine,' and himself assumes the title of 'Deva' in an unpublished gold Archer coin (*Rev. Catal.*, class 6 E b), and in some of his silver 'peacock' coins.

Genl. Cunningham informs me that this coin, or one like it, is figured in a book entitled *Oriental Collections* (4to.), Vol. 2, p. 425, Pl. A. fig. 2.) but I have not seen the book referred to.

## CHANDRA GUPTA II.

## ARCHER TYPE.

(J. A. S. B. XXIV, p. 499, class C 1; Rev. Catal., class E and 2 E.)

*Obv.* King standing, wearing tailed coat, ordinarily turned to l., his l. hand grasps and rests on bow, of which the string is ordinarily turned inwards; arrow in r. hand, and bird-stand-

ard behind r. arm. Under l. arm च 'Chandra.'

In var.  $\delta$  of Class II, king faces r., with bow in r. hand, and name under r. arm; in var.  $\epsilon$ , he faces r., with bow in l. hand.

In var.  $\beta$  either a wheel or uncertain object over king's r. shoulder. Marginal legend, restored, देव श्री महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः 'the divine king of kings, Chandra Gupta.' Cf. legend of Couch type.

*Rev.* Goddess, facing front, and seated either on throne (*Class I*), or cross-legged on lotus-flower (*Class II*), holding in r. hand a fillet, and in l. either a cornucopia or lotus-flower. Legend श्री विक्रमः, 'the hero'; the क is sometimes doubled. Mon.

#### CLASS I.—THRONE REV.

|                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>References and Remarks.</i> | <i>Var. a; bow-string inwards.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                                | P. E. XXIII, 18; dug up at Jaichandra's Mahal, Jaunpur, by Tregear, along with Samudra's Archer coin. (P. E. XXIII, 19); cornucopia in l. hand of rev. goddess; mon. 21; wt. not stated.                                                     |
|                                | A. G.; mon. 16; wt. 113.2; from Oudh.                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|                                | A. C.; 1 specimen, seemingly of this var., no details stated.                                                                                                                                                                                |
|                                | P. E. XXIX, 13; "a very perfect example from Cunningham's cabinet, procured at Mirzāpur;" flower in l. hand of rev. goddess; mon. 3a; wt. not stated.                                                                                        |
|                                | The B. M. Prinsep coin belongs to Class II.                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|                                | C.; from Cawnpore (?); wt. 118.90.                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                                | <i>Var. B;</i> <i>bow-string outwards. (Class 2 E of Rev. Catal.)</i>                                                                                                                                                                        |
|                                | Marsden, MLVII; rev. goddess holds cornucopia; mon. 23; wt. 118.                                                                                                                                                                             |
|                                | I. O., No. 8; corresponds closely with Marsden's coin, but mon. 48; obv. legend देव श्री महाराजाधिराज; wt. 120.9. This is probably the coin from Barhal in Gorakhpur, with same obv. legend. (See J. A. S. B. XXIV, 499.) Plate II, fig. 14. |

#### CLASS II.—LOTUS-FLOWER SEAT REV.

|  |                                                                                                                               |
|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  | <i>Var. a; usual type, as described above; king to l.</i>                                                                     |
|  | P. E. XXX, 9; from Tregear coll.; flower in l. hand of rev. goddess; mon. 22; wt. not stated.                                 |
|  | No. 2 of Tod's 4th series; as above; mon. 8b; wt. not stated. ( <i>Tr. R. A. S. I. Pl. XII</i> )                              |
|  | Bharsar hoard, No. I of of Chandra Gupta; as above; mon. 8a; wt. 124; a duplicate weighed 126. (J. A. S. B. XXI, 394-5, 400.) |
|  | ditto, No. 5 ditto; mon. 8a; wt. 112.                                                                                         |
|  | As. Res. XVII, Pl. I, 13; from drawing of a coin belonging to Col. Willoughby of Patna; mon. 8b; wt. not stated.              |
|  | Marsden, ML; mon. 20a; wt. 124.5; two कs in rev. legend.                                                                      |
|  | B. M., Brind; mon. 10a; wt. 117.8.                                                                                            |

- B. M., Prinsep ; mon. 3b ; wt. 121·7.  
 „ T. ; mon. 8b ; wt. 126·3.  
 B. M., Yeames 4 ; mon. 8b ; wt. 124·7.  
 „ „ 5 ; mon. 1b ; wt. 119·2.  
 „ „ 6 ; mon. 10a ; wt. 121·8.  
 „ Eden ; mon. 7a ; wt. 124·3 ; two ks in rev. legend ; a fine specimen. (*Pl. III, fig. 1.*)  
 „ Swiney ; mon. 10b ; wt. 124·6 ; two ks ; fine condition.  
 I. O. No. 3 ; mon. 24 ; wt. 125·5.  
 „ „ 4 ; mon. 3b ; wt. 123 ; two ks ; fine condition ; is probably the coin figured in A. A. XVIII, 4.  
 „ „ 5 ; mon. 24 ; wt. 127·6 ; two ks.  
 „ „ 6 ; mon. 8a ; wt. 119·7 ; ditto.  
 „ „ 7 ; mon. 17a ; wt. 126·5 ; ditto.  
 W. T. ; mon. imperfect ; wt. 120.  
 A. S. B. ; 8 specimens ; mon. of all seems to be 8b ; wts. not stated.  
 In 3 coins the l. hand of rev. goddess is described as being upraised, and in 5 coins as resting on her hip ; probably the lotus-flower is obliterated. A ninth specimen is said to be of base metal, and is probably one of the barbarous coins.  
 A. C. ; 5 specimens, seemingly of this var., no details stated.  
 Hügli hoard ; 4 coins seem to belong to this variety ; of three the mon. is 19b, and of one, 19a ; wts. not stated.  
 Coin from Rewa treasury ; apparently of this variety, with two ks. (*Proc. A. S. B. Aug. 1880.*)  
 H. ; 1 specimen, from ancient mound in Barabanki district.  
 C. ; from Gházipur ; wt. 118·60.

This variety of Chandra Gupta's coinage is the commonest of all the Gupta gold coins, and was the model followed by the princes who imitated the Gupta style after the fall of the imperial dynasty. The abundance and variety of the coins of Chandra Gupta II prove that his reign was a long one.

- Var. β ; as var. α, but with wheel (or sometimes another object) over king's r. shoulder ; weight heavier.*
- Bharsar hoard, No. 2 of Chandra Gupta ; mon. 15 ; wt. 130 ; a duplicate weighed same. (*J. A. S. B. XXI, p. 394, Pl. XII. 1.*)
- I. O., No. 9 ; mon. 18 ; wt. 132·5 ; (*Plate III, fig. 2.*)  
 „ „ 10 ; mon. 17b ; wt. 132·5.  
 „ „ 11 ; mon. 8a ; 126·6 ; worn.  
 „ „ 12 ; mon. 8b ; wt. 126·7 ; ditto.  
 „ „ 13 ; mon. 8a ; wt. 129·5 ; ditto.  
 A. G. ; uncertain object instead of wheel ; mon. cut away ; wt. 130·4 ; k in rev. legend seems double ; oval and rather rude coin ; from Ondh.

Perhaps A. A. XVIII, 21, from Kálighát hoard should be placed here, but the wt. is not stated. A coin from the Húglí hoard with uncertain object on *obv.*, and a peculiar mon. on *rev.* may also belong to this var., but without knowledge of the wt., it is impossible to decide. Kittoe interprets the wheel on the Bharsar coin as the "wheel or discus emblem of universal sovereignty," but I prefer to regard it as a solar emblem; it much resembles the head of Ghaṭot Kacha's solar standard. I should think that this variety belongs to a late period of Chandra Gupta's long reign, and it may possibly be posthumous. The weight separates it sharply from all his other issues, except the next following variety.

*Var. γ; as var. β, but wheel is replaced by crescent.*

Bharsar hoard; No. 3 of Chandra Gupta; mon. 8a; wt. 126; a duplicate weighed the same; coin small; gold pale and alloyed; (*J. A. S. B. XXI, Pl. XII, 2.*)

*Var. δ; king to r., bow in r. hand, name under r. arm.*

Bharsar hoard; No. 4 of Chandra Gupta; mon. 8a; wt. 112; small coin, gold pale. (*J. A. S. B. XXI, Pl. XII, 3.*)

I. O., No. 1; mon. 8a; wt. 118½; worn. (*Plate III, fig. 3.*)

*Var. ε; king to r., bow in l. hand, name under l. arm.*

I. O., No. 2; mon 4c; wt. 122.3.

Coin from Bulandshahr; mon. and wt. not stated (*Proc. A. S. B. April, 1879*). A coin in the A. S. B. cabinet seems to belong to this var., and may be the Bulandshahr specimen.

For the heavy 'barbarous' coins of Archer type, see Supplement.

## CHANDRA GUPTA II.

### LANCER TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV, 499, class F; Rev. Catal., class J.*)

*Obv.* King on prancing horse, proceeding to r., with lance at charge, either helmeted, and without nimbus, or bareheaded with curly hair, and nimbus; sometimes a crescent behind his head.

Legend, as read by Thomas, परम भग जा श्री चन्द्र गुप्त: 'parama bhaga[vato rá]já Śrī Chandra Gupta;' but in the B. M. specimens the ग and जा are very doubtful.

*Rev.* Goddess, to l., seated upright on Indian wicker stool (*moṛhá*), with fillet in r. and either lotus-flower, or bird-headed sceptre in l. hand. Legend always अजित विक्रमः, 'the unconquered Vikrama,' or 'champion.'

No mon., except in one coin.

- References and Remarks.*
- Variety a. Rev. goddess with fillet, and flower; no mon.*  
 P. E. XXX, 6; from Tregear coll.; king helmeted; no nimbus; crescent behind his head; wt. not stated.  
 B. M. Prinsep, No. 1; obtained by Bacon at Kanauj; king seems to have no helmet, but has curly hair, with a sort of nimbus behind; crescent also behind his head; wt. 119.7. (*Plate III. fig. 4.*)  
 B. M. Prinsep, No. 2; resembles No. 1, but find-spot not stated; wt. 118.6.  
 A. C.; 1 specimen, seemingly of this var., but no details stated; the coin may be a Horseman to Left piece.
- Variety β; Rev. goddess with fillet, and bird-headed sceptre; mon.*  
 A. A. XVIII, 17; *Obv.* king wears peculiar helmet ("rayed turban," *Wilson*); no nimbus, no crescent; legend परम  
 ...न्द्रगुप्त, 'parama [Cha]ndra Gupta.' *Rev.* as in P. E. XXX, 6, except that goddess holds bird-headed sceptre in l. hand; mon. 12, not No. 160 of *Wilson* = (4b) as stated in text; between mon. and goddess' hand is a crescent, ☾; wt. not stated. This coin is cited by *Thomas (Rev. Catal. and Records, p. 23 note)* as a variety of his class J a of Mahendra Gupta, but is plainly a Lancer coin of Chandra Gupta.  
 B.; one fine specimen appears to belong to either variety of the type, but details not stated.

## CHANDRA GUPTA II.

## HORSEMAN TO LEFT TYPE.

(Not included in *J. A. S. B. XXIV Catal.*; nor in *Rev. Catal.*)

- Obv.* Horseman proceeding to l. king's head apparently bare, with curly hair, no nimbus; distinct legend श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तः परमभट्टारक 'Sri Chandra Gupta paramabhattacharak.'
- Rev.* Goddess to l. seated on Indian wicker stool (*morhá*), holding fillet in r., and lotus flower in l. hand; legend distinct, अजित विक्रम, 'ajita Vikrama'; no mon.

- References and Remarks.*
- No. 6 of Chandra Gupta from Bharsar hoard; "a very perfect specimen," legends complete; wt. 122 (*J. A. S. B. XXI, 395; Pl. XII, 4.*)  
 No. 3 of Mahendra (?) ditto; *obv.* legend incomplete, and not deciphered; *rev.* legend अजित ... 'ajita'. This coin evidently should be assigned to Chandra Gupta; in the Horseman to Left coins of Kumára Gupta Mahendra the *rev.* goddess is feeding a peacock. Wt. 124. (*J. A. S. B. XXI, 399.*)  
 W. T.; *obv.* legend not read; *rev.* legend and device as in *J. A. S. B. XXI, Pl. XII, 4*; wt. 122.

## CHANDRA GUPTA II.

## LION-TRAMPLER TYPE.

(J. A. S. B. XXIV, p. 501, class G 2; Rev. Catal., class K b.)

*Obv.* King, wearing waistcloth, standing in energetic attitude, shooting in mouth a lion, which, in vars.  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\delta$ , is falling backwards with the king's l. foot on its belly. In var.  $\gamma$ , the lion is standing with the king's l. foot on its back.

In vars.  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , king is turned to r., with bow in l. hand, but in var.  $\delta$ , he faces l., with bow in r. hand.

Legend not deciphered, but, in var.  $\delta$ , it includes the words 'Vikrama ... Gupta.'

*Rev.* Goddess, seated cross-legged, facing front, on couchant lion, which faces l., holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand; but, in var.  $\beta$ , she sits astride, holding lotus-flower in r., while l. hand is empty.

Legend in all var., सिंह विक्रमः, 'the lion-champion.' Mon. generally, except in var.  $\beta$ .

- References and Remarks.*
- Var.  $\alpha$ ;* king to r., bow in l. hand, trampling on lion's belly; rev. goddess cross-legged, facing front.
- P. E. XXX, 1; mon. 8a; wt. not stated; from Tregear coll. No. 3 of Tod's 4th series; mon. 8b; wt. not stated. (*Trans. R. A. S. I., Pt. XII*).
- A. A. XVIII, 5 = B. M., Swiney 5; mon. 10c; wt. 115.4; erroneously described by Wilson. (*Plate III, fig. 5*)
- W. T.; mon. 7b; wt. 122.
- A. C.; 2 specimens, "king killing lion," but no details stated, and the coins may not belong to this var.
- B.; one specimen, belonging either to this variety, or to  $\beta$ , or  $\gamma$ ; details not stated.
- Var.  $\beta$ ;* *obv.* as in  $\alpha$ ; *rev.* goddess astride on lion, with lotus-flower in r. hand, l. hand empty.
- E. C. B; no mon.; wt. 118.2; worn.
- Var.  $\gamma$ ;* king to r. with foot on back of lion, which stands with head turned round.
- P. E. XXX, 2; mon. 10b; wt. not stated; fillet on rev. not visible; design spirited, and well executed; from Tregear collection.
- Var.  $\delta$ ;* king to l., with bow in r. hand, trampling with r. foot on lion's belly.
- P. E. XXIII, 27; mon. 4c; wt. not stated; *obv.* legend, as engraved, and as read by Prinsep, विक्रम नरान म गुप्तः 'Vikrama narāna ma Gupta,' but there must be some error. Erroneously described by Prinsep as a "sorry duplicate" of P. E. XXIII, 25 (Retreating Lion type), which is a very different coin. From Stacy collection.

B. ; two specimens.

No. 4 of Tod's 4th series ; mon. seems to be 20a ; wt. not stated ; *obv.* legend includes certainly विक्रम, 'Vikrama.' (*Trans. R. A. S. I. (1827). Pl. XII.*)

C. ; in *obv.* legend . . नरा '...narā' . . legible, so far confirming Prinsep's reading ; no mon. ; wt. 122.00 ; obtained at Benares. Perhaps the true reading is नरोत्तम, 'best of men' ; cf. Ghaṭot Kaṭha. Mr. Carnac also has a coin obtained at Benares with . . तवस . . 'tavasa' on *obv.*, and *rev.* lion to right ; wt. 120.45. I omitted to note further particulars, and the coin is perhaps of the combatant Lion type.

Mr. Thomas (*J. A. S. B. XXIV p. 501, class G ; Rev. Catal., class K*) briefly describes as follows a coin in the Stacy collection, which he regards as being "a cast from a genuine original. *Obv.* king to r. armed with bow, shooting a lion ; legend संह विक्रम कुमार [गुप्तपरिधि] संह महेंद्र, 'Kumāra Gupta, of might like a lion's, most prosperous.' *Rev.* Pārvatī seated on a lion, her r. hand extends the fillet, the l., which rests upon her knee, holds a flower ; legend सिंह महेंद्र, 'Sinha Mahendra ;' wt. 126 ; type P. E. XXX, 1." If this cast represents a genuine coin it is a most important document, as proving that both the titles 'Sinha Mahendra' and 'Sinha Vikrama' belong to Kumāra Gupta. But I think it probable that the cast is a forgery.\* The combination of titles has no parallel in any authentic coin, and the legend has the appearance of having been composed to solve the difficulty felt in assigning the 'Sinha Vikrama' coins. In the genuine Lion-Trampler coin of Kumāra's (*P. E. XXX, 8*) the *rev.* legend is 'Sri Mahendra Sinha ;' in the cast the word 'Sinha' is made to precede 'Mahendra.' Mr. Thomas, in his original catalogue (*J. A. S. B. XXIV, 501*) and in his Revised Catalogue assigns all the 'Sinha Vikrama' coins to Kumāra Gupta, being apparently led to this conclusion by the dubious Stacy cast. In his *Records of the Gupta Dynasty (p. 22)* he attributes the B. M. unique Retreating Lion coin with 'Sinha Vikrama' legend, (*P. E. XXIII, 25*) to Samudra Gupta. He does not state any reason for this attribution,

\* In a letter, written in May 1883, Mr. W. Theobald tells me ;—"There is a roaring trade just now doing in forgeries. Just before I left India, two years ago I saw upwards of 33 beautifully executed forgeries of gold coins with one man in Hazāra, and, what is more curious, I actually saw forged copper coins, but these only once in an out-of-the-way village, and the same man had a few forged silver Sophytes, one of which I bought ; but I have a genuine one also."

but it seems to be based on the similarity in design and execution between the coin in question, and Samudra's unique Tiger coin. But this similarity is not sufficient to outweigh all the other evidence. The Lion-Trampler coin (*P. E. XXX, 8*) with rev. legend 'Sri Mahendra Sinha' is undoubtedly Kumára's, for no one has ever supposed that the title Mahendra was shared by Samudra with Kumára. The Combatant Lion coins (*P. E. XXIII, 28 etc.*), which bear on the reverse the name in full of Kumára Gupta also resemble in obverse device the Tiger coin of Samudra, quite as much as the 'Sinha Vikrama' coins do. We know for certain that 'Vikrama' was a favourite title of Chandra Gupta II, and, after full consideration of the problem, I have no hesitation in concluding that General Cunningham (*Arch. Rep. X, III*), is right in assigning all the 'Sinha Vikrama' coins to Chandra Gupta II.\* The result is that both Chandra Gupta II and Kumára Gupta must be credited with having issued coins both of the Lion-Trampler and Combatant Lion types, while the unique Retreating Lion coin must be assigned to Chandra Gupta II. Prinsep, with his usual acuteness, observed on the close similarity between the mintages of Kumára Gupta and his father Chandra Gupta II.

## CHANDRA GUPTA II.

### COMBATANT LION TYPE.

(Not included in either of Mr. Thomas's catalogues.)

- Obv.* King, standing to r., in attitude less energetic than that of Lion-Trampler type, bareheaded, with bow in l. hand, shooting lion in mouth, but not trampling on its body. Sometimes, above king's l. arm, and in front of his face, a character 'h' ? Legend of about 20 characters, including perhaps, ... रत चन्द्र, '... rata Chandra' ?
- Rev.* Goddess, holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand, seated, facing front, cross-legged on back of lion couchant to l. Legend श्री विक्रमः, 'Sri Vikrama'; the k is sometimes doubled. Coins poorly designed and executed. Mon.

|                                |                                                     |                                                                                                                                                |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>References and Remarks.</i> | E. C. B. ;                                          | on left <i>obv.</i> margin 6 or 7 character, not read, on r. रत चन्द्र, 'rata Chandra' ? ; character before king's face ; mon. 8b ; wt. 120.9. |
|                                | B. M. Swiney 4 ;                                    | no character before king's face ; mon. 10c ; wt. 111.4. ( <i>Plate III, fig. 6.</i> )                                                          |
|                                | A. G. ; <i>obv.</i> legend of about 20 characters ; | mon. 10c ; wt. 117.4 ; from Oudh.                                                                                                              |

\* In his latest publication on the subject (*Epoch of the Guptas, p. 24, from J. R. A. S. for 1880*) Mr. Thomas refers to the reign of Chandra Gupta II both the Sinha Vikrama and the Vikramāditya coins. The late Sir E. C. Bayley concurred in this assignment.

The same character, in the same position before the king's face, is found in Kumára Gupta's Archer type, class I, var.  $\beta$ ; its meaning is not known.

## CHANDRA GUPTA II.

## RETREATING LION TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B.* XXIV, 501, class H, 1; *Rev. Catal.*, class L.)

*Obv.* King standing to front, head turned to l. wearing tight waistcloth, armlets, large earrings, and necklace; hair braided or curled, perhaps covered by a close cap. He holds in r. hand bow, and in l. an arrow pointed downwards, having just discharged arrow at retreating lion, which occupies l. margin, and in whose snout the arrow-head is sticking. Legend on r. margin महाराजधिराज श्री, 'Mahárájádhirájá Sri.'

*Rev.* Goddess (Dúrgá ?) seated on couchant lion, which faces l.; in her r. hand fillet, and in l. which rests on her hip, a lotus-flower. Her r. leg is tucked up under her, the l. hangs down behind the lion's rump. Legend श्री सिंह विक्रमः, 'the lion champion'; vertical line between device and legend. Mon.

*References and Remarks.* Unique coin; P. E. XXII, 25, and Vol. I. pp. 27 and 280; Records. p. 22 and Autotype Pl. fig. 8; in B. M.; obtained at Kananj by Lieut. Conolly; mon. 4c; wt. 123. A broad coin of artistic design, and spirited execution. (*Plate III*, fig. 7.) For discussion of question of attribution see remarks under Lion-Tramp's type of Chandra Gupta II.

## CHANDRA GUPTA II.

## SWORDSMAN AND UMBRELLA TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B.* XXIV, 492, class A 1; *Rev. Catal.*, classes B and 2 B.)

*Obv.* King standing, facing l., bareheaded, with long curly hair, with l. hand resting on short sword (*khandá*), and with r. hand casting incense on small altar, which is, however, sometimes wanting. Beside king's l. arm a miniature figure holding handle of state-umbrella, which shades the king. Marginal legend, restored from comparison of specimens, विक्रमादित्य चितिसवजित्य सुचरति, 'Vikramáditya, having conquered the earth, prospers.'

*Rev.* Standing female figure (? Victory, *Wilson*), either full front, or facing l. with fillet in r. hand, and sometimes a flower in l.; her dress slightly varies in different coins.

Legend विक्रमादित्य 'Vikramāditya,' sometimes spelled with two *ks*. Monogram sometimes wanting.

|                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>References and Remarks.</i> | P. E. Vol. 1, 372, Pl. XXX, 7; from Tregear coll., and at that time unique; no altar on <i>obv.</i> ; one <i>k</i> in <i>rev.</i> legend; no mon.; wt. not stated.                                                                                                |
| A. A. XVIII, 1;                | from E. I. C. coll. but not now in I. O.; no <i>obv.</i> altar; no flower in l. hand of <i>rev.</i> goddess, but a knobbed staff behind her; double <i>k</i> in <i>rev.</i> legend; no mon.; wt. not stated; more Indian in style than Prinsep's coin.            |
| B. M., Eden No. 1;             | <i>obv.</i> altar partly visible, with incense falling on it; <i>rev.</i> in fine condition; open lotus-flower in goddess' left hand; no staff between her and legend, which has only one <i>k</i> ; mon. apparently 85; wt. 119.3. ( <i>Plate III, fig. 8.</i> ) |
| ditto, ditto, No. 2;           | poorer specimen; umbrella cut away; mon. imperfect; wt. 117.5.                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| B.;                            | three specimens.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Freeling No. 1;                | <i>obv.</i> altar; <i>rev.</i> goddess holds flower in left hand; mon. No. 159 A. A., viz. 3a; two <i>ks</i> in <i>rev.</i> legend; wt. 121. ( <i>J. A. S. B. XXIV, 492.</i> )                                                                                    |
| <i>ibid</i> , No. 2;           | <i>rev.</i> goddess full front, with transparent drape; mon. resembling that of Ghatot Kacha's coin, P. E. XXIX, 12, but with double crossbar; one <i>k</i> in <i>rev.</i> legend; wt. 121. ( <i>ibid</i> , class 2 B.)                                           |

These coins are ascribed by Thomas to Chandra Gupta I, and are so classed in B. M., but are ascribed by Cunningham to Chandra Gupta II, and in this attribution the late Sir E. C. Bayley concurred. The design of the *rev.* rather favours the former supposition, but the king's curly hair, and the *obv.* legend, which is nearly identical with that on Kumāra's unique Swordsman coin, are in favour of the latter. The reduplication of the *k* in the *rev.* legend of some of the coins in question is also found in Chandra Gupta II's Archer coins. The average weight is consistent with the attribution of these coins to either prince. Considering the fact that Chandra Gupta II in his silver coins used the titles Vikramānka and Vikramārka as well as Vikramāditya, I have no doubt that these gold coins with the title of Vikramāditya should be referred to him. This title is also found on one of the heavy coins of barbarous execution, bearing the name of Chandra, which is described in the Supplement. Mr. Theobald has a large copper coin (a duplicate of P. E. XXX, 11) with legend 'Mahārāja Śrī Chandra Gupta,' the obverse of which seems to be a rude imitation of these gold coins; wt. 71. Gen. Cunningham compares the *obv.* device with a sculpture, apparently of Gupta age, at Bhitari in the Ghāzipur district. (*Arch. Rep. p. 99.*)

## KUMÁRA GUPTA (MAHENDRA).

## SWORDSMAN TYPE.

(Rev. Catal., class D a.)

*Obv.* King, facing front, with long curly hair, wearing a cap or turban, short drawers, necklace, and armllets; with r. hand casting incense on small altar, which is partly visible; a short sword hangs from his waist, and his l. hand rests on his hip. Behind r. arm. bird-standard, adorned with pennons. Beside left elbow कु 'Ku,' with a crescent over the syllable. Legend on margin [चि]तिमवजित्य सुचरति कुमार, 'Kumára, having conquered the earth, prospers.'

*Rev.* Goddess, seated cross-legged on lotus-flower seat with fillet in r., and open lotus-flower in l. hand. Legend श्री कुमार गुप्त 'Sri Kumára Gupta.' Monogram.

*References and Remarks.* Unique coin in B. M. Prinsep coll.; described and figured in Records, p. 23 and Autotype Pl. fig. 5. The first two words are read गमव जित्य by Thomas, which is unintelligible: I read his ग as a न, with one limb a little prolonged—the remains of the चि are on the left margin; a crack crosses the व, but the letter is quite distinct the legend thus agrees with that on the Swordsman and Umbrella coins of Chandra Gupta II, father of Kumára. The crescent over the obverse कु is remarkable, because it is generally found only in the heavy debased coins of the type of Nára Gupta's coinage. The wt. 12.2 of the present coin indicates that it belongs to the genuine mintage of the imperial Kumára Gupta. The execution of the coin is clumsy, but not very barbarous. Mon. Sb (Plate III, fig. 9.)

## KUMÁRA GUPTA (MAHENDRA.)

## ARCHER TYPE.

(J. A. S. B. XXIV, 500, class C 1, and varieties; Rev. Catal. classes 5 E b, 6 E b, 7 E b, and E c.)

*Obv.* King, standing to l., head bare, hair curly, r. hand. extended across bird-standard, holding arrow; l. hand either resting on tip of bow with string turned inwards, or grasping middle of bow with string outwards.

Sometimes, but not always, कु 'Ku,' under l. arm.

Legend on margin, or in field, various, as detailed below.

*Rev.* In all vars.; goddess seated cross-legged on lotus-flower seat; and holding fillet in r., and lotus-flower in l., except in class II, where her hands are empty.

Legend श्री महेंद्र, 'Sri Mahendra.' Mon.

Class I. String of bow turned inwards.

- References and Remarks.*
- Var. a; obv. legend जयति महेन्द्र, 'Mahendra conquers.'*
- P. E. XXIX, 20; from Cunningham's coll.; obtained at Gayá; under king's arm कु, 'Ku,' apparently with crescent over it; remains of a letter before his face; mon. 25, slightly modified; wt. not stated.
- A. A. XVIII, 12; duplicate of above; wt. not stated.
- Bharsar hoard, No. 2 of Kumára Gupta; as above; mon. 25; wt. 123.
- ditto, No. 4 of Kumára Gupta; as No. 2, but no *obv.* legend except 'Ku'; mon. 25; wt. 124.5. (*J. A. S. B. XXI, 397.*)
- No. 1 of Tod's 4th Series; as P. E. XXIX, 20, but legends on *obv.* indistinct; mon. 20a; wt. not stated. (*Trans. R. A. S. I, Pl. XII.*)
- B. M., Eden; *obv.* legend not read; mon. 85; wt. 124.7. (*Plate III, fig. 10.*)
- „ Prinsep; ditto; worn; wt. 106.7.
- Communicated by E. C. B.; two specimens found at Jhúsi near Allahabad along with eight of Peacock type of Kumára Gupta.
- C.; one specimen dug up near Allahabad along with a Peacock coin; probably part of the Jhúsi find.
- A. S. B.; 3 specimens perhaps belong to this variety, but details are wanting; one seems to have no *obv.* legend, two have कु 'Ku' under arm.
- Var. B; obv. legend as stated below; a character, seemingly, 'h,' before king's face.*
- A. S. B.; figured in P. E. XXXIX, 19, and As. Res. XVII Pl. I, 14; a character between king's feet; *obv.* legend, as read by Dr. Hoernle, 'Parama rájá-dhirája S'ri [Kumára Gupta Mahen]dra,' but of the words in brackets only the lower portion is legible, and the restoration is conjectural; wt. not stated.

For the character before the king's face, *cf.* the Combatant Lion type of Chandra Gupta II, this character seems to me to be 'h,' and not 'Gu.' The word 'parama' in the legend also recalls Chandra Gupta's Lancer and Horseman to Left types, but the 'Mahendra' of the *rev.* legend proves this coin to belong to Kumára Gupta.

*Var. 7; under king's arm कु, 'Ku' ? obv. legend, as stated below.*

A. G.; mon. 85; wt. 125; from Oudh. The *obv.* legend includes the letters ... जतर ... 'jatara.'

*Var. 8; class 6 E b of Rev. Catal.; obv. legend as below.*

Freeling coll.; unpublished, briefly referred to by Thomas in his catalogues and in Records, p. 50; wt. 125. *Obv.* legend [रे]व विजितावनिरवनिपति कुमारो गुप्ता,

'the divine (or Deva) Kumára Gupta, lord of the earth, who has conquered the earth.' Some of the peacock type of the silver coins have the same legend, with the word जयति, 'conquers,' inserted after 'Deva.'

*Var. e*; *obv. legends as stated below*; class 7 E b of *Rev. Catal.*

Stacy coll.; unpublished; briefly noticed by Thomas in his catalogues; wt. 126; no initial under king's arm; l. marginal legend कुमार गुप्त, 'Kumára Gupta.'

*Var. ζ*; *obv. legends as stated below.*

Coin from Mahanada; कु, 'Ku' under king's arm; *obv. legend* श्री महाराजधिराज श्री कुमार गुप्त, 'Sri Mahárájádhirája Sri Kumára Gupta;' further details wanting. (*Proc. A. S. B. May, 1882, p. 91.*)

In J. A. S. B. XXIV, 500, Thomas refers to a cast coin in Freeling coll., which partially agrees with the Mahanada coin, but it is useless to discuss specimens of doubtful genuineness.

#### CLASS II.—STRING OF BOW TURNED OUTWARDS.

P. E. XXIX, 16; Cunningham coll., from Gayá; no initial under king's arm; कुमार, 'Kumára' outside bow-string; marginal legend म[हेन्द्र]; *rev.* goddess with both hands turned up, and elbows resting on knees; mon. 8c; wt. not stated; rude coin of irregular outline.

A. A. XVIII, 11; nearly identical with above; mon. 8b; wt. not stated; "a very rude coin."

B. M.; mon. 19b; wt. 121.4.

ditto; mon. 10c; wt. 119.5.

I. O.; mon. 10c; wt. 123.5. (*Plate III, fig. 11.*)

A. S. B.; one coin seems to belong to this variety.

Three coins from the Húglí hoard, with the several mons. 8b, 17c, and 17d, belong to the Archer type of Kumára Gupta, but, in the absence of details, I cannot classify them more exactly. A. C. has one specimen, which, for the same reason, cannot be placed. The variety in the imperfectly deciphered obverse legends of this type is remarkable; the Horseman coins of the same king exhibit a similar variety.

For heavy barbarous coins of Archer type see Supplement.

#### KUMÁRA GUPTA MAHENDRA.

##### HOESEMAN TO RIGHT TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV, 502, class F 2*; *Rev. Catal., class J a.*)

*Obv.* Horseman proceeding to r., bare-headed, with curly hair; no lance; in some cases an obscure character over horse's

head; sometimes a character, apparently वि 'vi,' between horse's legs; marginal legend, various, as detailed below, and generally imperfect.

*Rev.* Female seated to l., on Indian wicker stool (*morhá*) and ( $\alpha$ ) holding fillet in r. hand, and lotus-flower in l., behind her back; ( $\beta$ ) holding in r. hand, a lotus-flower, springing from a curious undefined object, her left hand resting empty on hip; ( $\gamma$ ) offering fruit to a peacock with r. hand, and holding lotus-flower in l.

Legend always अजित महेन्द्र 'the unconquered Mahendra.' Monogram generally wanting.

- References and Remarks.*
- Var.  $\alpha$* ; Reverse goddess sitting upright, holding fillet and flower.  
 P. E. XXIII, 29; from Lt. Burt's coll.; obscure character, perhaps meaning 'Sri' over horse's head; traces of letter between horse's legs; *obv.* legend illegible; wt. not stated.
- P. E. XXX, 4; as above coin; on r. *obv.* margin ... त वि ... 'ta vi,' legible; wt. not stated.
- A. A. XVIII, 16; closely resembles P. E. XXIII, 26, but, as Thomas points out (*Records*, p. 23 note) the *obv.* marginal legend ends with ... गुप्त देवजनत, 'Gupta of divine origin,' or 'the son of Deva'; a character over horse's head; wt. not stated, 'Deva' was a title of Chandra Gupta II. A. A. XVIII, 17 cited by Thomas (*ut supra*) as a variant, is really a Lancer coin of Chandra Gupta II, q. v.
- No. 5 of Kumára from Bharsar hoard; fillet not visible, coin being "much worn"; a character over horse's head; wt. 124.5; a duplicate weighed 125. (*J. A. S. B.* XXI, pp. 398, 400; Plate XII, 8.)
- Húgli hoard; one specimen; *obv.* legend, as read by Dr. Hoernle, 'Parama bhagavata ... dhi rájá Guptaḥ'; *rev.* 'Ajita Mahendra'; *mon.* 8b. Cf. *var.  $\gamma$* .
- Variety  $\beta$* ; Reverse goddess, stooping, holding in r. hand an open flower, stalk of which springs from an unknown object; her l. hand rests on hip.
- P. E. XXX, 3; *obv.* legend अजित पु [ or प्र ] ... त विक्र; 'ajita pu [or pra] ... ta vikra[ma]'; from Tregear coll.; wt. not stated.
- E. C. B.; *obv.* legend illegible; horseman seems to wear armour; wt. 126.5.
- Variety  $\gamma$* ; Reverse goddess feeding peacock with right hand, holding lotus-flower with left.
- P. E. XXIII, 30; B. M.; *obv.* legend ... त महेन्द्र गुप्त and 8 or 9 letters, '[aji]ta Mahendra Gupta .....'; between horse's legs वि 'vi'; given to Prinsop by Miss Watson; wt. 124.5; worn.

- Marsden, MLIX; B. M.; closely resembles above coin; *obv.* legend महेन्द्र [?] गुप्त, 'Mahendra Gupta'; traces of letter between horse's legs; king has not "long-flowing" curls as stated in Records, p. 23; wt. 125.5.
- P. E. XXX, 5; resembles last, but Prinsep read two letters of *obv.* legend as हय 'haya'; wt. not stated.
- A. G.; from Oudh; worn; over horse's head a character, 'Śrī' ?; between horse's legs वि 'vi' ?; legend on right margin of ten characters, *viz.*, प ति रज ि विज कु; being part of the legend on the Midnapur Horseman to Left coin; wt. 124.
- B. M., Eden; character 'Śrī' ? over horse; *obv.* legend विजय 'vijaya' on l. margin, and ... तव [ or प ] तर 'ta ba [ or pa ] ta ra' on r. margin, seemingly a part of the Midnapur Horseman to Left coin legend; wt. 124.8.
- B. M., Bush; character over horse's head; in *obv.* legend देव, 'Deva' legible; *cf.* A. A. XVIII, 16; condition fine; wt. 127.2. (*Plate III. fig. 12.*)
- B. M., Yeames; character over horse's head; wt. 126.7.
- B. M., \_\_\_\_\_; do. do.; wt. 125.9.
- B. M., E. T.; worn, in poor condition; no character over horse; wt. 117.3.
- B. M., Yeames; character over horse's head; wt. 124.7.
- I. O., No. 1; character over horse's head; worn; wt. 124.
- „ No. 2; character over horse's head; under horse वि, 'vi' ?; wt. 125.8.
- „ No. 3; character over horse's head; no letter under horse; wt. 125.3.

A coin in A. S. B. cabinet with *obv.* legend 'Śrī Maharājādhirāj' is said to belong to this type, but details are wanting.

Húglí hoard, one specimen; *obv.* legend, as read by Dr. Hoernle, 'Paramá bhagavata t. Śrī Ma[hendra Gu]pta;' *rev.* 'Ajita Mahendra.' *Cf.* var. a.

II.; 1 specimen from a place in pargana Nawabganj of Gonda district opposite Ayodhya: *obv.* legend 'Ajita Mahendra Gupta.'

## KUMĀRA GUPTA MAHENDRA.

### HORSEMAN TO LEFT TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV, 502, class F, 3; Rev. Catal. class J b.*)

*Obv.* Horseman, bareheaded, with curly hair, proceeding to l., no lance; sometimes a character (कु 'Ku' ?) over horse's head, or between its legs; marginal legend imperfect and various, see details below.

Rev. Goddess seated, facing l. on wicker stool (*morha*), with r. hand feeding peacock, and with l. hand holding flower behind, her back. Legend अजित महेन्द्र 'the unconquered Mahendra. No monogram.

- References and Remarks.* As. Res. Vol. XVII, Pl. I, 18. *Obv.*, legend illegible, between horse's legs कु 'Ku' ? ; wt. not stated ; engraved "from a drawing of a coin said to belong to Mrs. White of Fatehgarh."
- Freeing coll. ; unpublished coin, briefly alluded to in Rev. Catal. ; wt. not stated.
- No. 1 of Mahendra from Bharsar hoard ; *obv.* legend indistinct, but read by Kittoe as 'Mahendra Gupta' ; wt. 124.
- No. 2, ditto, ditto ; nearly identical with No. 1 but 'Ku' ? over horse's head, and long *obv.* legend, illegible ; wt. 124 (*J. A. S. B. XXI, 399.*)
- B. M. No. 1 ; wt. 126 (*Plate III, fig. 13.*)
- " " 2 ; wt. 123.8.
- " " 3, Enniskillen ; wt. 123.2. These B. M. coins read on *obv.*, ... वजत् जयति कु. Cf. Húgli coin below.
- A. S. B. No. 1 ; from Shaurpur in Midnapur District, Bengal ; *obv.* legend भूपति राजति विजय कुमार गुप्त, according to Cunningham, who compared with three specimens in his own possession, the प्र being written त्. Dr. Hoernle reads धि राज चितिपति राजति विजय कुमार [गुप्त ?] Either reading means 'the victorious lord Kumára Gupt rules.' The words विजय कुमार are between the horse's legs, and the word read भूपति, or चितिपति, or सत्रपति is round the horse's head and preceded by three letters, the last of which is distinctly ज. (*Proc. A. S. B. August 1882, pp. 111-114.*) Dr. Hoernle informs me that he now reads ... धि राज instead of श्री राज as printed, and that the coin belongs to Horseman to Left type.\*
- A. S. B. ; No. 2 ; apparently similar, but no details stated. Húgli hoard ; one specimen ; *obv.* legend as read by Dr. Hoernle ; 'Gupta Kshapra mahá ... ma ... vijita jayati' ; *rev.* 'Ajita Mahendra.'
- A. C. ; 3 specimens, details not stated ; see above.

## KUMÁRA GUPTA MAHENDRA.

## PEACOCK TYPE.

(Omitted both in *J. A. S. B. XXIV*, and in *Rev. Catal.*)

*Obv.* King, bareheaded, with curly hair, standing to l. with r. hand offering fruit to a peacock, which stands facing r.

\* The published account does not state whether the horseman is to right or left.

Marginal legend of from 10 to 14 characters, not fully deciphered; see details below.

In variety  $\alpha$  the king stands upright, and the peacock's neck is extended full length.

In variety  $\beta$  the king is stooping, and the peacock's neck is not fully extended.

Goddess, probably Kumári Deví, riding a peacock, holding mace or sceptre in l. hand, and sometimes a fillet in r. hand. Legend, as read by Gen. Cunningham, 'Mahendra Kumára'.\* No mon.

In variety  $\alpha$  peacock is turned to l. and shown in half profile, as is also the goddess; an altar in front of peacock.

In variety  $\beta$  peacock and goddess are facing front, and expanded tail of peacock fills whole field, as in the silver coins; no altar.

*References and Remarks.*

- Variety  $\alpha$ , *king upright; rev. profile peacock, with altar.*
- A. A. XVIII, 13; from Swiney coll.; in *rev.* legend कु 'Ku' ... legible; wt. not stated.
- B. M., Lind; *obv.* legend illegible; on *rev.* 'Śrī ... Ku ...' seems distinct; wt. 128'4; the execution of this coin is very fine and delicate (*Plate IV, fig. 1*).
- B. M., Nathan; legends not read; coin in good condition, but not so fine as the Lind specimen; wt. 126'5.
- E. C. B. No. 3; found at Jhúsi near Allahabad, along with specimens of  $\beta$  variety, and of Kumára's Archer type; in good condition; *obv.* both l. and r. marginal legend, not read; *rev.* legend seems to include 'Śrī Kum.'; wt. 128'6. No fillet in r. hand of goddess.
- A. S. B.; wt. not stated.
- C.; one specimen, ploughed up in a field in Allahabad District, with coin of Archer type; wt. 127'60.
- A. C.; 1 specimen, found at Allahabad; no further details stated.
- Variety  $\beta$ ; *obv. king stooping; rev., peacock and goddess facing front; no altar.*
- No. 3 of Kumára from Bharsar hoard; *obv.* legend read by Kittoe as 'Śrī Kumára,' and *rev.* as 'Śrīmad Kumára,' but doubtfully; goddess holds fillet and sceptre; wt. 124. (*J. A. S. B. IVI, 397, and Pl. XII, 7*.)
- L. O.; wt. 126. (*Plate IV, fig. 2*.)
- A. S. B.; wt. not stated.
- E. C. B. No. 1; *obv.* marginal legend of 10 or 11 characters, of which second and fourth seem to be respectively ति and त्य; *rev.* legend of 5 characters, the second being कु; wt. 128'2.

\* I am indebted for this reading to a communication from Gen. Cunningham.

E. C. B. No. 2 ; similar to No. 1, and found with it and No. 3 at Allahabad ; wt. 127.8.

The *rev.* legend, as in the other specimens of both varieties, seems to include कुम 'Kum ...'

E. C. B. reads जयति 'jayati' as the first word of the *obv.* legends.

A. G. *obv.* legend 14 characters on right margin only, read doubtfully as . तिबकु [ or क्री मा व  
1    2 3 4 5 6

ह [ or पु] रा च . र . . म ; *rev.* legend illegi-  
7    8 9 10 11 12 13 14

ble ; r. hand of goddess empty ; wt. 127.6 ; from Oudh.

A. C. ; 1 specimen, found at Allahabad ; no farther details stated.

C. ; wt. 127.50 ; obtained at Benares.

The prominence of the peacock in the design of these coins would alone be enough to prove that they must be referred to the reign of Kumára, and this conclusion is amply confirmed by the legends so far as read. Eight coins of this type, and two of Kumára's Archer type, were found together at Jhúsi near Allahabad about seven years ago ; three of this trove, as noted above, are in the E. C. B. cabinet, and the remaining 7 coins are in the hands of another collector.

A larger hoard found earlier at Allahabad is noticed in the Introductory Essay.

## KUMÁRA GUPTA MAHENDRA.

### LION-TRAMPLER TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV. 501, class G, var. 1 ; Rev. Catal. class K a*).

*Obv.* King standing, to r., bareheaded, bow in l. hand, his l. foot trampling on body of lion, which is falling backwards ; no letter before king's face ; legend (in one coin) ...त महेन्द्र जय श्री, ' [aji]ta Mahendra jaya Sri.'

*Rev.* Goddess seated, facing front, on lion facing r., either holding fillet in r. hand with her l. hand resting empty on hip, or with her r. hand extended empty, and l. hand raised above shoulder, holding lotus-flower ; legend श्री महेन्द्र सिंह, 'Sri Mahendra Sinha,' or श्री महेन्द्र, 'Sri Mahendra : monogram.

*References and* Variety a. *Rev. goddess with fillet in r. hand, l. hand resting empty on hip.*

*Remarks.* P. E. XXX, 8 ; obtained by Tregear at Jaunpur ; *obv.* legend as given above, the first letter is plainly त as read by Prinsep ; *rev.* legend 'Sri Mahendra Sinha' ; mon. 8a ; wt. not stated.

Húglí hoard; one specimen; details wanting; rev. legend *Srí Mahendra Sinha.*

*Variety B; reverse goddess with r. hand extended open, empty; l. hand raised, holding lotus-flower.*

A. G.; bought in Bombay; *obv.* design almost the same as in P. E. XXX, 8; legend illegible; *rev.* legend श्री म[हेन्द्र], 'Srí Ma[hendra?]; mon. 8b wt. 127.2.

The title Mahendra on these coins is sufficient to justify their ascription to Kumára Gupta. Two coins in A. S. B. cabinet appear to belong to this type; in one the reverse lion faces l., and in the other r., but, in the absence of detailed information, I cannot place the coins definitely.

### KUMÁRA GUPTA MAHENDRA.

#### COMBATANT LION TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV, 501, class I; Rev. Catal., class H a.*)

*Obv.* King, standing to l., wearing crested helmet or peaked cap and Indian waistcloth, one end of which hangs loose between his legs; his l. hand uplifted; in r. hand he holds bow, having discharged arrow into mouth of attacking lion, of which only the forepart is visible on l. margin. Under king's l. arm कु 'Ku.' Marginal legend of 3 characters on l. margin, viz., रग[or शु]म 'ra śa [or śra] ma,' the म 'm' being certain; and 8 or 9 characters in r. margin ending in कु or क 'Ku, or 'Kra,' and beginning with श्री; Prinsep read श्री बल पराक्रमः, but this is not tenable; the letters look like श्री वरपल्लुरक.

*Rev.* Goddess (probably Kumári Deví) standing, slightly stooping to l., with right hand feeding a standing peacock, which faces r., and with l. hand holding lotus flower. Legend on r. margin कुमार गुप्ताधिराज 'Kumára Guptádhiráj.' Monogram.

*References and Remarks.* No. 1 of Kumára Gupta from Bharsar hoard; *obv.* legend not read; *rev.* legend complete; mon. 8a; wt. 124.5 (*J. A. S. B. XXI, 397.*)

P. E. XXIII, 28; from Cunningham's collection at Benares; mon. as in Bharsar coin; *rev.* legend imperfect; wt. not stated.

Coin in Swiney coll.; of same type as P. E. XXIII, 28; *obv.* legend indistinct, but guessed by Wilson to be 'Vikrama Sinha'; *rev.* legend 'Kumára Gupta'; no further particulars stated. (*A. A. p. 423.*)

Coin exhibited at A. S. B.; of *obv.* legend only śra [śrí?] má on l. margin; 'Srí' on r. margin, and 'Ku' below

arm, legible; *rev.* legend fairly distinct; no further particulars stated. (*Proc. A. S. B. Feb. 1881.*)

I. O.; wt. 126.1; *obv.* legend very imperfect. (*Plate IV, fig. 3.*)

It is to be hoped that some more perfect example of this rare type may be published, so as to throw light on the obverse legend. If Wilson's conjectural reading of 'Vikrama Sinha' on the Swiney coin should be confirmed, the use of the title 'Vikrama' both by Kumára Gupta and his father would be proved.

## SKANDA GUPTA.

### ARCHER TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV, 502, class C 1; Rev. Catal. class E b.*)

*Obv.* King, standing to l., wearing tailed coat, hair curly; l. arm resting on bow; r. hand extended across bird-standard, and holding arrow; under l. arm स्क 'Skanda.' Marginal legend  
 न्  
 very imperfect, and not deciphered.

*Rev.* Goddess, seated cross-legged on lotus-seat, holding fillet in right, and flower in l. hand. Legend श्री स्कन्द गुप्तः 'Sri Skanda Gupta.' Monogram.

- References and Remarks.*
- P. E. XXIX, 18; Cunningham coll., dug up at a village four kos (8 miles) from Gházipur; mon. 3a; wt. not stated.
- P. E. XXX, 10; Tregear coll.; mon. apparently same as in XXIX, 48; wt. not stated.
- No. 1 of Skanda from Bharsar hoard; mon. 3b; wt. 129.25; two duplicates weighed 125 each.
- No. 2 ditto, ditto; mon. either 3b or 4c; wt. 129.25; "a very perfect specimen; gold indifferent."
- No. 3 ditto, ditto; a smaller coin; mon. as in No. 2; wt. 130; a duplicate weighed the same. (*J. A. S. B. XXI, 398—400.*)
- I. O., No. 1; mon. imperfect; wt. 129.5.
- ditto, ,, 2; mon. 8a; wt. 132.5; in *obv.* legend the letters जतम ... 'jatama ...' legible. (*Plate IV, fig. 4.*)
- Coin from Mahanada; mon. and wt. not stated. (*Proc. A. S. B. May 1882, p. 91.*)
- A. G.; in *obv.* legend जमन 'jamata' seems legible; a letter between king's feet; mon. 3a; wt. 132.3; reverse poorly executed, from Oudh.
- B. M. Brind; *rev.* legend imperfect, but the weight induces me to place the coin here; mon. 3b; wt. 130.1.
- For 'barbarous' coins of Archer type see Supplement.

## SKANDA GUPTA.

## KING AND QUEEN TYPE.

(J. A. S. B. XXIV, p. 502, class J; Rev. Catal. class M.)

*Obv.* Bird-standard, with pennons, in centre of field; king, bare-headed, with curly hair, standing in l. field, facing to r.; queen standing in r. field, opposite to king. King wears either a waistcloth (*dhoti*) or short drawers (*janghiyá*), and armlets, and with l. hand grasps middle of bow, the string of which is turned towards the standard. Queen wears Indian woman's waistcloth (*lahangá*), and in r. hand holds up an object, probably a flower. Legend very imperfect and illegible, but probably consisted of names of king and queen.

*Rev.* Goddess seated cross-legged on lotus-flower seat, holding lotus-flower in l., and fillet in r. hand.

Legend on r. margin श्री स्कन्द गुप्तः 'Śrī Skanda Gupta.' Mon.

*References and* B. M.; purchased at Kanauj by Mr. Bacon, and presented to Prinsep; mon. 3a; wt. 128.8. Prinsep erroneously read 'Chandra' on

*Remarks.* the reverse. This is the coin engraved in P. E. XXIII, 24; and in As. Res. Vol. XVII, Pl. I, 12. (Pl. IV, fig. 5.)

A. S. B.; no details stated.

I have identified the obverse figures as those of the king and queen on the analogy of the King and Queen type of Chandra Gupta I. The name of Skanda Gupta's queen is not known.

## SUPPLEMENT.

Doubtful.

## CHANDRA GUPTA II ?

## ARCHER TYPE.

Obverse and reverse devices as in Archer Type, class II a of catalogue, but execution debased, and weight exceeding 140.

*References and* Marsden MLI; in B. M.; च 'Chandra' under king's left arm, with a crescent over the word; 'bhi'? between his legs; *rev.* legend seems to be श्री विक्रमादित्य 'Śrī Vikramāditya'; mon. 19a; wt. 148.

Marsden MLVI; in B. M.; resembles MLI, but *rev.* legend seems to be श्री देव ... 'Śrī Deva' ...; mon. indistinct wt. 144.5. (Plate IV, fig. 7.)

A. G.; *rev.* legend श्री विक्रम, 'Śrī Vikrama'; mon. imperfect; wt. 144.5; of alloyed metal, from Oudh.

## KUMARA GUPTA MAHENDRA (?)

## ARCHER TYPE.

*Obv.* and *rev.* devices nearly the same as in Archer Type, class I of catalogue, but execution debased. *Rev.* legend श्री महेंद्र, 'Śrī Mahendra'; कु 'Ku' under *obv.* king's arm; wt. exceeding 140.

- References and Remarks.* Marsden, MLII; in B. M.; mon. 8a; wt. 147.0.  
ditto, MLIII; *ibid.*; mon. imperfect; wt. 146.5.  
B. M., Yeames; mon. imperfect; wt. 143.  
" R. P. K.; ditto, do.; wt. 148.7. (*Plate IV, fig. 8.*)  
A. C. XVIII, 23; one of the Kālighāt hoard; supposed by Cunningham (*Arch. Rep. III, 137*) to be a coin of the Kumāra Gupta of Magadha mentioned in the Apsar inscription.  
B. M.; ten specimens, apparently of base metal, and very coarsely executed; av. wt. 148.5; the detailed wts. are — 150.3; 150.2; 147.8; 150.2; 150.6; 147.146.8; 146; 149.2; 147.2.  
A. C.; 2 specimens, no details stated.

Doubtful.

## SKANDA GUPTA KRAMADITYA.

## ARCHER TYPE.

(*J. A. S. B. XXIV, 502, class C 1; Rev. Catal. class E b.*)

Obverse and reverse nearly the same as in the Archer Type of Skanda Gupta already described, but reverse legend is क्रमादित्य: 'Kramādityah,' or 'the sun of power,' and wt. seems to exceed 140.

- References and Remarks.* P. E. XXIX, 17; obtained by Cunningham from Gayā; mon. 8a; wt. not stated; king's body much bent sideways; a curved mark in front of his face.  
P. E. XXIII, 20; given to Prinsep by a lady; king wears a sort of dressing-gown fastened by a sash; no letter between his legs; no crescent under arm; no mon.; some ill-defined marks in right field; wt. not stated; seemingly a rude coin.  
P. E. XXIII, 22; given to Prinsep by Mr. Cracroft; resembles XXIII, 20, but the king's coat is of the usual shape; in both these coins the king stands upright; wt. not stated.  
Marsden MLV; in B. M.; closely resembles P. E. XXIII, 22; crescent between king's arm and name; no letter between king's feet; mon. imperfect; wt. (including attached ring) 150; execution rude.

B. M. Prinsep; resembles Marsden's MLV; mon. imperfect: wt. 141.4. (*Plate IV, fig. 9.*)

A. C.; 2 specimens, no details stated.

The reader may perhaps be surprised at my treating this variety of coins bearing Skanda's name as of doubtful attribution. My reasons are: (1) the heavy wt. of the two coins weighed, which is nearly that of the coins of Nára Gupta and the other imitators of the imperial Gupta coinage; (2) the rude style of the coins; (3) the crescent under the king's arm in the B. M. specimens, as in Nára Gupta's coins; (4) the title 'Kramáditya,' which may be compared with the title Báláditya of Nára Gupta; with Vikramáditya on the rude coin (*Marsden MLI*) bearing the name of Chandra, and with 'Chandráditya,' the title of Vishṇu Gupta (*Thomas, Indo-Scythian coins with Hindi Legends.*)\* It is very unfortunate that we do not know the weights of the coins figured by Prinsep, and only know those coins through the medium of engravings which do not appear to be very good. The B. M. Prinsep coin does not exactly agree with any of the three coins engraved in the Essays. For the present I am disposed to regard this 'Kramáditya' variety of the gold coins bearing Skanda's name as a posthumous issue. It is quite possible that the silver coins of Skanda with the Kramáditya legend may also be posthumous, as some of the silver coins struck in the name of Kumára Gupta appear to be. (*Sir E. C. Bayley in Num. Chron. for 1882, pp. 155 and 156, with references to opinions of Dr. Bühler and Genl. Cunningham.*)

## NÁRA GUPTA BALADITYA.

### ARCHER TYPE.

(*Not included in J. A. S. B. XXIV, catal.; nor in Rev. Catal.*)

*Obv.* King to left, bow in l. hand, arrow in r. hand, and bird-standard, as in Archer coins of Chandra Gupta II, but very rudely executed; a letter, which generally appears to be either

ना

'Gu' or 'Sri,' between king's legs. Under l. arm ₹; no marginal legend visible.

*Rev.* Goddess on lotus-flower seat, with fillet and flower, very rudely executed; mon. sometimes wanting; legend बालादित्य, 'Báláditya.'

\* The title Vikramáditya is used in the authentic Swordsman and Umbrella gold coins and in some of the silver coins of Chandra Gupta II, but the titles ending in *áditya* appear to have been specially favoured by the princes who issued the rude coins. Gen. Cunningham has two specimens of Vishṇu Gupta's coinage.

*References and* A. A. XVIII, 22; a coin from the great Kálíghát hoard found in 1783. See also Records, p. 24.

*Remarks.* Marsden, MLIV; wt. 146.5; probably from Kálíghát hoard.  
B. M. three specimens in gold; viz., Yeames, mon. 80; 'Gu' between legs; wt. 148.7 (*Plate IV, fig. 10*):—Prinsep, mon. etc. as in Yeames; wt. 144.5.—A. Newman, as in Yeames; letter between legs imperfect; wt. 143.5.

There are 6 other specimens in B. M., but of base metal. The I. O. collection contains 33 coins of this type, some bearing the name of Nára, and some other names, and all apparently of base metal.

A. G.; from Oudh; mon. apparently 9a; wt. 145.1; metal a pale alloy.

A. S. B.; details not stated.

A. C.; 4 specimens; no details stated.

The historic place of Nára Gupta has not yet been ascertained, but the fact of his coins having formed part of the Kálíghát hoard, which consisted entirely of coins of rude and debased style is a strong argument in favour of assigning him a date not earlier than 400 A. D. The companion coin to the Nára figured in A. A. XVIII, 22 is the Kumára coin No. 23 of same plate, which Cunningham attributes to the later Kumára Gupta of Magadha, circa 400 A. D. (*Arch. Rep. III, 137*). No. 24 of same plate, from the same hoard is identified by Mr. Thomas as a coin of Vishnu Gupta Chandráditya,\* a prince of uncertain date, but certainly not included in the list of the imperial Guptas.

Mr. Thomas formerly (*J. A. S. B. XXIV, p. 386*), denounced Nára Gupta Báláditya as "a very ancient myth," and seemed inclined to regard him as an *alias* of Skanda Gupta. In his recent publications, however, he has retracted his former opinion, and now fully admits the separate existence of Nára Gupta, and the reading of his name and title.

Doubtful.

### PRAKÁ'SADITYA

LION AND HORSEMAN TYPE.

(*Not included in J. A. S. B. XXIV, catal.; nor in Rev. Catal.*)

*Obv.* Horseman wearing cap or helmet, proceeding to r., mounted on a sorry donkey-like animal, thrusting a weapon (short spear or sword), into the open jaws of a lion, or dragon,

\* Indo-Scythian coins with Hindi Legends, in *Indian Antiquary* for Jan. 1883. Nára Gupta's type is again described in same paper.

very rudely designed. Under horse उ, 'U?'; over horse's head, a blurred letter, or small bird-standard, or three dots. Marginal legend imperfect, and not yet deciphered; it seems to include विजसत, 'vijasata.'

Goddess, rudely executed, seated cross-legged on lotus-flower seat, with fillet in r. hand, and l. hand holding sceptre (?), or empty.

Legend श्री, 'Sri' and name, see below. Monogram.

*References and Remarks.*

A. A. XVIII, 18; *obv.* arrow in horseman's l. hand; marginal legend illegible; a character over horse's head; *rev.* sceptre (?) in l. hand of goddess; legend 'Sri Prakrama Deva'? (*Wilson*); mon. 4; wt. not stated.

*ibid. ib.*, 19; in *obv.* legend विजय or स 'vijaya' or 'vijasa' legible; *rev.* unsymmetrical, fillet and mon. wanting; wt. not stated.

As. Res. XVII, Pl. I, 17; from Kannauj; *obv.* lion not recognized by *Wilson*; marginal legend of 7 letters on left margin, of which the fourth seems to be न, 't'; *rev.* as in A. A. XVIII, 18, but mon. wanting; wt. not stated. A similar coin, perhaps the same, is badly figured in J. R. A. S. III, O. S., p. 382. Nos. 1 and 2 of Sri Prakāsa from Bharsar hoard; *obv.* lion not recognized by *Kittoe*; bird-standard over horse's head; in legend only ज, 'j' legible; *rev.* goddess' l. hand seems empty; legend श्री प्रकार 'Sri Prakāsa'?; mon. of both coins Sa; wt. of No. 1, 146; of No. 2, 145; gold rich, but workmanship inferior (*J. A. S. B. XXI, 400; Pl. XII, 9*).

B. M. Pringle; legends and mon. illegible; nothing distinct over horse's head; wt. 136.

B. M. R. S.; *obv.* bird-standard over horse's head; legend ... वज ... 'vaja' ...; mon. 10a; wt. 145; execution fairly good. (*Plate IV, fig. 11*)

I. O., No. 1; *obv.*, three dots over horse's head; legend lost; *rev.* well executed; legend 'Sri Prākāpācho-vaḥ'?; mon. 13; wt. 145.8. (*Plate IV, fig. 12*.)

I. O. No. 2; *obv.* bird-standard over horse's head; legend न [ or दे ] वजसत; *rev.* legend as in No. 1; mon. three-pronged, imperfect; wt. 146.2.

A. C.; 2 specimens, no details stated.

It is difficult to decide on the attribution of these coins. The Bharsar specimens formed part of a hoard of exclusively Gupta coins, and the type resembles the mintages of Chandra Gupta II and Kumāra

Gupta, the only kings of the imperial Gupta line who issued Horseman obverses. The inferior workmanship of these coins, presumptive, is not *conclusive* evidence of late date, because the best doubted Gupta coins exhibit many degrees of excellence in execution. The title on the reverse has been read by K. P. Prakash, 'Prakāsa,' and by Wilson as 'Śrī Prakrama' or 'Prakīrti'. Cunningham informs me that he reads the name as 'Prakāsa' and that a name resembling any of these forms is a known title of any of the Gupta kings, but the coins might, nevertheless, belong to one of them, for there is no reason to suppose that we have yet discovered all the titles used by those princes. 'Śrī Mahendra' was for a long time regarded as a separate individual, but there is now no doubt that he is the same as Kumāra Gupta; and it is almost equally certain that the name Bakra Gupta, which appears on certain silver coins, is intended for Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya, or Vikramā. The direction in which the horseman is proceeding gives no clue, for left and right horsemen occur both in Kumāra's and Chandra Gupta's coins. The word 'vijaya' which seems to form part of the obverse legend of the coins in question is found on the Midnapur specimen of Kumāra's Horseman to Left type, but does not occur on any coin of Chandra Gupta II. The average weight, 145.6, affords the strongest argument for a comparatively late date, inasmuch as it agrees closely with the weight of the coins of Nāra Gupta Báláditya, and the other imitators of the imperial Gupta coinage. On the whole, I am disposed to think that these Lion and Horseman coins were struck during the fourth century A. D. by some prince who ruled in the eastern dominions of the Guptas not long after the death of Skanda Gupta, but the question of their proper attribution must remain open pending further discoveries and investigation. It is not improbable that Prakāśāditya was one of the dynasty mentioned in the Apsar inscription, the princes of which seem to have been descendants of the imperial Gupta family.

CONTENTS  
OF THE  
PLATES OF COINS.

Plate II.

| Fig. | Reign.            | Type and Variety.         | Reference.                         |
|------|-------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1    | Ghaṭotkacha.      | Solar Standard            | B. M., Prinsep.                    |
| 2    | Chandra Gupta I.  | King and Queen            | " purchased.                       |
| 3    | Samudra Gupta.    | Javelin, var. 1           | " Prinsep.                         |
| 4    | " "               | " " 3                     | " ( <i>obv. only.</i> )            |
| 5    | " "               | " " 4                     | " ( <i>ditto.</i> )                |
| 6    | " "               | Archer, " a               | " Eden.                            |
| 7    | " "               | Lyrist                    | " ditto                            |
| 8    | " "               | "                         | I. O.                              |
| 9    | " "               | Aśwamedha                 | B. M., Eden.                       |
| 10   | " "               | Tiger.                    | "                                  |
| 11   | " "               | Boy and Battle-axe var. a | " Bush.                            |
| "    | " "               | " " " " β                 | " ( <i>obv. only.</i> )            |
| 13   | Chandra Gupta II. | Couch                     | "                                  |
| 14   | " " "             | Archer, class 1 β         | I. O. No. 8; ( <i>obv. only.</i> ) |

Plate III.

|    |                       |                        |                                 |
|----|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1  | Chandra Gupta II      | Archer, class II a     | B. M., Eden.                    |
| 2  | " " "                 | " " " β                | I. O., No. 9.                   |
| 3  | " " "                 | " " " δ                | " " No. 1 ( <i>obv. only.</i> ) |
| 4  | " " "                 | Lancer, var. a         | B. M. Prinsep, No. 1.           |
| 5  | " " "                 | Lion-Trampler, var. a  | " " Swiney, No. 5.              |
| 6  | " " "                 | Combatant Lion         | " " " No. 4.                    |
| 7  | " " "                 | Retreating Lion        | B. M.                           |
| 8  | " " "                 | Swordsman and Umbrella | " " Eden.                       |
| 9  | Kumára Gupta Mahendra | Swordsman              | " " Prinsep.                    |
| 10 | " " "                 | Archer, class I a      | " " Eden.                       |
| 11 | " " "                 | " , class II           | I. O. ( <i>obv. only.</i> )     |
| 12 | " " "                 | Horseman to Right, γ   | B. M., Bush.                    |
| 13 | " " "                 | " " Left.              | " " No. 1.                      |

## Plate IV.

| Fig. | Reign.                     | Type and Variety.      | Reference.        |
|------|----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1    | Kumára Gupta Ma-<br>hendra | Peacock, var. $\alpha$ | B. M., Lind.      |
| 2    | " " "                      | " " $\beta$            | I. O.             |
| 3    | " " "                      | Combatant Lion         | " "               |
| 4    | Skanda Gupta               | Archer                 | " " No. 2.        |
| 5    | " "                        | King and Queen         | B. M.             |
| 6    | Indo-Seythian              | Shan̄dhi branch        | " "               |
| 7    | Chandra Gupta ?            | Archer                 | " " Marsden MLVI. |
| 8    | Kumára " ?                 | "                      | " " P. Knight.    |
| 9    | Skanda " ?                 | "                      | " " Prinsep.      |
| 10   | Nára "                     | "                      | " " Yeames.       |
| 11   | Prakásáditya               | Lion and Horseman      | " " R. S.         |
| 12   | "                          | " " "                  | I. O. No. 1.      |

## ADDENDUM.

Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac's unique coin of Kumára Gupta Mahendra was accidentally omitted from the Catalogue. The coin was bought at Mathura.

*Obv.* King standing to front, between two standing female bird-standard over king's right shoulder. To left of king कुमार 'Kumára,' written vertically; on right of king General Cunningham reads 'Gupta,' but the word seemed to me doubtful. Marginal legend illegible.

*Rev.* Goddess on lotus-flower seat, as usual. Legend श्री प्रतापः, 'Sri Pratápaḥ.' The legend seems to me to be perfectly un-mistakeable; it is legible even in the poor woodcut of the coin in Proc. A. S. B. Nov. 1883, p. 144. Monogram.

I regard the two female figures as probably intended for the king's consorts, and I have therefore called the type the Two Queens. Dr. Hoernle's suggestion that the central obverse figure is meant for Buddha seems to be quite inadmissible.

The weight of the coin is not stated. The title 'Pratápa is now.'

*A Paper on the Medals known as Ramtinkis.*—By J. GIBBS, F. R. G. S.,

M. R. A. S., V. P. B. A. S.

(With Plate No. VI.)

In the note I read before the Society in April last on Ramtinkis, I intimated my intention of writing at greater length as soon as I could collect more materials. Since then I have been home and visited the British Museum and made inquiries there, and also from collectors of Indian coins, including Sir Walter Elliot, but regret that I have not been able to add much to the information I already possessed. I unfortunately missed General Pearce who had been for some time in Southern India, and who had made a collection of these medals—but from what I have since heard from Dr. Bidie, I do not think his collection will be found to differ much from my own. Dr. Da Cunha in Bombay has obtained some six or eight, but they all, save one, resemble some of my own specimens, the exception is a small and very much worn specimen which from the hurried glance I was obliged to be contented with, seemed different from any I had met with; it was about an inch or an inch and an eighth in diameter, cup-shaped, but so rubbed that it was almost impossible to make out what was on it. I have since then had four sent me for inspection only, by my friend Rao Bahadur Trimulrao Venkatesh from Dharwar; one of these is a half and the other three are quarter Ramtinkis; they all are of a similar description to the electrotype from Mysore, No. 5 in plate VI; the three quarter pieces were all alike, but two in such good condition as the third. The following list will show those I have, together with some other varieties I have met with—their weights, diameters, and, in the case of those engraved—the plate and number.

| No. | Description. | Quality of Gold.    | Reverse.                        | Owner.                           | Diameter in inches. | Weight in grains. | Plate.            |
|-----|--------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1   | Double.      | Good.               | Plain.                          | J. P. Watson                     | 2½                  | 1,485             | Pl. VI.<br>No. 2. |
| 2   | Whole.       | Pale, silver alloy. | Plain.                          | J. Gibbs                         | 2                   | 696               |                   |
| 3   | "            | Very good.          | Hanumán in a rectangular space. | "                                | 1½                  | 690               |                   |
| 4   | Half.        | Pale, silver alloy. | Plain.                          | Bombay Branch R. Asiatic Society | 1½                  | 364               |                   |
| 5   | "            | Good.               | Hanumán nearly effaced.         | Name unknown                     | 1½                  | 349               |                   |
| 6   | Quarter.     | Pale, silver alloy. | Plain.                          | J. Gibbs                         | 1¼                  | 180               |                   |

| No. | Description. | Quality of Gold.    | Reverse.                                                                      | Owner.         | Diameter in inches. | Weight in grains. | Plate.     |
|-----|--------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 7   | Quarter.     | Pale, silver alloy. | Plain.                                                                        | J. Gibbs       | 1 $\frac{1}{8}$     | 160               |            |
| 8   | "            | Pale.               | Hanumán.                                                                      | "              | 1                   | 166               | Pl. No. 4. |
| 9   | "            | Very good.          | Hanumán.                                                                      | "              | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$     | 160               | " No. 3.   |
| 10  | "            | Good.               | Hanumán.                                                                      | "              | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$     | 196               | " No. 1.   |
| 11  | "            | "                   | Hanumán.                                                                      | "              | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$     | 193               | " No. 6.   |
| 12  | "            | "                   | Seated Hanumán in double $\Delta$ in $\bigcirc$ and $\square$ with ornaments. | Name unknown   | 1                   | 159               |            |
| 13  | "            | Electrotype.        | Hanumán.                                                                      | Mysore Museum. | 1 $\frac{1}{8}$     | ...               | " No. 5.   |

In Southern India these medals are thus distinguished—

(1.) The whole, or 'Ramtinki Varáha', supposed to be 4 tolas in weight or 720 grains.

(2.) The half or Ramtinki Pratápa, supposed to be 2 tolas in weight or 360 grains.

(3.) The quarter or Ramtinki Dharana, supposed to be 1 tola in weight or 180 grains.

In the following descriptions *obv.* stand for the concave; *rev.* for the convex or back.

No. 1. *Obv.* DOUBLE. Two divisions. *Upper.* Ráma seated with Sítá on his left, umbrella-bearer on his right. Two figures to Sítá's left; sun and moon over Ráma's head; remains of a figure to umbrella-bearer's right and traces of arabesque border.

*Below.* Hanumán in the middle, facing right, traces of a figure to his left; to his right three monkeys, very indistinct. Very coarse work and much rubbed.

*Rev.* Nothing visible. *Much worn.*

No. 2. *Obv.* WHOLE. Four rows of figures. In uppermost Ráma with Sítá to his left. Other figures on both sides but very indistinct. The three other rows contain monkeys; in the centre of the second row Hanumán kneels below Sítá.

*Rev.* Plain.

*This specimen has been much rubbed and battered about having been used for many years in temple worship (see below).*

No. 3. *Obv.* WHOLE. Two rows of figures. *Upper.* Ráma in centre, on his left a standing figure which from

the dress may be Sitá, two more figures, males, to her left; on right of Ráma umbrella-bearer and two other figures. Sun, moon and stars above the figures, an arabesque border and a dotted one above it. *Lower.* Hanumán kneeling on right centre, facing left, a monkey on left centre and figures of men flanking both.

*Rev.* Hanumán standing in centre of a circle which is surrounded with double squares interlaced, which are again enclosed as a circle. Scroll ornaments fill in the interstices. (Pl. VI, No. 2.)

*The work is rather poor, but the medal is in good preservation.*

No. 4. *Obv.* HALF. Three rows in the style of No. 3, but very indistinct.

*Rev.* Plain.

*This has been much rubbed. The late Mr. W. E. Frere, C. M. G. procured it about 35 years ago in the Southern Mahratta country.*

No. 5. *Obv.* HALF. Two divisions, *Upper.* Ráma in centre with Sitá on his left knee. Two figures to her left, the first with a chauri, three figures on the right of Ráma, the nearest holding umbrella. These figures appear as set in a frame with arabesque border at the top. *Lower,* parts of four figures on right of centre. Two, a monkey and a bear on left.

*Rev.* The faintest remains of Hanumán, much rubbed.

*This was sent me for inspection only from Dharwar.*

No. 6. *Obv.* QUARTER. Same design as last, but only one row of figures.

*Rev.* Plain.

*Very much rubbed; similar in work to Nos. 5, 7, 13.*

No. 7. *Obv.* QUARTER. *As* the last, but position of figures slightly different, more like No. 13.

No. 8. *Obv.* QUARTER. Ráma and Sitá seated on a throne. She on his left. Three figures to her left and four to his right, the first on the left has the umbrella and the first on the right the chowri. Arabesque ornament on edge. Moon and sun over Ráma. Below them in *exergue* Hanumán, under Ráma, and apparently 3 Balbodh letters, but not legible.

*Rev.* Hanumán standing, surrounded by, apparently, an inscription, but the letters cannot be read.

*This is very nearly flat—(Pl. VI, No. 4).*

- No. 9. *Obv.* QUARTER. Resembles *obv.* of No. 3.  
*Rev.* Hanumán in middle standing in a circle, an inscription round, but not readable.
- No. 10. *Obv.* QUARTER. *Upper portion.* Ráma seated on a throne, with Sítá on his right, he has his right arm raised. Three monkeys on his left. Four men on right, the nearest holding the umbrella. Arabesque border. In *exergue* 2 lines of apparently Balbodh letters but imperfectly formed. It has been suggested that they may be intended for

|      |    |    |     |    |     |
|------|----|----|-----|----|-----|
| श्री | रा | म  | प्र | स  | न   |
| Srí  | Rá | ma | pra | sa | nna |
|      | १  | ९  | १   |    |     |
|      | 1  | 9  | 1   |    |     |

- “Srí Ráma prasanna ... .. 191  
 “May Ráma bless” or “be propitious” ... 191
- Rev.* Hanumán standing in a square within a circle, holding a club with its knob downwards, an inscription in imitation Nagari letters but from which nothing can be made out. (Pl. VI, No. 1.)
- No. 11. *Obv.* QUARTER. Similar in style to last, but figures reversed, Sítá and four men on Ráma's left who has his left hand raised. Umbrella as usual, on right three monkeys. Hanumán very small at Ráma's feet. In *exergue*, bastard Nagari letters not readable.
- Rev.* Hanumán as in the last, letters on the sides of the parallelogram and outside the circle, but not readable. (Pl. VI, No. 6.)
- No. 12. *Obv.* QUARTER. Ráma with Sítá on his left knee, three figures on each side, on Sítá's left, umbrella-bearer, a man, a monkey; on Ráma's right the chowri-bearer, a man, a bear, in *exergue* 4 letters illegible. Florid ornamentation over Ráma.
- Rev.* Hanumán seated in middle in a double triangle in a circle and that again in squares, ornaments of dots and marks in the corners all enclosed in another circle.
- No. 13. *Obv.* QUARTER. Ráma and Sita. Three men to his right, two to her left. Grotesque monkeys below.
- Rev.* Hanumán with an illegible inscription round him. Very imperfect. (Pl. VI, No. 5.)

*This is an electrotype from one in the Mysore Museum.*

The story on them all, illustrated to a greater or less degree, is that of Ráma and Sítá, on their reconciliation and her having proved her purity after being seized and taken off to Lanka by Rávana, and is taken from the Rámáyana. The rows of figures are composed of men and monkeys, the latter forming part of the army of Hanumán by whose means Sítá was rescued. In all the large ones, Hanumán is represented standing or kneeling in the centre of the row below Ráma and Sítá, and holding up a flower to them: in the smaller, he alone sits just below Ráma and his consort. Sítá in some is represented on Ráma's lap, in others seated by him on the *gadi*; the attendants have chowries and the umbrella. The monkey in the same row with Ráma and Sítá is Sugriva the king of that tribe to whom Hanumán was adviser. In some the figure of a bear appears; this is intended to represent Jámbavat, the king of the bears, who with his army also aided Ráma in his attack on Lanká.

As none of these medals have any dates or any legible inscriptions, the determination of their age becomes a matter of great difficulty. From all I have been able to learn these pieces were never used as coins. At first, finding that there were 3 sorts, whole, half, and quarter Ramtinkis, and that the weight of each sort was in correct proportion to the others, I was inclined to think they might have been coins, but I have now come to the conclusion that they are medals struck apparently for purely religious purposes. They are highly venerated in Southern India and most families of respectability there have one or more; they are also kept in temples and used in the daily worship. They have been known for very many years, and in the absence of any actual evidence of their date I have been led to seek for any traditions which may exist, and the following has come to me from a trustworthy source.

In about the 9th century A. D., there flourished a famous Reformer of the Saiva sect named Sankarácharya, who travelled about the country chiefly in Southern India and founded '*maths*' or hermitages in various places; amongst others at Sringeri near the source of the Toombudra river, Koodalji in the Holehonor Taluka of the Seomoga division, in the Mysore territory, Sunkeshwar in the Chikkodee Taluka of the Belgaum Collectorate, Humpi in the Hospet Taluka of the Bellary District, and some in Gujarat, one of which was I believe in Surat. In the course of time the subordinate Swamis became independent, and some of them very rich. The last Swami but one of Koodalji was one of these, and had a gold throne on which he sat to receive his disciples and followers. It was customary among these followers to make large gifts to the shrine, in which were idols, images of Ráma, Krishna, Siva, &c., which, as well as the apparatus for performing the worship, were

made of gold or silver—and part of the worship consisted in bathing the idols daily in milk, curds, ghi, sugar, honey, fruits, and then in water, after which they were bathed in gold, which is done by pouring over them handfuls of gold coins such as Ramtinkis, Huns and other Hindu coins; these coins are kept specially for this use and are deemed to be sacred, and although as a favour they may be shown to Europeans, none can touch them but the priests.

I do not know how it came about, but the later Swamis at Koodalji lost much of their property, and during the famine of 1876-77 disposed of the remainder of these treasures, and amongst other things mortgaged three Ramtinkis—which according to tradition had been handed down from Swami to Swami from the foundation of the '*math*' in the 9th or 10th century A. D.—to a banker, with the stipulation that if not redeemed within six months they should become his property: the time elapsed, and a year or so after my old friend Rao Bahadur Trimulrao, who was connected by marriage with the banker, heard of them and purchased them for me. They are those numbered 2, 6, 7 in the above list. They have been much knocked about from temple use, the large one especially; they are highly alloyed with silver, and are in consequence very pale in colour. The largest is a whole Ramtinki and has rather the look of having been cast, not struck. Nos. 6 and 7 are quarters and one of them is almost exactly similar to the electrotype from the Mysore Museum, specimen No. 13.

If we can trust the tradition above alluded to, these medals may be 800 or 900 years old, and the similarity between No. 6 and No. 13 would point to an early date also for the original of the latter.

With regard to the other varieties, I can form no opinion as to their real age, but I am inclined to consider all but No. 8 modern, that is not over 100 to 150 years; one exactly resembling No. 6 was shown me by a Brâhman in Poona, who said he knew it had been worshipped in his family for over 70 years, and might have been for a far longer time.

The large double one No. 1 is of very coarse work, but of pretty fair gold, it is much rubbed and belongs to Mr. J. P. Watson in Bombay.

I classify the medals I have met with in 3 descriptions:

- a. Those of very pale gold heavily alloyed with silver.
- $\beta$ . Those of pure gold or nearly so with very fine work.
- $\gamma$ . Those of pretty good gold and coarser work.

Under a come Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7

„  $\beta$  „ Nos. 3, 9,

„  $\gamma$  „ Nos. 15, 10, 11, 12

No. 8 varies from all, being of pale gold but fine work.

From the many inquiries I have made from natives regarding these medals, I have invariably found that they consider the paler gold the more ancient.

When I was in Poona some 6 or 7 years ago, the chief Sankarāchārya passed through on one of his religious tours, and hearing that he had with him a remarkable Ramtinki I paid him a visit; he was a particularly pleasant spoken gentlemanly person, and had his gold shrine set with rubies and emeralds valued at 2 lacs of Rupees erected for my inspection, and also many of the jewels of his 'toshakhana' set out; on my asking for the Ramtinki, a priest produced a box wrapped in several covers, and after opening cover after cover a bundle was taken out in which on being opened, appeared the Ramtinki; the priest took it in his hand and held it for me to look at, and it was very like No. 2 in the above list, but I think rather larger, and had 5 rows of figures; it was of pale gold and remarkably deeply cup-shaped, it had evidently been much used and was therefore rubbed and knocked about. I could not get its weight or its diameter; so I had to trust to my eye to assess them.

Dr. Bidie of Madras has sent me drawings of several in the Madras Museum.

The following is a description of them:

No. 1. *Obv.* WHOLE. *Flat. Upper.* Rāma and Sitā seated with six figures in two rows on each side. *Lower.* Hanumān in middle standing, indistinct figures on each side of him.

*Rev.* 2 Interlaced squares with ornaments in the interstices with a lozenge-shaped centre, round which appear unformed letters. The subject in the lozenge is not traceable. Wt. 677·3 grs. Diam.  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. Madras Museum.

No. 2. *Obv.* QUARTER. *Flat.* Two figures on a platform in the middle, umbrella over them, a figure on left with a Lion rampant below it, ornaments and apparently letters.

*Rev.* *Upper.* Eight figures in a row, each holding a lance with a wreath or a torch on it.

*Lower.* Marks which are said to resemble part of the Muhammadan creed and the word "Sindhya." Wt. 189·2 grs. Diam.  $1\frac{5}{16}$  in. Madras Museum. *Very rude work.*

No. 3. *Obv.* QUARTER. *Flat.* Much the same as *obv.* of No. 2, no lion but a monkey on left.

- Rev.* Four figures on a platform with their left hands raised, an umbrella in centre, arabesque border. Wt. 160.4 grs. Diam. 1 inch. Madras Museum. J. Gibbs.
- No. 4. *Obv.* WHOLE. Very similar to that of Pl. VI, No. 2.
- Rev.* Hanumán standing in a circle which is enclosed in interlaced squares with ornaments in corners. Wt. 662.7 grs. Diam.  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in. Madras Museum.
- No. 5. *Obv.* DOUBLE (?) Somewhat similar to No. 4, but work rather more in relief.
- Rev.* 5 lines of what appear to be unreadable letters divided by bands of ornament. This belongs to a banker at Vellore, who gives its weight at 30 pagodas: a pagoda is said in the money tables to weigh  $52\frac{1}{2}$  grs., if this is correct the piece must weigh  $52\frac{1}{2} \times 30 = 1,575$  grs. or more than double a single Ramtinki.

Nos. 2 and 3 of these are not in my opinion Ramtinkis, they are, I believe, specimens of the modern medals struck at some of the great places of pilgrimage in Southern India. One similar to No. 2 was described and depicted in the Proceedings of this Society for 1882, having been exhibited by General Pearce. I have one which resembles No. 3, having only four figures on one side, but having on the other two standing figures on a sort of dais with a man on the right and a monkey on the left.

I have seen several of this latter description: they are of very inferior workmanship, and of no pretensions to age. Mr. Scott at Tanjore showed me one he had, and I have seen another in the possession of a native gentleman at Calcutta, who looked upon it as an object of great veneration, and paid a very large sum for it. It has the same device as No. 3, but was of even rougher work and exactly similar to Mr. Scott's.

I must not conclude this paper without alluding to Marsden's notice of these medals. He appears only to have seen quarter Ramtinkis and those in the illustration in Pl. XLVIII are of the ordinary descriptions. These, as all his other coins, are now in the British Museum, where, until the Chief of Vinchore, at my suggestion, sent home a whole Ramtinki, they had none but quarters in the collection, the one sent home was a duplicate of No. 2 in Plate VI.

I consider these medals to have been struck as votive offerings, their weight varying perhaps in accordance with the wealth or status of the donor or donee. I regret I have not been able to get more accurate information regarding them, but I trust that this article with its illustrations may lead to the Society or myself obtaining further information on the subject.

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*On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar.*—By JOHN BEAMES,  
B. C. S. (With a Map.)

No. I. Subah Avadh (Oudh).

The object of this series of papers is to reconstruct as far as possible the map of the Mughal empire at the time of the first great settlement of the financial and political administration effected in A. D. 1582 by Rájá Todar Mal.

The details of this important operation—the basis of all subsequent settlements—are preserved to us in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the Persian text of which has been fixed and published by the late Professor Blochmann. He did not live long enough to translate the whole work, and as the valuable notes which he had collected for the second volume, (in which the details of Todar Mal's settlement are given), have been lost; the greater portion of the work has to be done over again. The continuation of the translation has been entrusted by the Society to other hands, and I therefore refrain from encroaching on that ground. But I presume there is no objection to my extracting from the Persian text such details as are necessary for my purpose and supplying such comments as may be required for their elucidation. There is room for many workers in the vast and as yet imperfectly explored mine of the *Ain*. On the present occasion I shall confine myself to geography, reserving for a larger work on which I am engaged references to the Muhammadan historians and other authorities.

The dominions which Akbar either ruled, or claimed to rule, were divided, as we learn from the *Ain*, into twelve provinces, to which His Majesty gave the name of *Súbahs*. These were

|           |            |           |         |
|-----------|------------|-----------|---------|
| Iláhábád. | Ajmír.     | Bangálah. | Láhor.  |
| Agrah.    | Ahmadábád. | Dihlí.    | Multán. |
| Avadh.    | Bihár.     | Kábul.    | Málwah. |

to which were subsequently added three more, *viz.* :—

|        |           |             |
|--------|-----------|-------------|
| Birár. | Khándesh. | Ahmadnagar. |
|--------|-----------|-------------|

making a total of fifteen.

Abul Fazl gives a chapter to each Subah, and takes them in geographical order, beginning with Bangálah (Bengal) in the extreme east, and going westwards. I have departed from this order for the following reasons.

The Subah of Bangálah is by far the largest of all, and as it was not at the time of Todar Mal's settlement actually under the sway of the

Dehli emperor, the details given in the *Ain* are less full than those of other Subahs. Moreover, owing to various causes which I need not explain in this place, the changes that have occurred since the sixteenth century are more numerous and perplexing than in any part of India. For Bengal we have some of Blochmann's work, a general sketch of the extent and position of the nineteen sarkáirs, and detailed identification of two or three of them.\* I am now engaged in working out the rest, but I am not yet quite ready with Bengal, and though I have received much assistance from the Collectors of the various districts—which I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging—I fear some time must elapse before the whole sarkár will be fully reconstructed.

Bihár was not undertaken by Blochmann, but I have nearly finished my identification, and hope to publish it shortly.

Iláhábád, Agrah, Dihli and all those parts of Subahs which were included in the North West Provinces in 1844 have been worked out by Sir H. Elliot and may be found at Vol. II, p. 82 of his *Races of the N. W. P.* (my edition) and those parts left untouched by him I am now working out.

Under these circumstances I have thought it better to begin with Oudh, as I have been able to complete my work on that Subah. Oudh was not British territory when Elliot wrote, and he has therefore omitted it from his lists, with the exception of Gorakhpur, which has all along formed part of the N. W. P.

The materials which I have used are chiefly the reports of the recent settlements of the various districts, supplemented by much valuable information scattered here and there in the *Oudh Gazetteer*. The settlement reports being official publications are not generally accessible to the learned public either in India or Europe, they contain much curious and useful information, and in respect of the old names of estates and parganahs give data not usually procurable, being derived from local tradition, the histories of the great families, and the records preserved by the Kánúngoos or fiscal recorders, an office founded by the Mughal Emperors and which has survived to our own times. I have thought it might be serviceable to students to publish in the Society's Journal material at present, virtually buried in the Settlement Reports, and to bring together into one general view the scattered notices to be found in the *Gazetteer*. The accompanying map is an attempt at making our knowledge of the subject precise and definite.

\* See his articles on the Geography and History of Bengal in *J. A. S. B.* Vol. XLII, p. 209; Vol. XLIII, p. 280; Vol. XLIV, p. 275 and in Appendix to Hunter's *Statistical Account of the 24 Parganas District*.

## I. Sarkar Avadh.\*

- 21 mahals. Area 2,796,206 bighas 19 biswas. Revenue 40,956,347  
dams naḳdī, 1,680,247 dams sayurghāl.  
Castes various. 1,340 cavalry, 23 elephants,  
31,700 infantry.
- Avadh bá haveli. 6 mahals. 38,249*b.* 17*b.* 2,008,366*d.* 1,58,741*s.*  
Brahmans and Kunbis. 50 horse, 500 foot.
2. Ambodhá. Has a fort of burnt brick 2,82,097 bighas, 1,298,724*d.*  
7,318*s.* Bais. 30 horse, 700 foot.
3. Ibrahimábád. 19,338*b.* 8*b.* 445,417*d.* 103,806*s.* Ansáris.
4. Inhoná. Has a fort of burnt brick. 74,090*b.* 126,847*d.* Chau-  
hans recently converted to Islam (nau mus-  
lim). 100 horse, 2000 foot.
5. Pachchhimráth. 289,085*b.* 4,247,104*d.* 38,885*s.* Rajputs of the  
Báchhil and Gahlot clans 20 horse, 500 foot.
6. Bilahri. Has a fort of burnt brick. 15,859*b.* 815,831*d.* Bach-  
gotis. 50 horse, 2000 foot.
7. Basodhí. 31,188*b.* 505,473*d.* 1,500*s.* Bachgotis. 20 horse, 500  
foot.
8. Thána Bhadánw. 8,703*b.* 2*b.* 427,509*d.* 36,172*s.* Bachgotis.  
1000 foot.
9. Bakṭahá. 44,401*b.* 385,008*d.* 3,960*s.* Bachgotis. 500 foot.
10. Daryábád. Has a fort of burnt brick. 487,014*b.* 5,369,521*d.*  
226,871*s.* Rajputs of the Chauhán and  
Raikwar clans. 100 horse. 2000 foot.
11. Rudauli. Fort of burnt brick. 351,533*b.* 3,248,680*d.* 249,083*s.*  
Chauhán and Bais Rajputs. 50 horse, 2000  
foot.
12. Sailak. Fort of burnt brick. 571,071*b.* 4,723,209*d.* 200,945*s.*  
Raikwár Rajputs. 100 horse, 2000 foot.
13. Sultánpúr. Fort of burnt brick. 75,893*b.* 3,832,530*d.* 98,967*s.*  
Bachgotis. 300 horse, 8 elephants, 7000  
foot.
14. Sátanpúr. Fort of burnt brick. 80,154*b.* 1,600,741*d.* 109,788*s.*  
Bais converted to Islam Bachgotis, Joshis  
(?). 300 horse, 4000 foot.
15. Sabihah. 104,780*b.* 1,609,293*d.* 87,200*s.* Rajputs. 30 horse,  
1000 foot.
16. Sarwápáli. 58,170*b.* 1,210,335*d.* 48,107*s.* Bachgotis. 1000 foot.

\* Translated from the Persian text of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's Ed. Vol.

17. Satrikh. 37,041*b.* 11,26,295*d.* 92,695*s.* Ansáris. 20 horse, 1000 foot.
18. Gúárichh. 79,158*b.* 3,773,417*d.* 3,782*s.* Raikwárs. 50 horse, 1,070, foot.
19. Kishní. Fort of burnt brick, 25,674*b.* 1,339,286*d.* 123,847*s.* Rájputs, 3 elephants. 1,500 foot.
20. Mangalsí. 116,401*b.* 1,360,753*d.* 86,504*s.* Sombansis. 2000 foot.
21. Naipur. 5,997*b.* 308,788*d.* 2,945*s.* Castes various. 500 foot.

[NOTE. In the above list the name of the mahal (*i. q.* parganah) comes first, then the cultivated area in bighas and biswas. Next the revenue in dams (40 = 1 akbarshahi rupee) then the "sayúrghál" or rent-free lands;\* then the prevailing caste or clan of the inhabitants, and the contingent of troops both horse and foot. The abbreviations are explained by this note.]

Of these 21 mahals those numbered 1, 4, 5, 7, 10, 15, 17, 18, 20, are still in existence under the same names and probably with nearly the same boundaries as in Akbar's time.

The following require some explanation.

2. Amboðhá, now written Amorha, is on the left bank of the Ghogra and is now in the district of Basti in the N. W. Provinces. In the Gonda S. R.† p. 11 it is said to have included Bámhanpáir, but this is a mistake as "Bambhanpárah" occurs in the Aín as one of the mahals of Sarkár Gorakhpur. Amboðhá, however, appears to have included the southern part of the present parganah of Nawábganj on the left bank of the Ghogra facing the city of Añodhya.

3. Ibrahimábád is now only a village in parganah Satrikh. O. G. ii. 85.

6. Bilahri is now the northern portion of parganah Sultanpúr and is called Baraunsa, see below No. 13.

8. Appears to be now known as Tappah Asl. O. G. iii. 457 where there is a partial reconstruction of this and some other sarkars taken from the Sultanpúr S. R. by Mr. A. F. Millett, C. S. I have followed this officer's guidance almost entirely, as far as it goes.

9. Bakthá is not traceable. Mr. Millett says it is now Baksaha in Bára Banki district, but this latter is not mentioned either in the Bara Banki S. R. (which is meagre on this subject) or in the O. G.

11. Rudauli is still in existence but is smaller than in Akbar's time, when it included the present Khandansá parganah to the south-east.

\* See Blochmann's Translation of the Aín, p. 268.

† S. R. stands for Settlement Report, O. G. for *Oudh Gazetteer*.

12. Sailak presents some difficulty. In O. G. i. 92, it is said to have comprised the present parganahs of Bado Sarái, Ramnagar and Muham-madpur, as well as a tract described as Lálpur-Rámpúr-Mathurá, which probably is on the tongue of land at the junction of the Ghogra and Chauká rivers now in South Kundri parganah. But if this is correct it is difficult to understand where to put the Bhitauli parganah of Sarkár Lakhnau. Either Sailak must have consisted of two parts, one (Bado Sarai) lying to the south of Bhitauli, and another consisting of the remaining parganahs to the north of it, or else Bhitauli must have been cut in two by Sailak. In the map I have adopted the latter supposition which seems more in accordance with the history. The two parganahs of Bhitauli and Sailak are, however, very much mixed up throughout the Muham-madan period, indeed they are occasionally spoken of as identical, and I shall be glad if any local officer will throw some light on the subject. Unfortunately the author of the Bára Banki S. R. omits all historical and geographical details, and the *Gazetteer* does not supply the omission. The portion of this Subah which is included in Bára Banki is consequently the most difficult of all to restore.

13. Sultánpúr was that part of the present parganah of that name which lies on the right bank of the Gumti, that part which is on the left bank was formerly known as Bilahri (see No. 6) a name which includes also Baraunsá. The southern portion is known as Sultánpúr Miránpúr or Kathot, a name not found in the Aín.

14. Sátánpur and Kishni (No. 19) now compose parganah Jagdispúr Sultánpúr district.

16. Sarwápáli is now Amsin in Faizábad district.

19. See No. 14.

21. I cannot find this place. Mr. Millett in his valuable reconstruction of this Sarkár has omitted Nos. 20 and 21. In O. G. i. 462 it is said to be the same as Itifátganj, but the position of this place is not indicated.

Three modern parganahs in this part of the country (Bára Banki again!) are obscure.

i. Mawái Maholárá. This seems from O. G. ii. 494 to have been created out of parts of Rudauli and Basóphi, and I have accordingly in the map divided it between them.

ii. Surajpúr. Lies between Daryábád of Sarkár Audh and Sid-dhaur of Sarkár Lakhnau. In the O. G. in two places (iii. 332, and iii 447) it is said to have been in existence under that name in the time of Akbar, but it does not occur in the Aín. It appears to have been included under Daryábád and I have while waiting for further information shewn it so in the map.

iii. Partárganj. This is admittedly a modern parganah, and I have

included it under Satrikh, the area of which seems to be considerably smaller now than it was under Akbar.

The Sarkár of Avadh or Audh, as thus reconstructed, was a tolerably compact tract of about 90 miles in length lying principally on the right bank of the Chanká and Ghogra, but including also a strip of varying width on the left or northern bank of the latter. The breadth varies very much, and owing to the want of details for Bára Banki cannot be exactly stated. At its north-western end it is much mixed up with parts of Sarkárs Lakhnau and Bahráich, and two detached portions of the former Sarkár, one consisting of parganah Siddhaur, the other of parganahs Isauli and Garh Amethi, are included in it on its south-western side. On the south it marches with Sarkárs Mánikpur and Jaunpúr of the Subah of Iláhábád.

In the endeavour to depict accurately the exterior and interior boundaries I have felt this difficulty that though parganahs bearing the same names as these in the Aín are still extant, it is far from certain that the boundaries were the same as now. The areas given in the Aín only refer to cultivated land, and the exact size of Akbar's bigha is somewhat uncertain. The map can therefore only claim to be an approximation, though probably a very close approximation, to the actual facts of A. D. 1582.

## II. Sarka'r Gorakhpu'r.

|                          |                      |                  |                      |                     |                     |                |              |           |
|--------------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|
| Twenty-four mahals.      | 244,283 <i>b.</i>    | 13 <i>b.</i>     | 11,926,790 <i>d.</i> | 51,235 <i>s.</i>    | Castes various.     | 1,010 horse,   | 22,000 foot. |           |
| 1. Atranlá.              | Fort of burnt brick. | 32,052 <i>b.</i> | 1,397,367 <i>d.</i>  | 6,935 <i>s.</i>     | Afghan Miánas.      | 50 horse,      | 1,500 foot.  |           |
| 2. Anhaulá.              |                      | 4,114 <i>b.</i>  | 17 <i>b.</i>         | 201,120 <i>d.</i>   | 2,170 <i>s.</i>     | Bisens, horse. | 400 foot.    |           |
| 3. Bináikpúr.            | Fort of burnt brick. | 13,857 <i>b.</i> | 7 <i>b.</i>          | 6,00,000 <i>d.</i>  | Surajbansi Rajputs. | 400 horse,     | 3000 foot.   |           |
| 4. Bámbhanpárah.         |                      | 6,688 <i>b.</i>  | 414,194 <i>d.</i>    | Rájputs.            |                     | 2000 foot.     |              |           |
| 5. Bhanwápárah.          |                      | 3,105 <i>b.</i>  | 15 <i>b.</i>         | 155,900 <i>d.</i>   | Bisens.             | 200 foot.      |              |           |
| 6. Tilpúr.               | Fort of burnt brick. | 9,005 <i>b.</i>  | 17 <i>b.</i>         | 4,00,000 <i>d.</i>  | Surajbansi Rájputs. | 100 horse,     | 2000 foot.   |           |
| 7. Chilúpárah.           | Fort of burnt brick. | 6,036 <i>b.</i>  | 14 <i>b.</i>         | 289,302 <i>d.</i>   | Rájputs.            | 2000 foot.     |              |           |
| 8. Daryápárah.           | Fort of burnt brick. | 31,357 <i>b.</i> | 19 <i>b.</i>         | 1,517,078 <i>d.</i> | 5,967 <i>s.</i>     | Bisens.        | 60 horse,    | 400 foot. |
| 9. Dewápárah and Kotlah. | 2 mahals.            | 16,194 <i>b.</i> | 17 <i>b.</i>         | 717,840 <i>d.</i>   | Bisens.             | 20 horse,      | 2000 foot.   |           |
| 10. Rihlí.               |                      | 33,183 <i>b.</i> | 19 <i>b.</i>         | 1,618,074 <i>d.</i> | 20,873 <i>s.</i>    | Bisen Rájputs. | 1000 foot.   |           |

11. Rasúlpúr and Ghausí. 2 mahals. 4,200*b.* 622,030*d.* Sombansis. 500' foot.
12. Ramgarh and Gaurí. 2 mahals.\* 10,726*b.* 485,943*d.* Sombansis. Included in Bináikpúr.
13. Gorakhpúr bá havekí. Has a fort of burnt brick, on the banks of the river Ráptí. 12,656*b.* 567,385*d.* 3919*s.* Súrajbansis. 40 horse, 200 foot.
14. Kaṭhlá. Fort of burnt brick. 900*b.* 12*b.* 40,000*d.* Bisens. 300 horse, 200. foot.
15. Kihlápárah. Fort of burnt brick. 16,012*b.* 425,845*d.* Bansis (♀) 20 horse, 300 foot.
16. Mahaulí. Fort of burnt brick. 2,523*b.* 617,256*d.* Bisens. 2000 foot.
17. Maṇḍwah. 1,909*b.* 19*b.* 452,321*d.* Sombansis. 20 horse, 500 foot.
18. Maṇḍlah. 1,252*b.* 6*b.* 51,100*d.*
19. Maghar and Ratanpúr. 2 mahals. Fort of burnt brick. 26,062*b.* 1,352,585*d.* 16,771*s.* Bisen and Bais. 2000 foot.

The above list is taken from the Persian text, and differs in some particulars from Elliot's (*Races of N. W. P.* Vol. II, p. 119). It also gives the area and revenue and other details omitted by Elliot. The following remarks are necessary for its elucidation.

1. Atraulá. The correct name is Utraulá or perhaps strictly Uttaraulá. Akbar's parganah includes the modern parganahs of Utraulá, Sadullahnagar and Búrhápárah on the eastern frontier of the Gonda district (*Gonda S. R.* p. 11, *O. G. s. r.* Utraula, iii. 574).

8. Daryápárah is the spelling in the text and no variants are given by Blochmann. The parganah which is still extant is, however, now called Dhuriápárah. In the map I have given the name as it is in the Persian text, which of course might also read Duryápárah as no vowels are given.

9. Dewápárah and Kotlah. So in the text, but Kotlah كوتلاه is an easy and probable mistake for Kohánah كوهانه. The real name appears to be Dewápárah Kuhannah which I have shewn on the map after Elliot's explanation. It covers all the east of the Gorakhpúr district.

10. Rihlí comprises the northern parganahs of Mánkápúr, Mahádewá and Nawárganj. Probably, as suggested under Amorrhá in Sarkar *Audh*, a portion of Nawárganj belonged to that parganah. See *Gonda S. R.* p. 11.

12. Rámgarh and Gauri appear to have included all the forest tract north of the Rapti, the northern parganahs of Balrámpúr and Tulsipúr.

15. Kihlápárah may be, as Elliot suggests, a mistake for Rihlápárah,

an extant parganah. It is no argument against this that to read Rihla-parah would disturb the alphabetical order in which the mahals are given; for I have found a considerable number of such errors in other Subah lists in the Ain.

18. Mandlah cannot be traced.

The remaining mahals of this Sarkar are still extant.

Sarkar Gorakhpur thus stretches from the Gandak to the Ghogra, and includes the modern Districts of Gorakhpur and Basti in the N. W. Provinces and the greater part of Gonda in Andh. The western boundary where it marches with Sarkar Bahraich is however extremely indefinite, and the same may be said of the northern boundary. Even in the present day a very large portion of this tract is covered by dense forests, and this must have been the case to a much greater extent in the sixteenth century. The very small areas given for parganahs which stretch for scores and scores of miles prove this, and historical proofs are not wanting to confirm the impression. Consequently the boundaries of the different mahals in the north of this Sarkar cannot be restored with any approach to accuracy, and I have therefore not attempted to lay them down on the map; this omission is less to be regretted when it is considered that there were certainly no definite boundaries in Todar Mal's time. There were clearings in the forest here and there, which were loosely grouped together under some local name taken from the residence of the Hindu chief or Afghán adventurer who was powerful in those parts. The dominions (if we may use the term) of these chiefs varied constantly as mahals or towns were taken and retaken by contending forces in the petty wars and raids that were constantly going on.

### III. Sarkar Bahra'ich.

- 11 Mahals. Area 18,23,235*b.* 8*b.* 2,41,20,525*d.* 466,482*s.* Castes various. 1170 horse, 14,000 foot.
1. Bahra'ich bá haveli. Fort of burnt brick on the banks of the river Saraü. 697,231*b.* 9,139,141*d.* 402,111*s.* Rajputs. 600 horse 4,500 foot.
  2. Bahrah. 926*b.* 37,135*d.* Kahnah. 500 foot.
  3. Husampur. Fort of burnt brick. 157,415*b.* 3,707,035*d.* 1,601*s.* Raikwars, Bháles and a sept of Bisens. 70 horse, 900 foot.
  4. Dánkdon. 84,436*b.* 440,562*d.* Janwárs. 2,000 foot.
  5. Rajhat. 4,064*b.* 11*b.* 166,780*d.* Janwárs. 1000 foot.
  6. Sanjhauri. 124,810*b.* 877,007*d.* Janwar Rajputs.
  7. Sultánpur. 58,146*b.* 166,001*d.* Janwárs. 700 foot.

8. Fakhrpur. Fort of burnt brick. 191,720*b.* 3,157,876*d.*  
56,035*s.* Raikwárs, 150 horse, 2,000 foot.
9. Firozábád. Fort of burnt brick. 108,601*b.* 1,933,079*d.* 4,107*s.*  
Tanwar Rájputés. 200 horse, 8,000 foot.
10. Kila' Nawágarh. 417,601*b.* 2,140,757*d.* Various castes.  
50 horse, 1,000 foot.
11. Kahronsa. Fort of burnt brick. 28,489*b.* 17*b.* 1,315,051*d.*  
2,628*s.* Bais. 100 horse, 1,000 foot.

All the mahals of this Sarkár are either still extant under their old names, or distinctly traceable. The Settlement Officer of this district Mr. H. S. Boys, C. S. has effected a very complete reconstruction of the Sarkár accompanied by a clear map. I have filled in the boundaries on my own map from those given by Mr. Boys. One or two points, however, call for notice.

1. The figures for area and revenue given in the S. R. do not agree with those in Blochmann's text. Mr. Boys probably worked on Gladwin's translation which is not always correct. I have given the correct figures above. The mahal of Bahráich included the modern parganah of that name, and Akona (except a small portion north-east of the Rapti) all but 133 villages of Naupára, all but the trans-Rapti portion of Char-da and Bhingá this side of the Rapti.

2. Bahrah included the rest of Bhingá and 77 villages now in Nipál.

3. Husámpúr now known as Hisampúr is still extant, but it was larger formerly, including a considerable tract to the south-east now in the Gonda district, while on the north it included some estates now in Fakhrpúr.

4. Dankdon now called Dángdoí (for which دانكدون in Blochmann's text is possibly a copyist's error) comprised the rest of Akona, the rest of Bhingá, and the northern part of Tulsipúr. Its boundaries were probably never very clearly defined.

5. Rajhat is, all but a few villages, now in the Nipal taráí.

6. Sanjhaulí, written by Boys Sijaulí, contained some villages now in Nipál.

7. Sultánpur is an *enclave* in Bahráich and also included a few villages now belonging to Nipál.

10. Kila' Nawágarh. This comprised the modern parganahs of Tambúr, north and south Kundri in Sitápúr and apparently parts of Dhaurahra and Firozábád in Kherí, but its boundaries are not very clear. It seems generally speaking to have occupied the whole Doab between the Kauriala and Chauká rivers, except a small portion at the extreme south which belonged to Sailak or Bhitauli.

11. Kahronsa is a difficult mahal to restore. The local settlement

officers who have had the advantage of consulting the Kánungos, the records of the great families, and other local sources of information have been followed in my map, but the exact boundaries for this, as for all parganahs beyond the Ghogra are probably now not determinable.

The Sarkár appears to have occupied all the western portion of the trans-Ghogra country; its boundaries on the Gorakhpúr side are very uncertain. An immense proportion of it was jungle with scattered settlements of Junwár, Raikwár and other Rajpút clans here and there. It stretched far up into the Nipal Tarái and much of it was only nominally under Musalmán sway, the revenue derived from the northern mahals was very small, and the hill chieftains appear constantly to have levied even that. There was also, however, a long narrow slip on the right bank of the Chauka which yielded a much better revenue and was much prized as is shewn by the frequency with which it changed hands under royal grants.

#### IV. Sarka'r Khaira'ba'd.

- 22 mahals. 1,987,700*b.* 6*b.* 43,644,381*d.* 171,342*s.* Castes various.  
1,160 horse, 27,800 foot.
1. Barwar Anjanah. 79,670*b.* 7*b.* 4,325,237*d.* 107,079*s.* Rájputs and Bráhmans. 50 horse, 2,000 foot.
  2. Biswah. Fort of burnt brick. 135,119*b.* 3,545,643*d.* 107,916*s.* Báchhil Rájputs. 30 horse, 1000 foot.
  3. Páli. 144,627*b.* 1,849,270*d.* 37,945*s.* Asanín (?). 30 horse, 1000 foot.
  4. Báwan. 56,156*b.* 1,461,235*d.* 62,488*s.* Asanín (?). 20 horse, 1000 foot.
  5. Basrah. 60,063*b.* Castes various. 300 foot.
  6. Bhurwárah. Fort of burnt brick. 8,971*b.* 18*b.* 435,430*d.* Ahanín (?). 50 horse, 2,500 foot.
  7. Bisará. 21,740*b.* 676,066*d.* Báchhils, 200 foot.
  8. Pailá. 981*b.* 14*b.* 48,202*d.* Ahanín (?) 200 foot.
  9. Chhitiápúr. 64,706*b.* 1,765,641*d.* 41,094*s.* Gaur Rájputs. 50 horse, 700 foot.
  10. Khairábád bá Haveli. 2 mahals. Fort of burnt brick. 159,072*b.* 6,161,234*d.* 174,191*s.* Bráhmans, 50 horse, 2000 foot.
  11. Sándi. Fort of burnt brick. 211,804*b.* 3,055,339*d.* 195,106*s.* Sombansís. 20 horse 2000 foot.
  12. Sarah. 28,832*b.* 2,091,983*d.* 8,666*s.* Chauháns. 60 horse, 500 foot.
  13. Sadrpúr. 120,698*b.* 831,175*d.* 15,581*s.* Janwárs and Báchhils, 20 horse, 500 foot.

14. Gopáman. Fort of burnt brick. 1,07,368*b.* 5*b.* 5,620,466*d.* 562,037*s.* Rajputs Kunwar (var. lect. Bisen and Kunwar). 100 horse, 3000 foot.
15. Kherí. Fort of burnt brick. 260,168*b.* 3,250,522*d.* 50,522*s.* Bisen Rajpúts and Janwárs. 60 horse, 1,500 foot.
16. Khairígarh. One of the strongest forts in Hindustán, and it has six forts of brick plastered with lime at a short distance from it. 43,052*b.* 7*b.* 1,829,327*d.* Bais, Bisen, and Báchhil and Kahanah (?). 300 horse, 1,500 foot.
17. Kharkhílá. 15,815*b.* 16*b.* 473,727*d.* Ásín (?). 20 horse, 500 foot.
18. Khánkatman. 3,057*b.* 11*b.* 235,656*d.* Castes various. 400 foot.
19. Láharpúr. 208,288*b.* 3,029,479*d.* 209,079*s.* Bráhmans. 50 horse, 1000 foot.
20. Machhraṭah. 71,069*b.* 2,112,176*d.* 2,430*s.* Báchhil Rajpúts. 30 horse, 2000 foot.
21. Nimkhár. Fort of burnt brick. 58,775*b.* 18*b.* 3,566,055*d.* 66,055*d.* Ahirs. 100 horse, 1,500 foot.
22. Hargánw. 66,952*b.* 200,000*d.* 26,385*s.* Bráhmans. 20 horse, 500 foot.

In this sarkár all the mahals have been identified by the settlement officers of the Hardoi, Sítápúr, and Kheri districts, but nearly all of them call for some explanation.

1. Barwar Anjanah was a large tract of mostly uninhabited forest country which included the present parganahs of Alamnagar, Pihání-Padaruá in the Hardoi district and Pasgánw, Muhamdi, Magdápúr, Aurangábád, and Atwá-Pipariá in Kheri. It is said that the second name is properly Anjánah "unknown" so-called from the wild nature of the country, but this is doubtful. It was one large estate held by the Sayyids of Barwar. [In tracing the divisions of Akbar through the pages of the Settlement reports and the *Gazetteer* I have been much impeded by the fact that the writers are all deeply interested in the history of the great proprietary clans and only give geographical notices under those heads, so that one has to hunt up a parganah through a dozen notices.]

3. Páli included the present parganahs of Shahábád and Pachhohá and part of Saromannagar and Katiári.

5. Basrah, was apparently a very small parganah and it is remarkable that no revenue is assigned to it in the text. It is not to be found on the map nor is it mentioned in the O. G.

6. Bhurwárah, a vast and undefined mahal which appears to have included the present parganahs of Bhúr, Haidarabad, Aliganj and\* parg-

haps also Paliá across the Chauká or so much of it as was inhabited at that time. In the north of the Kheri district we get into the jungles again as in Bahráich and exact boundaries are not to be expected.

7. Bisará, there is a small parganah of this name west of parganah Kheri, there is no notice of it in the O. G. unless perhaps it may be alluded to casually in some of the long accounts of Rajpút and other clans of which that work is full, to the exclusion of more precise information.

8. Paila still extant, it included also Karanpúr to the north.

9. Chhitiápúr is the old name of Sitápúr.

11. Sándi appears to have included so much of Katiari as was not in Pali, but where the line is to be drawn is not known.

17. Kharkhílá, The spelling is that of Blochmann's text, but it appears it should be Karkhila and not Khar. The modern name is Karaoná, and the first syllable is said to be the Sanskrit *kara* = a hand; there is a legend about a Raja who lost his hands and had them restored by bathing in a sacred tank at this place.

18. Khánkhatmau is now in the Farukhábád district of the N. W. P.

21. Nímkhár. There is now no parganah of this name though the ancient and sacred town of Nímkhár or Nimsár is still in existence. This large estate comprised the modern parganahs of Aurangabad, Misrikh, Maholi, Kasta-Abgánw, and Sikandarábád forming a long narrow strip running from north to south in the Sitápúr and Kheri districts.

The remaining parganahs are still extant and probably very nearly their former extent, though there have been here and there a few transfers of villages from one to another.

In Nos. 3, 4, 6, and 17, the ruling clan is given as Ásanín or Áhanín with variants Ásín and Ahín. I would read in all these cases Alhans. In the Persian character *آسنین* or *اهنین* is very like *اهبیس* and may easily have been mistaken for it. The Alhans were a powerful proprietary tribe in western Oudh for many centuries. I am in doubt as to the name *كهنه* in No. 16. It may be for *كهندي* Khumbí. There are one or two parganahs unaccounted for in the Ain. These are:

I. Barwan, between Páli and Sándi. In the Hardoi S. R. p. 95 it is said that Barwan is mentioned in the Ain and the writer gives its area and revenue. I do not know where he got this information as there is no mention of Barwan in Blochmann's text, nor is there any mahal having the area or revenue quoted in the S. R.

II. Chandra. In the Sitápúr S. R. p. 85 it is stated that the old name of this parganah was Haveli. But the Haveli or home county of this Sarkár is Khairabad which is separated from Chandra by Nímkhár and Sitápúr. Some changes of villages from one parganah to another

have occurred since Akbar's time, and it is possible that Chandra may have formed part of the Haveli mahal of Khairabad. I have shewn it in the map as uncertain.

IV. Gundlaman. This parganah is not in the Ain and my authorities give no information on the subject. I presume it was part of the great Nimkhár estate but have shewn it in the map as uncertain.

This Sarkár it will be seen includes the whole of western Oudh. In the southern part the mahals are generally clearly traceable and well defined, but in the north the great submontane forest appears to have been only sparsely peopled and to lay down definite boundary lines on the map would not only be impossible, but would convey an erroneous impression by making precise divisions which were not in existence in the time of Akbar. Kheri on its northern side, Khairigarh and Bhurwára have therefore been left unmarked by boundary lines and I am very doubtful about the northern boundary of Killá Nawagarh and Firozabad which adjoin them.

It only remains to observe that special interest attaches to Láharpúr in this Sarkár from its being the birthplace of the illustrious financier Raja Todar Mal, the author of the great revenue settlement whose features we are now endeavouring to restore.

#### V. Sarkar Lakhnau.

- 55 mahals. 3,307,426*b.* 2*b.* 80,716,160*d.* 4,572,526*s.* Castes various.  
2,680 horse, 36 elephants, 83,450 foot.
1. Abethí. Fort of burnt brick. 117,381*b.* 3,076,480*d.* 3,002,17*s.*  
Ansáris. 300 horse, 20 elephants, 2,000 foot.
  2. Unám. Has a brick fort. 61,045*b.* 2,012,372*d.* 2,537,475*s.*  
Saiyids. 50 horse, 4,000 foot.
  3. Isaulí. Fort of burnt brick on the banks of the river Gúdi.  
1,670,093*b.* 4,208,046*d.* 240,846*s.* Bachgoti  
Rajpúts. 50 horse, 2,000 foot.
  4. Asewan. 57,726*b.* 830,625*d.* 63,421*s.* Bais and Chandel.  
10 horse, 500 foot.
  5. Asoha. 25,027*b.* 509,901*d.* Ahanín (?). 400 foot.
  6. Unchhgánw. 33,122*b.* 417,957*d.* Bais. 100 horse, 2,000 foot.
  7. Bilgránw. Fort of burnt brick. 5,124,113*b.* 356,892*d.* Saiyids  
and Bais. 20 horse, 1,000 foot.
  8. Bangarmau. Brick fort. 242,291*b.* 3,802,122*d.* 151,481*s.*  
Gahlot Rajpúts. 2,000 foot.
  9. Bijlor. 80,581*b.* 2,505,047*d.* 193,961*s.* Chauháns. 30 horse,  
1,000 foot.
  10. Bári. 70,590*b.* 1,284,729*d.* 51,560*s.* Bais. 30 horse, 1,000 foot.

11. Bahrimau. 19,409*b.* 3*b.* 591,406*d.* Bais. 20 horse, 500 foot.
12. Pingwán. 34,727*b.* 420,832*d.* 12,730*s.* Bais. 500 foot.
13. Bithauli. 8,736*b.* 8,194*s.* 340,191*d.* Rajputs and Jats. 200 foot.
14. Panhan. 8,945*b.* 267,809*d.* Bais. 300 foot.
15. Parsandan. 9,111*b.* 237,537*d.* Rájputs and Khumbis. 200 foot.
16. Pátan. 5,621*b.* 214,255*d.* Bráhmans and Khumbis. 400 foot.
17. Tará Shikaur. 9,357*b.* 123,534*d.* Brahmans. 300 foot.
18. Jhalotar. 61,774*b.* 1,123,176*d.* 21,441*s.* Chandels. 20 horse, 2,000 foot.
19. Dewe. Fort of burnt brick. 88,638*b.* 1,933,837*d.* 174,207*s.* Rajputs. 30 horse, 2,000 foot.
20. Deorakh. 13,340*b.* 9*b.* 689,536*d.* Bais. 100 horse, 1,500 foot.
21. Dadrah. 10,796*b.* 73,737*d.* Rajpúts. 50 foot.
22. Rambharpur. Fort of burnt brick. 75,490*b.* 2,425,775*d.* 79,225*s.* Bais and Bráhmans. 100 horse, 2,000 foot.
23. Rámkot. Fort of burnt brick. 9,790*b.* 267,099*d.* Rajputs. 200 foot.
24. Sandilah. Fort of burnt brick. 3,937,200*b.* 10,623,901*d.* 837,245*s.* Gablots and Báchils. 100 horse, 5,000 foot.
25. Sáipúr. 39,083*b.* 15*b.* 2,625,388*d.* 27,736*s.* Chandel Rájputs. 40 horse, 1,000 foot.
26. Sarosí. 25,710*b.* 1,239,767*d.* 1,567*s.* Chandel Rájputs. 20 horse, 1,000 foot.
27. Sátanpur. 60,600*b.* 1,028,800*d.* 10,192*s.* Bais and Brahmans. 50 horse, 2,000 foot.
28. Siháli. 13,065*b.* 694,707*d.* 130,216*s.* Rájputs. 10 horse, 500 foot.
29. Sidhaur. 35,794*b.* 1,692,281*d.* 313,022*s.* Afghans (?) and Rájputs. 100 horse, 1,000 foot.
30. Sidhúpúr. 9,371*b.* 4*b.* 505,018*d.* Bais. 150 horse, 1,500 foot.
31. Sandí. 7,852*b.* 9*b.* 392,313*d.* 13,792*s.* Rajputs. 1,000 foot.
32. Saron. 5,576*b.* 210,316*d.* 2,858*s.* Rajputs and Khumbis. 100 foot.
33. Fatihpur. Fort of burnt brick. 19,830*b.* 3,161,440*d.* Shekh-zádas and Rajputs. 200 horse, 5 elephants, 2,000 foot.
34. Fatihpúr Chaurásí. 105,952*b.* 909,176*d.* 6,594*s.* Rájputs and (!) Chandels. 10 horse, 500 foot.

35. Gaḥ Ambīḥī. Fort of burnt brick. 47,356*b.* 1,800,000*d.*  
Bahmangoti Rajputs. 250 horse, 8 elephants,  
5,500 foot.
36. Kursī. Fort of burnt brick. 80,817*b.* 1,693,844*d.* 62,919*s.*  
Rajputs. 60 horse, 3 elephant, 2,000 foot.
37. Kákori. Fort of burnt brick. 31,574*b.* 1,134,432*d.* 14,430*s.*  
Bisen Rajputs. 30 horse, 500 foot.
38. Kahanjarah. 22,300*b.* 818,472*d.* Bais. 100 horse, 2,000 foot.
39. Ghátampúr. 27,390*b.* 552,561*d.* Brahmans. 500 foot.
40. Kachh Ando. 22,066*b.* 430,596*d.* 4,460*s.* Chandels. 500 foot.
41. Garandá. 4,803*b.* 334,769*d.*
42. Kúmbhī. 5,940*b.* 267,089*d.* Rajputs. 400 foot.
43. Lakhnau bá Havelī. 91,722*b.* 1,746,771*d.* 241,195*s.* Shekh-  
zádahs, Bráhmans, and Káyaths. 200 horse,  
3,000 foot.
44. Lashkar. 16,794*b.* 167,529. Bais. 4,000 foot.
45. Malīḥábad. Fort of burnt brick. 169,269*b.* 4,479,250*d.*  
108,545*s.* Bais. 30 horse, 2,000 foot.
46. Maláwah. 83,022*b.* 3,598,713*d.* 222,038*s.* Bais. 30 horse,  
2,000 foot.
47. Mohán. Fort of burnt brick. 60,990*b.* 1,996,673*d.* 198,484*s.*  
Bais Rajputs. 30 horse, 2,000 foot.
48. Moránw. Brick fort. 68,847*b.* 1,698,444*d.* 4,806*s.* Bais Raj-  
púts. 150 horse, 2,000 foot.
49. Maḍiánw. 49,422*b.* 1,136,613*d.* 32,900*s.* Baswár and Bar-  
kalá (?). 30 horse, 500 foot.
50. Mahonah. 50,895*b.* 977,860*d.* 8,805*s.* Rájputs. 50 horse, 2000  
foot.
51. Manwī. Fort of burnt brick. 29,500*b.* 771,372*d.* 13,767*s.*  
Musalmáns and Rájputs. 2,000 foot.
52. Makráíd. 17,959*b.* 576,200*d.* 5,247*s.* Bais Rájputs. 1,000  
foot.
53. Haḍhah. Brick fort. 11,734*b.* 359,748*d.* 6,026*s.* Bráhmans.  
300 foot.
54. Haihar. 13,109*b.* 329,735*d.* Bais. 30 horse, 500 foot.

The greater number of the mahals in this sarkár are still extant and have been identified by Mr. Millett in the Sultanpúr S. R. Those portions which lie in the Bara Bankí district present some difficulties owing to the absence of all historical data from the S. R. of that district; the writer of which says he leaves such matters to the compiler of the *Oudh Gazetteer*. The O. G., however, merely copies the scanty notes of the S. R., so we are left in the dark.

1. Abethí is now spelt Amethí. The original word appears to have been Ambishthí which would give either spelling in its Prákrit form. The parganah is now known as Mohanlálganj, the town retains the old name.

5. Asohá is now combined into one parganah with Parsandan No. 15.

6. Unchhganw. This mahal with Tara Singhaur (which appears to be the true reading for Bára Shikaur of Blochmann's text) No. 17 and Sidhúpúr No. 30, has since Akbar's time been made into the one parganah of Daundia Khera.

7. Bilgránw or -grám is the site of the famous battle in A. D. 1540 where Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah. The mahal included the modern parganah of Bangar. O. G. I. 223.

9. Bijlor is now written Bijnor. The *l*, however, is right, as the original word seems to have been Bijlipúr.

11. Bahrimau or Pahrímau was the old name of Pírnagar.

12. Pingwán or Bangwán I cannot find anywhere. Perhaps the local officers can enlighten me.

13. Bithaulí. Spelt in the O. G. Bhitauli. The town is on the Doab between the Gogra and Chauka but it is difficult to define the boundaries of this mahal and Sailak in Sarkár Avadh (*vide supra*).

20. Deorakh. This mahal also I cannot find.

21. Dadrah appears to account for a portion of the blank space in the Bara Banki district not covered (as far as can be seen) by any name in the Aín. This space is now divided between the Nawábganj and Partábganj parganahs both of which, however, are of very recent creation.

22. Rambhirpur is now called Purwá, the last half of the old name Rambhirpurwá with the Eastern Hindi lengthened nominative.

23. Ramkot lies all by itself in the middle of Khairábád. This Sarkár has several detached portions besides Ramkot, *viz.*, Garh Amethi and Isauli in S. Avadh, Hardoi in S. Manikpur and perhaps Bithauli in Bahráich.

24. Sandílá appears to have included Bálámau. O. G. I. 209.

25. Sáípúr is also known as Safípúr.

26. Saron the old name of Sikandarpur near Unao.

27. Sátanpur the old name of Khiron.

28. Sihali, still a town in parganah Fattihpur of Bara Banki.

31. Sandí, now called Sissaindi, this is probably the proper name for which Sandi is a copyist's error.

38. Kahanjarah, not traceable.

41. Garandá, probably the same as Gundwa or Gonda. The text گوند may be an error for گوند.

42. Kumbhij, not traceable.  
 44. Lashkar said to be for Nisgarh, which is said to be a well-known village (Sultanpur S. R. s. v.) the position, however, is not stated.  
 48. Moránw is now spelt Mauránwán, an E. Hindi dialectic form.  
 49. Madiánw now Madiánwán. This is now included in Mahona.  
 54. Haihar is not traceable.

All the others are still extant. Modern parganahs not in the Aín, and not clearly identifiable are Nawabganj, Partabganj, Surajpur and Mawai Maholárá, the last of which, however, probably belonged to Sarkár Avadh.

This Sarkár, the richest and most cultivated of the whole, occupies the south-west portion of the Subah with certain outlying patches, and includes within its boundaries the *enclave* of Satrikh.

The Dastúrs, which appear to have been somewhat similar to modern Districts (see Elliot, *Races of N. W. P.*, Vol. II, p. 201) are as follows : (Aín, Text, Vol. I, p. 352.)

Sarkár Avadh. 19 mahals, 2 of which are included in Khairábád. These two, however, are not specified. All the mahals of the Sarkár except two form the 1st dastúr. Ibrahimábád alone forms the 2nd dastúr, and Kishni alone the 3rd.

Sarkár Bahráich. Firozábád and Sultánpúr 1st dastúr. Kahronsa, 2nd dastúr, and all the rest the 3rd.

Sarkár Khairábád. 1st *d.* Haveli, Bisará, Biswah, Basrah, Chitia-púr, Khairigarh, Sadupúr, Kheri, Karkhíjá, Láharpur, Machhahatá, and Hargaon.  
 2nd *d.* Páli, Barwar-Anjaná, Báwan, Sándí, Sarah, Gopámau, and Nimkár.  
 3rd *d.* Bhurwárah and Pailá.

Sarkár Gorakhpúr. Constituted one dastúr.

Sarkár Lakhnau. 2 dastúrs. Unám, Bilgrám, Bangarmau, Hardoi, Sultánpúr, Fatihpur-Chaurásí, Kachhand and Maláwah form one dastúr, and all the rest the other.

I have excluded from this review all those portions of the present province of Ondh which did not lie within the Subah of that name. These will be dealt with under Subah Iláhábás. They are parts of Rai Bareli, Partábgarh (nearly the whole), Sultánpúr and Faizábád. It will be seen that there are a good number of uncertain points, and my map cannot be accepted as anything but a first attempt. I trust, however, that it will be useful in one way; it is not until you come to construct a

map, and find yourself forced to account for every inch of the tract included, that you find out the gaps in your information. These I have now indicated, and I conclude with again expressing a hope that local officers interested in the history of the province will come forward with information which may clear up all the doubtful points.

*Baiswāri Folk Songs collected by BĀBŪ JOGENDRA NĀTH RAE, Ghāzīpur.*

(Contributed by W. IRVINE, Esq., C. S.)

[The following songs are composed in the Baiswāri dialect, with a slight admixture of Western Bhojpūri. They were collected by Bābū J. N. Rae in the town of Ghāzīpur. He says that he took them down, exactly as repeated, from the mouths of women of the lower castes, such as Kahārs, etc. Some songs were obtained from Gāthaks or male professional singers, who recited them, and whose words were taken down. The Bharthari song was obtained from the dictation of a Gosain mendicant.—The text has been edited by Mr. G. A. Grierson, C. S., who has added a few notes, distinguished by his initials (G. A. G.). The translations have also been amended in several places, where they represented the original either incorrectly or too freely.—Ed.]

## ॥ १ ॥ सोहर गीत ।

१ भउज मेा को चूनरी पहिनाव

भइया साह्वेव मुखऊ न बेले

भउजी चोठ बिजुकाई

गरभ की माती डेहरिया चड़ि बैठी

ननद लुटन मोहि आई

भउज मेा को इत्यादि

२ छठिया धरवनी में टठिया लेवौं

आँख अँजवनी खोरा

हसन खेलन को मैं चेरिया लेवौं

सइयाँ चड़न के घोड़ा

भउज मेा को इत्यादि

NOTE. भउज is more usually भाउज, and is possibly incorrect. चड़ि is a dialectic form of चढ़ि. G. A. G.

### Translation.

1, O sister-in-law, dress me in a bordered garment.

My brother did not even utter a word [*lit.* speak with his mouth],

My sister-in-law with pouting lips  
And a proud face moved away and sat on the doorway, (saying :)  
“ Lo ! sister-in-law is here to rob me.”

O sister-in-law, dress me, etc.

- 2, I shall take a plate as a present for the *Chhath*,\*  
A cup for holding lamp-black for the eyes (of thy babe),  
I shall take a waiting-maid to laugh and play with thy child,  
I shall take a horse for thy husband to ride upon.  
O sister-in-law, dress me, etc.†

## ॥ २ ॥ सोहर गीत ।

नन्द घर बाजे बधइया

मथुरा कृष्ण को जन्म भयो है

गोकुल बाजे बधइया

रानी जसमत जी को ठाटा जनम्यो

सखियन मङ्गल गइया

नन्द घर बाजे बधइया,

NOTE. ठाटा, ‘a little child’, is generally used affectionately to mean ‘a dear little child’. G. A. G.

### Translation.

Birth-music is being sounded in the house of Nand.

At Mathurá Krish'n is born

And birth-music is sounded at Gokul.

To Queen Jasmat (Jasodá) a son is born.

All the attendant ladies sing songs of jubilee.

Birth-music is being sounded, etc.

The legend of the birth of Sri Krish'n is so well-known that it requires no notes to describe how he was born at Mathurá and thence

\* A ceremony held in honour of the goddess *Chhath* a month after the birth of a child. It is on this day that the mother leaves the room where she was confined for the period; she is thenceforth considered as pure and capable of performing all the household duties and mixing freely with the inmates of the house. [The ceremony was originally performed on the sixth day after birth, hence its name. G. A. G.]

† [*Bhāūj* sister-in-law, i. e., brother's wife; but *nanad* sister-in-law, i. e., husband's sister. The idea of the piece is this: *nanad* goes to visit *bhāūj* on the sixth day after the birth of the latter's son. *Bhāūj* is sulky and says, “*nanad* has come to rob me of my child”. *Nanad* remonstrates and says, she is come to make presents. There is a reference to the proverbial jealousy between sisters-in-law. Each is much displeased when the other has a child, but at the same time she is bound to give the mother handsome presents, in order that when her turn comes, she may get still handsomer ones.—*Ed.*]

transported secretly to Gokul to the house of Nand, how this precaution was taken in order to save the child from falling into the hands of Kans, the wicked uncle and king of Mathurá, and how his real parents were confined in a black dingy den where the future hero was born.

Sohars are songs that are sung on the occasion of a birth. The women of the neighbourhood all muster together and make themselves jubilant over the interesting occasion. There is no end of *dholaks* (drums) being beaten with all the might of their bravery.

### ॥ ३ ॥ होली गीत ।

- १ पिचुकारिन काहँ को मारि, लला हे  
रङ्ग की चोट मोहि कारी लगत  
पिचुकारिन काहँ इत्यादि,  
२ भर पिचुकारी मेरे मुख पर मारी  
अंगिया भिजि तन सारी, लला हे  
रङ्ग की चोट मोहि कारी लगत  
पिचुकारिन काहँ इत्यादि

NOTE. कारी here = भारी, 'severe', of a wound &c. G. A. G.

#### *Translation.*

- 1, Why dost thou spurt with a syringe? Ho Lalá!  
It strikes hard against me—the liquid red.  
Why dost thou spurt, etc.  
2, The full syringe thou dost pour on my face—  
My entire bodice and body have got wet, Ho Lalá!  
Why dost thou spurt, etc.

Holi songs are peculiar songs that are sung on the occasion of the celebrated festival known as the Holi which, as is well-known, is solemnized in honour of Krish'nji. [It is rather the festival in honour of the Uttaráyana or Vernal Equinox. G. A. G.]

### ॥ ४ ॥ चइती गीत ।

- १ चइत की चाननि रतियाँ  
ए री निरखत भई भोर,  
मेरे रामा हे, चइत इत्यादि  
२ ए री सइयाँ मेर चन्दा भइलें,  
ए री मैँ तो भइलें चकोर  
मेरे रामा हे, चइत इत्यादि

NOTE. ए† is an interjection only used in addressing females. The masculine form is ए रे. The चकोर, *chakor*, is the Greek partridge (*Perdix rufa*), which is said to be enamoured of the moon, and to exist on moonbeams and ambrosia. G. A. G.

*Translation.*

- 1, Gazing at the moonlit night of (the month of) Chait,  
It has become well-nigh dawn;  
O my Rámá, gazing at the moonlit night, etc.
- 2, Lo, my husband has become the moon,  
And lo, I have become the *chakor*.  
O my Rámá, gazing at the moonlit night, etc.

॥ ५ ॥ चइती गीत ।

- १ ए री तङ्ग भइली चोलिया रामा  
ए री नाजूक बहिँयाँ ना समाय  
मोरे रामा हो, तङ्ग भइली इत्यादि
- २ सुनु रे दरजिया के झोकड़े  
तू तो निपटे नदान  
मोरे रामा हो, तङ्ग भइली इत्यादि

NOTE. नाजूक is the Persian  $\text{نازک}$  and नदान is  $\text{نادان}$ . G. A. G.

*Translation.*

- 1, Lo, my bodice has become tight, O Rámá,  
It does not fit my tender arms;  
O my Rámá, my bodice, etc.
- 2, Hark, son of the tailor,  
Thou art excessively foolish!  
O my Rámá, my bodice, etc.

॥ ६ ॥ कजरी गीत ।

- काहँ मोरि सुधि बिसराय परदेसिया
- १ आपु तो जाय बिन्द्रावन ह्यार  
लिख लिख जोग पठाय परदेसिया  
काहँ मोरि सुधि इत्यादि
- २ आपु तो जाय द्वारिका बइठे  
कुवरी से नेह लगाय परदेसिया  
काहँ मोरि सुधि इत्यादि

*Translation.*

O my beloved, why dost thou forget me in the foreign land ?

- 1, Thou hadst gone and settled in Bindrában,  
And from time to time sendest letters of *jog* from the foreign land.  
O my beloved, why dost thou forget me, etc.
- 2, But now thou hast gone and residest in Dwáriká,  
And makest love with the hunch-backed woman in the foreign land.  
O my beloved, why dost thou forget me, etc.

When Krish'nji left Rádhikáji he went over to Dwáriká and there assumed the title of a king ; there he is said to have fallen in love with a certain hunch-backed woman known in Hindú mythology as Kubjá or Kubrí. There is a legend to this effect that by the touch of the divine hands of Krish'nji this ugly creature was transformed into a most beautiful woman of graceful form and figure. In this song Rádhiká alludes to this awkward intrigue of her lover and twits him with his faithlessness.\*

### ॥ ७ ॥ कजरी गीत ।

पुरुबु के देसवा से अइलें वनिजरवा रामा  
 डेरा डाले सुन्दर के अंगनवा रे हरी  
 सगरोँ अंगनवा हिकेला वनिजरवा रामा  
 कैसे क बोहारोँ घर अंगनवा रे हरी  
 टारी देऊ गोँदिया उलाटि देव बखरवा रामा  
 निऊरि बोहारोँ घर अंगनवा रे हरी  
 अंगना बोहारत मेरा उडल अंचरवा रामा  
 देवरा पापी निरखै मेर जोबनवा रे हरी  
 अइसन देवरवा के पसिया रे दियोखूं रामा  
 जब रे घरवा हेतैं कूरी बजवा रे हरी

\* [' Letters of *jog*' apparently means letters on the subject of practising asceticism. Mr. Grierson points out a parallel passage in a song of Súr Dás, in which that poet recounts a number of beneficent acts traditionally ascribed to Krish'n, such as his assistance to the Páñdavas, his protection of Draupadí, the destruction of Hiranyakaśipu, etc. Among them the poet adds : *ápu jái Dwáriká baiṭhe likhi likhi jog patháí.* The same statement also occurs in another of Súr Dás' songs, in which Rádhá is represented as complaining about Krish'n that while he himself is indulging in amorous intercourse with Kubrí and the Gopis, he exhorts her to devote herself to the practice of asceticism : *ap ne jái prem ras chákhe ham ko likhi likhi jog patháwe, í. e., 'while he himself is gone (to Gokul) to enjoy the sweets of love, he writes to me to recommend asceticism.'*—Ed.]

NOTE. बनिजरवा is long form of बनिजार, 'a merchant'. I would prefer to consider रेड in the fifth line, as the 2nd singular imperative. बखरवा is long form of बखार, which literally means 'a granary.' G. A. G.

*Translation.*

From the eastern land came a merchant, O Rámá.  
He took up his lodgings in Sundar's yard, O Hari.  
The merchant has filled up the entire yard, O Rámá.  
How shall I sweep the dust of the yard with my broom, O Hari?  
I will push away the trappings of the oxen and cast away the sacks,  
O Rámá.

And I shall sweep the yard bending myself down, O Hari.  
While sweeping the yard the skirts of my cloth flew away, O Rámá.  
And my wicked brother-in-law began to gaze on my breast, O Hari.  
I would get such a brother-in-law killed, O Rámá.  
If my "knife-thrusting" were at home, O Hari.

"Knife-thrusting" here refers to her husband, because he is her natural protector and as such could deal vengeance.\*

The Kajaris are sung during the rainy season. They were formerly indigenous to Mirzápur but are now spreading far and wide over the land. The airs of these songs are rather melancholy, though they are tuned to express different feelings and sentiments.

[The name of the song is probably derived from the darkness of the clouds at this season, which are considered to resemble *kájar* or lamp-black collyrium. The well-known author of the treatise called *Hindí Bhákhá*,—Bábú Hariśchandra—gives a different account. He says that there was in Central India a famous Rájput prince named Dádú Ráy, in whose time no Musalmán dared touch the Ganges. On a famine occurring in his dominions, he brought rain by the ardour of his devotions. This made him so popular that when he died and his Queen Nág'matí became *satí* with his corpse, the women of the country invented a new melody which was named *Kajalí* to express their sorrow. The author concludes "there are two reasons for the name *Kajalí*;—one, that the king owned a forest called *Kajalí ban*, and the other, that the third of the month on which this song is most sung is called in the *Puráns*, the *Kajjalí tij*. G. A. G.]

॥ ८ ॥ जंतसार गीत ।

१ बारह बरिसवा की मैना रे तिरियवा रे  
तेरहे बरिसवा गोविन्दा आसिक रे ना

\* [*Chhúrí-baj'wá* is the long form of *chhúríbáj*, a compound of *chhúrí* 'knife' and *báj* (Persian *باج*) 'one who is practised in something.'—Ed.]

- २ अपने आँसुरवाँ मैना भाग लम्बी कसिया रे  
गोविन्दा सँवारे टेड़ी पगड़ी हो ना  
३ मैना जो चले लागी अपने ससुरवाँ रामा  
पिछवाँ रे पिछवाँ गोविन्दा आसिक हो ना  
४ फिरि चलु फिरि चलु गोविन्दा आसिकवा रे  
सवन भदउवाँ हम चलि आइव हो ना  
५ सवन भदउवाँ की निस अंधिअरिया रे  
विजुली चमके जियरा मारे हो ना

NOTE. आसिक is the Arabic عاشق. G. A. G.

*Translation.*

- 1, The girl Mainá is of twelve years,  
Her lover Gobindá is of thirteen.
- 2, In her parlour Mainá combs her long hair,  
Gobindá adjusts his slanting turban.
- 3, When Mainá was going to her father-in-law's house, O Rámá,  
The lover Gobindá followed close behind her.
- 4, "Go back, go back, my beloved Gobindá.  
"I shall return in Sáwan or Bhádō.
- 5, "The nights of Sáwan and Bhádō are dark,  
"The lightning flashes, and it pierces my heart."

In order to lighten the labour caused by incessant grinding of mill-stones, the women of these parts sing songs in a concert. Two women sit face to face with their legs spread and their arms holding tight the fulcrum of the grinding-stone.

॥ ६ ॥ भैरवी गीत ।

- १ सइयाँ दरवजवा ठाड़ि रछँ  
पिया मिलन की भई बरिया  
दरवजवा इत्यादि
- २ ताव पिया को बेग मिलाओँ  
निकस जात जो हँ रे पिया  
दरवजवा इत्यादि

NOTE. ठाड़ि is dialectic for ठाढ़ि.

*Translation.*

- 1, O my husband, I am standing (waiting) at my door,  
The time of meeting with my dear one has come,  
I am standing, etc.

2. Until I am immediately united with my beloved,  
My soul is on the point of forsaking me, O my dear one!  
I am standing, etc.

### ॥ १० ॥ भैरवी गीत ।

- १ रामा ! मोहि कल ना पड़त जिया में  
याद आवे उन की बतिया  
मोहि कल ना पड़त जिया में
- २ कन कन उठतु भरोठे ठाड़ि रे  
पीर उठत हिया में  
कल ना पड़त जिया में

NOTE. कल पड़व usually means 'to sleep.' कल is 'rest', कल ना पड़त is literally 'rest does not fall.' उठतु is an old form of उठत. भरोठ or more usually भरोठ is literally 'a lintel.' भरोठे is locative. G. A. G.

#### *Translation.*

1. O Rám, a disquiet comes over my soul,  
When I call to remembrance his words.  
A disquiet comes, etc.
2. Every moment I get up to stand by the door,  
And a pain rises up in my heart.  
A disquiet comes, etc.

### ॥ ११ ॥ भैरवी गीत ।

- १ नजर लगी रे मो का राम  
चलत अंगनवा मेरे राम  
नजर लगी इत्यादि
- २ अंगिया मसक गई चुड़िया तड़क गई  
गिर गयो हाथे का कंगनवा  
नजर लगी इत्यादि

#### *Translation.*

1. O Rám, have any evil eyes fallen upon me  
When I was passing along the yard?  
Have any evil eyes, etc.
2. My bodice has got loose, the *churis* (hand-bangles) have been  
shivered,  
The bracelets of my hands have fallen down.  
O Rám, have any evil eyes, etc.

## ॥ १२ ॥ भैरवी गीत ।

- १ पनिघटवाँ रोके ठाड़  
कैसे भरूँ पनियाँ रे गोइयाँ !  
पनिघटवाँ इत्यादि
- २ एक डर मोहे सास ननद की  
दूजे बैरन मोरी सौतिनियाँ  
पनिघटवाँ इत्यादि

*Translation.*

- 1, He stands obstructing the steps leading to the waters.  
How then, my friend, can I fill my pails ?  
He stands obstructing, etc.
- 2, I am already afraid of my mother-in-law and sister-in-law,  
Over and above are the other wives of my husband.  
He stands obstructing, etc.

## ॥ १३ ॥ भैरवी गीत ।

- १ सइयाँ अँखियाँ नहिँ लागी रे  
समुझि समुझि उन की बतियाँ  
अँखियाँ इत्यादि
- २ आवन कहि गये, अजहँ न आए  
किन सौतिन बेलमाए  
सइयाँ अँखियाँ इत्यादि

NOTE. किन = कौन. G. A. G.

*Translation.*

- 1, Lo, I have not set eyes on my husband,  
And yet full well I remember his promise.  
Lo, I have not set eyes, etc.
- 2, He went away with a promise to come, but up to this day he has  
not come.  
What evil woman has deprived me of him ?  
Lo, I have not set eyes, etc.

### ॥ १४ ॥ भैरवी गीत ।

- १ सइयाँ बलि जाच्योँ मेा से बोला ना  
तलफ तलफ रैन गुजारी  
सइयाँ बलि जाच्योँ श्यादि
- २ कदरपिया मैँ तुम पर बारी  
लपक भूपक गरवाँ लागि सोर्यँ ना  
सइयाँ बलि जाच्योँ श्यादि

*Translation.*

- 1, O husband I will kill myself, do speak with me.  
I passed the whole night in fits and starts.  
O husband, I will kill myself, etc.
- 2, Says Kadarpiyá, I am extremely fond of thee,  
And I wish to fall on thy neck and hold thee tight.  
O husband, I will kill myself, etc.

### ॥ १५ ॥ दोहा ।

नैन नैन के जात है, नैन नैन के हेत ।  
नैन नैन चोरी करत, नैन नैन कहि देत ॥

*Translation.*

The eye goeth to the eye for the sake of the eye.  
The eye stealeth the eye and the eye informs the eye.

### ॥ १६ ॥ दोहा ।

प्रक तो नैना विख भरे, दूजे अञ्जन सार ।  
अरे बउरी कोइ देत है मतवाले हथियार ? ॥

*Translation.*

Thine eyes are already filled with poison, they are decked with lamp-black over and above.

O mad girl, does any one put a weapon into the hands of a drunken person ?

### ॥ १७ ॥ दोहा ।

अमी, हलाहल, मधु भरे, श्याम, सेत, रतनार ।  
जिअत, मरत, भुक भुक परत, जेहि चितवत प्रक वार ॥

*Translation.*

(The eye is) full of nectar, poison and wine, like unto a black, white and red (lotus).

He lives or dies or falls a-trembling upon whom it glances but once.

## ॥ १८ ॥ दोहा ।

मन में राखौं मन जले, (बच) कजुँ तो मुख जल जाय ।  
गुंजे का सपना भयो, समुझि समुझि पकताय ॥

NOTE. अब in the first line is superfluous, and spoils the metre.  
G. A. G.

*Translation.*

Being kept in the heart, the heart burns; being uttered by the mouth, the mouth burns.

It is just the dream of the dumb; knowing it well, he grieves (because he cannot express it).

## ॥ १९ ॥ दोहा ।

हम जाना तुम कानक हो, ता सो पहिना कान ।  
कसत कसौटी नहि बनी, पौतल भयो निदान ॥

*Translation.*

I thought thou wert gold, hence I put thee on my ears.  
It produced no marks on the touch-stone and became only a heap  
brass.

## ॥ २० ॥ दोहा ।

कासा चुन चुन खाइयो, (तू) तन कर सारा मास ।  
दूने नैन बचाइयो, पिआ मिलन की आस ॥

NOTE. तू in the first line is superfluous and spoils the metre.  
G. A. G.

*Translation.*

(The dead exclaims :)

O daw, thou might'st peck and eat up the entire flesh of my body ;  
But pray leave alone these two eyes of mine, for still I have hopes of  
seeing my beloved.

## ॥ २१ ॥ दोहा ।

प्रीतम पाती लिखि नहीं, गर बज्रत दिन वीत ।  
अब से जाना आप को, मुख देखे की प्रीत ॥

. *Translation.*

O my beloved, thou hast not written a (single) letter to me, and many days have passed.

Henceforth I understand thee, thy love depends on seeing my face.

## ॥ २२ ॥ दोहा ।

ए नैना ! तोहे पटक देउं, (की) चूर चूर उड़ जासु ।  
काह देख जर मरत, काह देख जुड़ासु ॥

NOTE. की in the first line is superfluous. There is a syllable short in the first half of the second line. G. A. G.

*Translation.*

O eye I shall throw thee down, so that thou mightst crumble into pieces,

(Because) thou burnest on seeing some, and thou becomest soothed on seeing others.

## ॥ २३ ॥ झूमर गीत ।

दे ढालो सवत मोरी बेँदिया  
जब तू अखतर बेँदिया ना देहे  
ता घर मारौं कटरिया  
सवत मोरी बेँदिया

NOTE. अखतर is the Persian اختر 'a star'. G. A. G.

*Translation.*

O co-wife give me my *bēdiyá*.  
If thou dost not give me the starry *bēdiyá*,  
I shall drive a dagger through thy body.  
O co-wife give me my *bēdiyá*.

*Jhúmar* songs are sung on the occasion of marriage, in *Gangá pújá* and on other occasions of joy. Like the *Sohar* they are sung by the women. The *tikulí* is the spot of silver or a piece of glass worn on a woman's forehead.

## ॥ २४ ॥ झूमर गीत ।

सइयाँ मे से रतियाँ दगा कीनो रे  
१ राति कहे सइयाँ कुसुमी रङ्गा दीहौं  
धानी रङ्गा दीन्हो रे  
सइयाँ मे से इत्यादि

२ राति कहे सइयाँ भुलनी गढ़ा दीहेँ  
 नाहीं गढ़ा दीन्हो रे  
 सइयाँ मो से इत्यादि

NOTE. दगा is Persian کدو. *Kusum* is a bright red dye, and *dháni* a pale pink. G. A. G.

*Translation.*

- My husband played me false during the night.
1. Last night my husband said he would dye (my cloth) with *kusumí* colour,  
 But he dyed it with *dháni* colour.  
 My husband played me false, etc.
  2. Last night my husband said he would make me a pendant for my nose-ring,  
 But he did not make it.  
 My husband played me false during the night.

॥ २५ ॥ झूमर गीत ।

- १ समुभा देखो राजा रे बोला करे  
 बोला करे ना बतोला करे  
 समुभा देखो इत्यादि
- २ सोने के थरिया मैं जेवना परोसेँ  
 जेवना न जेवे बतोला करे  
 समुभा दे इत्यादि
- ३ भभर गडुआ गड्ढा जल पानी  
 पनिया न पीवे बतोला करे  
 समुभा दे इत्यादि
- ४ चुन चुन कलियाँ मैं सेज बिकाच्योँ  
 सेजिया न सेवे बतोला करे  
 समुभा दे इत्यादि
- ५ लौंगा खिलि खिलि बिरवा लगाच्योँ  
 बिरवा न कूँचे बतोला करे  
 समुभा दे इत्यादि

*Translation.*

- Admonish him, oh king, that he converse with me :
1. Yes, converse with me and not chaff with me.  
 Admonish him, etc.

2. I give him food on a golden dish,  
(But) he does not eat, he only chaffs with me.  
Admonish him, etc.
3. I give him Gangá water in goblets and jars to drink,  
(But) he does not drink, he only chaffs with me.  
Admonish him, etc.
4. Selecting the finest blossoms I prepare a bed for him,  
(But) he does not lie down, he only chaffs with me.  
Admonish him, etc.
5. Selecting the finest cloves I prepare betel for him,  
(But) he does not chew them, he only chaffs with me.  
Admonish him, oh king, that he converse with me.

### ॥ २६ ॥ विरहा गीत ।

ताल में जे चमकेला ताल के मङ्गरिया  
रन में जे चमके तरवार  
दस पाँच बीच में सइयाँ के पगड़िया  
सेज पर टिकुली हमार

*Translation.*

As the fishes shine in the tank ;  
As the sword shines in the battle-field ;  
So does the turban of my husband in the midst of many men ;  
So does my *fikuli* shine on the bed.\*

The Biraha songs are peculiar to the Ahirs (milkmen) of this part of the country.

### ॥ २७ ॥ लावनी गीत ।

हम पञ्चो परदेस मो साफिर फिरते सैलानी  
रहे तुम्हारी नगरी जब लग था दाना पानी  
नगर तुम्हारे रहे मुसाफिर चले अतन अपने  
बोला चाली माफ करो अब भेंट नही सपने  
उड़त गगन में धूर सिपाही जरा तू सुन जा रे  
घोर जहर का पिआला अपने हाथ पिला जा रे

\* [*Fikuli*, see note to No. 23. *Das pāch*, lit. "ten, five," an indeterminate number.—Ed.]

बंगाले का जादू टाना टूँटूँटूँ सिखती  
 अइसी मोहनी, डाल सनम को जाने ना देती  
 धर घोड़े पर जीन सिपाही लश्कर को जा रे  
 काड़ कमर का कटारी मेरे तन में मार जा रे

NOTE. *सेलानी* is derived from the Arabic *سِيلَان*, 'a walk for recreation'. It usually means 'walking at random'. *खानम* is the Arabic *خانم*. *जरा* is the Arabic *جرا*. *सनम* is the Arabic *صنم*. *काड़* is dialectic for *काट*. G. A. G.

*Translation.*

I, bird, am a stranger in a foreign land and travel at random. I remained in thy town as long as I had occasion to get food and water. I was as a traveller in thy town, and now I go to my own home. Excuse me—I will not talk to thee, we cannot meet now even in dreams. (Reply.) The sky is bedimmed with a cloud of dust—oh soldier, do listen to me a little. (Mixing) a potion of dire poison, make me quaff it with thy own hands. If I had learnt the enchantments and witchcrafts of Bengal,\* I would have wrought such a magic that I could stop my lover's departure. Do harness the horse, oh soldier, and go to thy campaign. Draw the dagger from thy belt and drive it through my body.

॥ २८ ॥ पीलू गीत ।

१ रामा ! सगरवा बाँध ना  
 ए जी मेरा उतरेला बिदेसिया  
 रामा ! सगरवा बाँधू ना ॥  
 २ सिक्किया में चिरि चिरि बेड़ा रे बंधायों  
 सौती विरहिया बोले ना  
 रामा ! सगर वा बाँधू ना

*Translation.*

1. O Rám, let me make a bridge over the sea.  
 Lo my foreign beloved is to cross over to me.  
 O Rám, let me make, etc.
2. I shall get a boat made by reeds cut out.  
 The other wife of my husband croaks out there shall be no union.  
 O Rám, let me make a bridge, etc.

\* In Saháranpur the wandering snake-charmers and conjurors are known as *Bangáls*. The allusion may be to this name.

## ॥ २९ ॥ खम्माच गीत ।

- १ कैसे आऊँ तोरे पास री  
पावल मोरी हनुभुन वाजे  
कैसे आऊँ इत्यादि
- २ चटक चाँदनी रैन कदरपिया  
सास ननद की लाज री  
कैसे आऊँ इत्यादि

*Translation.*

- 1, How shall I come over to thee,  
My anklets make a tinkling sound.  
How shall I come, etc. ?
- 2, The moonshine illuminates the night, oh Kadarpiya;  
I am ashamed of my mother-in-law and sister-in-law.  
How shall I come, etc. ?

## ॥ ३० ॥ काफ़ी गीत ।

सइयाँ नहीं आएँ मैं क्या रे करूँ  
आवन कहि गए अजऊँ न आए  
की बिख खाय मरूँ  
सइयाँ नहीं आएँ इत्यादि

*Translation.*

My husband has not come, what shall I do now ?  
He went away with a promise to come, but up to this day he has not  
come.  
Shall I take poison and die ?  
My husband has not come, etc.

## ॥ ३१ ॥ काफ़ी गीत ।

सइयाँ निरमोहिया मनाएँ नहीं माने रे  
कब की मैं ठाड़ि ठाड़ि अरज करतु हैँ  
प्रतनी अरज मेरी मान  
सइयाँ निरमोहिया इत्यादि

*Translation.*

My husband is cruel, he does not listen to my entreaties ;  
 From a long time I am standing and begging him.  
 Listen to these many entreaties of mine !  
 My husband is cruel, &c.

## ॥ ३२ ॥ भरथरी गीत ।

जोगी है के सइयाँ रम चले मैं जोगिन तेरे साथ ॥  
 साथ चले तिरिया न बने रचुना\* विकट उजाड़ ।  
 चलना पड़े दिन रैन का वारे दूनी उजाड़ ।  
 जाय बसे केही नगरी में धूनी देंगे जलाय ।  
 ओही नगरी का राजा आवे जोगी के पास ।  
 देखेगा सूरत तेरी रङ्गमङ्गी मन में लावेगा पाप ।  
 तुम को बनावे पाटरानी हमें डालेगा मार ।  
 तो दोविधा में देनें गय माया मिले न राम ।  
 पूजा करो दीनानाथ की कि मोहि लगावे वेड़ा पार ।  
 पुत्र कह भिच्छा डाल दे जोग अमर हो जाय ।  
 समझो क्यों न रानी श्यामदेव ॥  
 बोली रानी ते दिन श्यामदेव सुनु राजा मेरी बात ।  
 जोगी है के सइयाँ रम जाओगे चौसर खेले मेरे साथ ॥  
 चौसर खेले रानी क्या करे बाजी क्या ल्यों मैं हाथ ॥  
 हारों तो तेरे सङ्ग चलो जीतों जाने न दें ॥  
 ऐसी बाजी रानी ना बदे ताक लिये दोनो दाव ।  
 जो बाजी जीते श्यामदेव दस दिन रचें वारे में ।  
 जो बाजी जीते भरथरी तुहे लेगा ना साथ ॥  
 चौसर लिया भंगाय के खेले राजकुमार ॥  
 पासा लिया रानी हाथ में सुन पासा तू अरदास ।  
 करम का सङ्ग मेरे दिजियो पड़ियो सोलह ओ सात ॥

*Translation.*

*Ráni.* Thou art going to wander about, O my husband, as a *Jogí*  
 (hermit). I shall accompany thee as a *Jogini*.

\* [*Na bane rah'nd*, lit. 'dwelling is not made,' idiomatic for 'it is not possible to dwell.'—ED.]

*Rájá.* If a woman go with me, it will be impossible for me to live in the dreary desolate (wilderness) ; for we shall have to walk on and on, day and night, (and there will be) a double amount of trouble. When we come across a town and take rest, burning incense around us, (who knows,) the king of that town might come to (visit) the Jogí ; he will see thy beautiful ruddy face and will entertain evil thoughts. He will kill me and make thee his principal queen. So both will come to grief—earthly joys and heavenly blessings. Worship thou the Protector of the poor (*i. e.*, God), so that He may vouchsafe to me salvation.\* Call me thy son, and give me alms, so that my devotions may insure to me immortality (*lit.* be immortal). Oh queen Syámdeo, why dost thou not listen to me ?

Thereupon the queen Syámdeo replied : Listen to me, O king ; if thou wilt be a hermit and wander about, play with me at dice.

*Rájá.* Why does the Rání want me to play at dice, and what am I to take in my hand as a stake ?

*Rání.* If I lose I shall go along with thee, and if I gain I shall not let thee go.

*Rájá.* O queen, pray do not lay such a wager that secures both ends for thyself. (Let it be thus :) If Syámdeo win, I shall stay at home for ten days more, but if Bhar'tharí win, he will not take thee along with him.

Now the prince ordered the dice to be brought, and began to play.

The queen held the dice in her hands and said, "O dice, hear my entreaties ; give me the reward of, my (good) actions and let there be a cast of 16 and 7."

---

This little song describes in a few words the legend of Bhar'tharí, king of Nain'ghar, a place said to have been situate somewhere near Mirzapur.† The king suddenly became of an ascetic turn of mind, and was on the point of going to the woods, when the queen interposed with a view to dissuade him. But all these importunities were of no avail. The Rájá did leave his home for the woods, where he became a disciple of Gorakh'náth Bábá. This accounts for the songs relating to the life of Rájá Bhar'tharí being so widely sung by the mendicants belonging to the order of Gorakh'náth Bábá. They sing these songs with a very pathetic and rueful countenance in accompaniment with the harp (*sárang*).

\* [*Lit.*, 'so that he may ferry me across (the sea of life) in a boat.'—*Ed.*]

† [This legend evidently refers to the famous Bhar'thari, said to be a brother of Vikramáditya of Ujjain, who became an ascetic.—*Ed.*]

## ॥ ३३ ॥ भजन भैरवी की ।

सनमुख राम चरन गहि लीने ।

आवत केवट देखो है दूर ते, धन बिघ भाग आज मोहि दीने ॥

चढ़ने न दीहौं नाव पग धोर विनु, डरत न जी में महा प्रण कीने

धन धन भाग निखाद सुरसरि तट, मारत रहो है जन्म जुग मीने

गावें गूदर प्रभु की मरजाद है, तारो ताहि जाहि मत-हीने

### *Translation.*

The boatman took hold of the feet of Rám (who was standing) before him,—he had seen him coming from afar,—(and said) “the blessed Lord has given me good luck to-day ; undismayed in my heart I have made a great vow that I will not let Thee get on my boat without washing Thy feet.” Gudur (the author) exclaims, “Oh twice blessed is the luck of the Nishád on the banks of the Sur'sari who has spent his whole life in killing the fish. Oh Lord ! thou art great, save me as thou hast saved the outcast fisherman.”

The following history is connected with this song :—

Ahalyá was the wife of the venerable sage Gautam. Attracted by her beauty, Ind'r the god of the heavens and the disciple of Gautam, impersonated the form of his preceptor and ravished her in his absence. It was at last discovered and Gautam in his rage cursed both, and doomed Ahalyá to turn into a stone, till she was restored to life by the touch of the sacred feet of Rám. The redemption of Ahalyá is thus narrated in the Rámáyan: Rám and Lakshman were going to Janak in the company of the sage Viśwámít'r, and in the way, advised by the sage, Rám placed his feet on the stone, and Ahalyá was immediately restored to life. This news spread all over the vicinity, and hence when Rám wanted to cross the river Sur'sari, the fisherman was afraid lest his boat should turn into a human being, and he be thus deprived of his livelihood.

## ॥ ३४ ॥ गीत ईमनी ।

तुम विनु नाथ सुने कौन मेरी

जब चाहे तब पार लगाओ

भाभर नाव बिना गुन केरी

ग्राह यमत गजराज उवारैउ

घाऊउ नाथ न लाऊउ देरी

द्रूपती सती को चीर बढ़ाऊउ

आरत बचन सुनत टया कर

सूरदास प्रभु पतितन तारेउ  
हमरो बर नाथ कैसी देरी

*Note.* This song is, in Bihār, attributed to Tul'sī Dās, and not Sūr Dās. The Bihār version is

तुम बिनु नाथ सुने कवन मेरी  
गहिरौ नदिया नाव पुरानी, खेवना नाव विना गुन केरी  
घाह गहत गजराज उवरेउ, धायेउ नाथ न लायेउ देरी  
भरल सभा में लज्जा राखेउ, खींचत चौर दुसासन केरी  
तुलसी दास आस चरनन के, हमरि बेरि लगायेउ अति देरी. G. A. G.

*Translation.*

Who will listen to me but Thou, O God.  
If Thou wilt, Thou canst easily take across (*the sea of life*)  
My leaky boat without tackle.  
Thou didst save the life of the elephant\* who was seized by the  
crocodile.\*  
Thou hastenedst (to do so), oh Lord, nor didst make any delay.  
Thou didst multiply the clothes of the chaste Draupadī,†

\* There is a mythological legend connected with the elephant and the crocodile. They were said to be brothers in a former life in the heavens. Both of them were heroes, and when they fell out with each other, they were cursed to assume their present form. It is said that one day when the elephant went to bathe in the river, the crocodile, not forgetting the former feud, seized the elephant by the leg in the river. When the elephant found that all efforts to extricate himself from the grasp of the crocodile were vain, he implored the mercy of Nārāyan and he forthwith saved him.

† Draupadī was the joint wife of the five Pāṇḍavs, the heroes of the famous epic, the Mahābhārat. The Kurus, the cousins of the Pāṇḍavs, bore enmity with the latter on account of their both aspiring to the throne of Hastināpur, now called Delhi, which legally descended to the Pāṇḍavs. Śakuni, the maternal uncle of the Kurus, was a very successful player at dice, and confiding in his success Durjodhan, the head of the Kurus, invited Judhishtīr, the head of the Pāṇḍavs to a play at dice, an offer which the latter could never refuse. Śakuni, on behalf of Durjodhan began to play with Judhishtīr, and the latter lost all the games till he had lost his whole kingdom and even the freedom of his own person and his brothers. At last he was compelled to lay his wife Draupadī as a stake for the next game, and he lost her also. Duḥśāsan, the wicked brother of Durjodhan, dragged Draupadī into the assembly and put her to disgrace. At last Durjodhan ordered Duḥśāsan to strip her of her clothes. This was actually attempted, when she cried aloud imploring the help of her god, by whose grace she was supplied with fresh clothes as soon as the one on her person was snatched away, till a large heap of clothes was gathered in the assembly. The Kurus, finding their successive attempts to disgrace her baffled, left her alone. This event is said to have been one of the causes of the great war of the Mahābhārat.

(No sooner) thou heard'st the cry of the woman's distress.  
 Súr'dás (exclaims), "O Lord, thou hast saved many a sinner,  
 Why then dost thou delay in saving me (*lit.* how much delay is  
 there in my time or ease?" G. A. G.)

## ॥ ३५ ॥ भजन काफ़ी ।

हमारे प्रभु अग्रुन चित न धरो  
 समदरसी तू नाम तेहारो ।  
 चाहो तो पार करो ॥  
 एक नदिया एक नार कहावत ।  
 मैला नीर भरो ॥  
 जब मिलिहे तव एक वर्ण हैए ।  
 सुरसर नाम पड़ो ॥  
 एक लोहा पृजा भौं राखत ।  
 एक घर बधिक करो ॥  
 सो देविधा पारस नहि राखत ।  
 कश्चन करत खरो ॥  
 माया ब्रह्म एक कहलावत ।  
 रूर स्याम भगरो ॥  
 कि मेरो खिसतार करो ।  
 प्रभु नहिं पन जात टरो ॥

### *Translation.*

Do not, O Lord, take my sins into consideration ;  
 For thou art called the impartial.  
 Thou canst save at thy will.  
 One is called a river, the other (is called) a drain  
 And is full of dirty water ; but when they join, they become of one  
 colour,  
 And the name of Sur'sar (Ganges) they bear.  
 One piece of iron is used in worship,  
 Whereas another piece is used as a weapon of destruction ;  
 But the philosopher's stone (Paras) makes no distinction between  
 the two,  
 It turns both into pure gold.

Máyá and Brálm are called the same,  
 (But) Súr and Syám (needlessly) dispute about it.  
 That thou wilt save me,  
 —oh Lord, do not fail (to fulfil) that promise.

### ॥ ३६ ॥ सोहनी ।

जाय के जसोदा से कहोंगी रे  
 सूधे रहो न कुओ कर सों कर ।  
 बज्जत भई अब नाहि सङ्गगी रे ॥  
 जो तुम हार को हाथ चलाओ, तो ।  
 लाल मेरु बनमाल गङ्गगी रे ॥  
 बरजो रहि, बरजो नहि मानत ।  
 गाली दिय बिन नाही रहोंगी रे ॥  
 जाय के जसोदा इत्यादि

#### *Translation.*

I will go and report it to Jasodá ;  
 Be good and don't touch my hand with yours ;  
 Enough has been done, I will not endure any more.  
 If you put your hand on my *hár* (golden garland),  
 O beloved, I too shall take hold of your *ban'mál* (flower garland).  
 I am prohibiting him, but he will not heed my prohibition.  
 I shall not cease abusing you.  
 I will go to Jasodá, etc.

### ॥ ३७ ॥ सोहनी ।

काँध दे गयो गारी गौँइयाँ कवने नाते ?  
 ले कर चीर कदम चढ़ि बैठे  
 हम जल माँह उधारी  
 काँध दे गयो इत्यादि

#### *Translation.*

O friend, Kándh has gone away chaffing me (I do not know) by  
 what (right of) relationship ;\*  
 He has taken away my clothes and climbed on the kadam tree ;

\* [This appears to allude to the custom, that only certain relations are allowed to chaff ; thus, a younger brother can laugh with, and chaff, his elder brother's wife.—ED.]

I am naked in the water.  
Káandh has gone away, etc.

## ॥ ३८ ॥ परच ।

अँखिया फरकन लागी रे मेरी  
क्या ऊए यार ? किधर गई सखियाँ ?  
अँखियाँ इत्यादि  
देह फुकतु है जिया तड़पतु है  
प्रीत लागाय मजा उन चखियाँ  
अँखियाँ इत्यादि  
नैनन में दिलदार बसतु है  
इन अँखिया अलमस्त परखियाँ  
अँखियाँ इत्यादि  
बलि बलि जाऊँ मैं ओसताद के,  
बीच सभा में मेरी प्रति रखियाँ  
अँखियाँ इत्यादि

### *Translation.*

My eyelids are trembling.  
What has become of my love, where have my friends gone ?  
My eyelids, etc.  
My body is inflamed and my heart is beating ;  
He has made love to me and taken his fill.\*  
My eyelids, etc.  
My lover lives constantly in my eyes.  
These eyes of mine are sure tests of my love.  
My eyelids, etc.  
I entirely resign myself to God, †  
May he preserve my honour in the assembly. ‡

\* [Majá is the Persian *mazá* مزه, which is properly masc., though it is here repeated as fem. ; the phrase literally means : he has sipped the taste ; it is idiomatic for 'he has satisfied himself.'—Ed.]

† [Lit. 'I become a sacrifice to my teacher.'—Ed.]

‡ [I. e., among the people. The line alludes to the story of Draupadi ; see footnote on p. 251.—Ed.]

## ॥ ३९ ॥ परच ।

- १ पञ्चा दे हम को कोइ उन तक ।  
 निकस जात मेरे जिया की कसक ॥  
 उधौ आटाड़ी चड़ि देख घटा ।  
 बिजुली रहि जात चमक चमक ॥  
 तन धरधरात पग डगमगात ।  
 सखी जियरा होत मेरा धकधक ॥  
 पञ्चा दे इत्यादि
- २ सुधर कंधाई निठुराई चतुराई ।  
 मोहि जान पड़ी तेरी तनिक तनिक ॥  
 काऊ सङ्ग निस दिन चैन करत ।  
 काऊ तरसाए देखला के भलक ॥  
 पञ्चा दे इत्यादि

*Translation.*

- 1, Let somebody take me to him; the desire (*lit.* the pain) of my heart will then be satisfied.  
 Getting upon the roof of a high house I see the cloud; the lightning again and again shines and disappears.  
 My body is shaking and my feet trembling; my heart, O friend, is beating high.  
 Let somebody take me to him, etc.
- 2, O fine Kándhá, I have known only a little of thy cunning and cruelty, With some thou passest day and night, while thou tantalisest others by only exhibiting thy brilliance.  
 Let somebody take me to him, etc.

## ॥ ४० ॥ होली गीत ।

कवन जात दृज में दधि बेचन  
 रङ्ग डारी चूनर सारी रे  
 एक हाथे काँधा मेरो अँचरा जो पकड़े  
 दूजे हाथ मेरे सारी रे  
 आन पड़ी बस तेरे रे मोहन  
 नित उठि दीना गाली रे

*Translation.*

Who will go to Brij to sell curds,  
 (Seeing that) He (Krish'n) will sprinkle coloured water over one's  
*chúnar* and *sári* ?  
 For (on a previous occasion) Kándhá (Krish'n) caught hold of the  
 skirts of my cloth with one hand,  
 And with the other my *sári* ;  
 Then I said, O Mohan, I have fallen into thy power ;  
 But every morning since then I curse him.

## ॥ ४१ ॥ होखी ।

- १ पिचुकारी से सुरारी रङ्ग डारी रे  
 भर पिचुकारी मेरे मुख पर मारी  
 भोज गई तन सारी रे  
 २ भीज गए मेरो घेर घाघरा  
 सारी लाख हजारि रे  
 पिचुकारी से इत्यादि

*Translation.*

- 1, The Murári (Krish'n) has sprinkled coloured water with his syringe,  
 A whole syringe full he has thrown on my face.  
 My entire body has become wet.  
 2, My entire gown (*ghágrá*) has also become wet,  
 And my *sári* (wearing cloth) worth a thousand lacs.  
 With a syringe, etc. •

## ॥ ४२ ॥ खम्माच ठुमरी ।

आओ बालम राज, कैसी करू नहीं पड़त चैन  
 आओ बालम राज  
 तलफ तलफ दिन बितत मै का  
 चाँद पिया बिन नीद न आवेक  
 चिड़क उठी जिय मति तरसा  
 आओ बालम राज

*Translation.*

Come, O Bálam Ráj, whatever I may do, I cannot get peace ;  
 Come, O Bálam Ráj.  
 My days pass in anguish,  
 And at night without my beloved no sleep comes to me.  
 • My heart starts in pain ; do not tantalise me.  
 Come O Bálam Ráj.

### ॥ ४३ ॥ खम्माच ठुमरी ।

प्रीतम प्रीत लगाई सुरत मोरी काहँ बिसराई राम  
 तुमारे इत्त मैं प्यारे उठाया हम ने गम सारी  
 फिरेँ मैं बन बन मन मारे मौला विरह से कर न्यारे  
 प्रीतम प्रात इत्यादि

*Translation.*

O beloved, having made love to me, why hast thou forgotten (to pay) attention to me.

In my love of thee, O beloved, I have endured all (manner of) pains; Broken-hearted I wander about in the forests; O God, relieve me from (this pain of) separation.

O beloved, etc.

### ॥ ४४ ॥ खेमटा काफी में ।

केत समुभाब जिच्चा मानत नाही  
 मानत नाही जिच्चा मानत नाही  
 नई नई प्रीत सुलतान पिया की  
 वाली भोली कुञ्ज जानत नाही

*Translation.*

However long you may remonstrate (with me), my mind will not listen,

Oh, it will not listen, my mind will not listen.

My love to my beloved lord (*lit.* Sultán) is ever coming anew,

But being a simple-minded girl, I know nothing (of what will be the consequence).

### ॥ ४५ ॥ खेमटा काफी में ।

साँवली सुरत मो से भूलत नाही  
 भूलत नाहँ जिचा डोलत नाही  
 छटा सखी मोहि जिन समुभाओ  
 लागि लगन अब दूटत नाही

*Translation.*

I cannot forget the beautiful face (of my love);

Oh I cannot forget, it cannot be removed from my mind.

Away, friend, do not remonstrate with me;

The attachment once formed cannot be broken asunder.

### ॥ ४ई ॥ पीलू ठुमरी ।

मैं तो अलबेली रे  
 हमारा कोई क्या करे  
 अपने सखी की मैं बड़ी रे दुलारी रे  
 घर मैं हूँ अकेली  
 हमारा कोई क्या करे

*Translation.*

I am young and lovely ; what (more) can any one do (for me) ?  
 I am the greatly beloved of my husband ;  
 I am his single wife in the house.  
 What (more) can any one do (for me) ?

### ॥ ४७ ॥ पीलू ठुमरी ।

कैला गाली न दे रे सुनेंगे सब लोगवा  
 चार पास के लोगवा सुनेंगे रे  
 सास सुनेगी जियरा मारी रे  
 सुनेंगे सब लोगवा

*Translation.*

Boy, don't joke with me, all people will hear ;  
 Yes, all my neighbours will hear.  
 If my mother-in-law hears, she will kill me.  
 All people will hear.

### ॥ ४८ ॥ दोहरा ।

बेसिया, बारन, अगिन, जल, कूटी, कटक, कलाख ।  
 — ई दसो नहि आपना — सुगा, सुई, सेनार ॥

*Translation.*

Prostitute, monkey, fire, water, hermit, weapon and wine-merchant  
 as well as parrot, needle and goldsmith—these ten are never one's friend.

### ॥ ४९ ॥ दोहरा ।

चम्पा तुम्हें मैं तीन गुण रङ्ग रूप और बास  
 रेगुना तुम्हें मैं एक है कि भौर न बैठत पास

(उत्तर) भौरा रसिया फूल का कली कली रस  
हरजाई के मित्र को पास न बैठन दे .

*Translation.*

O Champá (flower) thou hast three properties in thee :  
Colour, beauty and fragrance,  
(But) thou hast one defect, that the black-bee does not  
come near thee.

*Reply.* The black-bee is the lover of flowers and it tastes the  
sweets of numerous flowers.

I do not allow the friend of prostitutes to come near me.

*Notes from Varāha Mihira's Pañchasiddhāntikā.—*

*By G. THIBAUT, PHIL. DE.*

PART I .

THE MEAN MOTIONS OF THE PLANETS ACCORDING TO THE  
SÚRYA AND ROMAKA SIDDHĀNTAS.

We are at present fairly well-acquainted with the general character Hindú Astronomy and—among European scholars at least—there prevails no longer any doubt that the system exhibited in works like the Súra Siddhānta, the Laghu-Āryabhaṭīya, etc. is an adaptation of Greek science. The time to which books like the Súra Siddhānta must be ascribed from internal data, the date of Āryabhaṭa,—if not the oldest, at least one of the oldest of the scientific Hindú Astronomers—which we know from his own statement, the fundamental similarity of the methods employed by the Greeks on the one and the Hindús on the other side, the fact of terms of unquestionably Greek origin being met with in Indian astronomical works, and lastly the testimony which the Hindú writers themselves bear to the proficiency of the Yavanas in the Jyotisha S'āstra more than suffice to convince impartial judges that the enormous progress which a book of the class of the Súra Siddhānta marks on works of the nature of the Jyotisha Vedānga was not effected without help coming from the West.

But although the general fact of transmission is acknowledged the details of the process still stand in need of much elucidation, and we shall not be able to claim a full understanding of the position of the

Hindú system before we have succeeded in tracing the single steps of the gradual transformation by which it arose from its Greek prototype, and in assigning the reasons of the many important points of divergence of the two. Whether this task will ever be accomplished completely is doubtful. The chief obstacles in the way of success are the loss of several of the most important early Siddhāntas which, as their names indicate, were specially connected with Western science, and the uncertainty whether the form in which the preserved Siddhāntas have come down to us is the original one or has, in the course of time, undergone alterations. All we can do is to study with the greatest possible care those astronomical books which may to a certain extent make up for the mentioned loss, and enable us to gain some insight into the genesis and original condition of what we may call—in order to distinguish it from earlier and greatly inferior attempts—Scientific Hindú Astronomy.

Among the works belonging to that class by far the most important is the so-called *Pañchasiddhāntikā* by *Varāha Mihira*. References to this treatise which—as its name implies—is founded on five Siddhāntas, were occasionally made by European scholars from the first time when Hindú Astronomy began to attract attention. Manuscripts of the work itself indeed were not forthcoming for a long time, and the important quotations made from it by *Colebrooke* and subsequent writers, among whom *Professor Kern* is to be mentioned in the first place, were taken from later astronomical books, chiefly from the Commentary on *Varāha Mihira's Brihat-Samhitā* by *Bhaṭṭotpala* who in many places endeavoured to render his explanations of the latter work more lucid by extracting corresponding passages from the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. These quotations were, however, amply sufficient to show the extraordinary importance which the treatise in question possesses for the history of Indian astronomy, and it was therefore most welcome news to all students of Sanskrit when *Dr. Bühler*, whose sagacity and activity in tracing and rescuing from destruction really valuable Sanskrit books stand in no need of further praise, was able to announce in 1874 the discovery of a complete manuscript of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. A second somewhat more correct manuscript of the work was later on discovered by the same scholar. Both manuscripts were purchased for the Bombay Government.

Nothing could now be more desirable than an early edition and translation of the entire *Pañchasiddhāntikā*; but unfortunately there are considerable obstacles in the way of a speedy realization of such a wish. In the first place, the two available manuscripts are exceedingly, in more than one case, hopelessly incorrect. In the second place, the text, even if presented in a correct and trustworthy shape, offers to the interpreter unusually great difficulties whose special nature will be set

into a clearer light by a short consideration of the class of books to which the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* belongs.

The *Pañchasiddhāntikā* is a so-called *karāṇagrantha*. The only definition of the term "karāṇa" by a European scholar of which I know is the one given by Professor Kern, who says (preface to the *Bṛihat Saṃhitā*, p. 24) that a *karāṇa* differs from a *Siddhānta* in this respect, while in the latter the calculations refer to the beginning of the Yuga, in the former they refer to the Śaka era. This statement is quite correct, but not full enough to give an adequate idea of the nature of a *karāṇa*. A *karāṇa* may be defined as a practical treatise on astronomy, i. e., a treatise which enables the astronomer to execute the common astronomical calculations known to the Hindús with the greatest possible ease and despatch. While a *Siddhānta* explains the general principles of the Hindú astronomical system, and thereby enables the attentive student to construct for himself the rules which are to guide his calculations, a *karāṇagrantha* exhibits those rules ready made and reduced to the most practical and succinct shape without, however, explaining the theory on which they are based. A *karāṇagrantha* is thus sufficient for all practical purposes, but not really intelligible without the study of the *Siddhānta* from which its rules are derived. That it takes for the starting-point of its calculations not the beginning of the Yuga or kalpa but that of the Śaka era is of course merely a consequence of the desire to render all calculations as easy and short as possible. The most important books of the *karāṇa* class are the *Grahalāghava* by Gaṇeśa Naivajña, the *Bhāsvatī* by Śatānanda, the *Karāṇakutūhala* by Bhāskara and, among more ancient works, the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* by Brahmagupta and, holding the first rank in importance, the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*.

This latter work has, however, a wider scope than an ordinary *karāṇagrantha*. It does not form the practical complement of one *Siddhānta* only, as for instance the *karāṇakutūhala* does with regard to the *Siddhānta* *Siromani*, but as its name indicates, it gives rules in accordance with five different *Siddhāntas*. These *Siddhāntas* are, as we now may see from the introductory verses of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* itself, while formerly our information regarding them was derived from the *Bṛihat Saṃhitā* and its commentary, the *Saura*, *Paulīśa*, *Romaka*, *Vāsishṭha* and *Brāhma* or *Paitāmaha* *Siddhāntas*. Of these five *Siddhāntas* only the *Saura* or *Sūrya* *Siddhānta* is known to exist at present. The *Paulīśa*, *Romaka*, *Paitāmaha* *Siddhāntas* appear to be lost; I am doubtful whether the *Vāsishṭha* *Siddhānta* to which *Varāha Mihira* refers has come down to our time or not. We are thus on the whole not in a position to elucidate the highly condensed and often altogether enigmatical rules of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* by referring to the *Siddhāntas* on

which they are founded, but must explain them by themselves as well as we can, availing ourselves of the fragmentary collateral information which may be derived from other sources, and must finally attempt to reconstrue from the *karāṇa* rules the leading features of the *Siddhāntas* on which they were founded. The latter part of the task is of course the most important, but at the same time the most difficult one, and we shall in the present succeed in it only very partially. Were it not that *Varāha Mihira* has allowed himself in many points to be more circumstantial than ordinary *karāṇa*-writers are, so that the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* may in fact be said to occupy a kind of intermediate position between a *karāṇa* and a *Siddhānta*, the task would be an altogether hopeless one. As it is, it remains difficult enough and only the manifest importance of the book can maintain the zeal of the student whose efforts at unravelling the sense of the obscure stanzas are foiled more than once. There are of course a considerable number of passages which are by no means difficult to understand, some entire chapters even fall under that category; but then those chapters and passages are easy because they contain no matter new to us and merely restate what we already know from other sources. The chapters which add to our store of knowledge are throughout difficult, some of them so much so that there is no chance of their being fully understood until better manuscripts of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* are found. Other passages again, although difficult, may be explained satisfactorily. Some of this latter class, *viz.*, those treating of the mean motions of the planets according to two *Siddhāntas* will form the subject of this paper.\* A few introductory remarks of the contents of the entire work and the consideration of a few specially interesting passages will be premised before we enter on our special task.

The *Pañchasiddhāntikā* appears to be divided into eighteen *adhyāyas*, although the exact number may be a matter of some doubt, as in the manuscripts the endings of the chapters are not very clearly marked, and

\* I may mention here that I am engaged, with the assistance of *Pandit Sudhākara* one of the foremost *Jyotishis* of Benares, in preparing an edition and translation of the entire *Pañchasiddhāntikā* as far as the deficiencies of the manuscripts etc. will allow. But as it is uncertain when this task will be accomplished, I think it advisable to publish in the interim some of the more interesting results. I avail myself of this opportunity to acknowledge the very valuable assistance I have received from *Pandit Sudhākara* in preparing the present paper. He has verified many of my calculations and in some points tendered original suggestions which were most useful. I specially mention his advice to calculate the *kshepa* quantities of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* from the beginning of the *Kalpa*, an advice the carrying out of which led to most satisfactory results.

the numbering of the stanzas is carried on through several adhyāyas. The first adhyāya, called *karapāvātāra*, contains some introductory verses, a rule for the calculation of the *ahargaṇa*, statements regarding the different *yugas* used in the *Paulīśa*, *Romaṅka*, *Sūrya Siddhāntas*, and some rules regarding the calculation of the regents of the years, months, etc. The second very short adhyāya is called at its end *nakṣatrādichheda* and apparently contains rules about the mean places of the moon, length of day and night, shadow, etc. The third adhyāya is marked at the end "Paulīśa Siddhānta" and contains the most important rules for the calculation of the mean place of the sun, the true places of sun and moon, the moon's node, latitude, terrestrial longitude, *ayana*, etc. The fourth adhyāya, marked merely as "*karapādhyāyaś caturthaḥ*" contains the table of sines and matter corresponding to that of the third adhyāya of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. The very short fifth adhyāya is entitled *Saśidarśanam*. The sixth adhyāya contains *chandragrahaṇam*, *i. e.*, the rules for calculating lunar eclipses according to the *Paulīśa Siddhānta*, the matter of all the preceding chapters having been merely preliminary to the calculation of eclipses. The seventh adhyāya treats of solar eclipses "*Paulīśa siddhānte ravigrahaṇam.*" The eighth chapter treats of the calculation of solar eclipses according to the *Romaṅka Siddhānta* and contains at the same time all the general information about the *Romaṅka Siddhānta* which the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* affords. The ninth adhyāya has for its subject the calculation of solar eclipses according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta* with preliminary statements about the mean motions, etc. of sun and moon. The tenth adhyāya treats of lunar eclipses according to the same *Siddhānta*. The eleventh adhyāya called at its close "*avarṇanātyekādaśo 'dhyāyaḥ*" contains additional matter about eclipses. The twelfth very short adhyāya "*paitāmahasiddhānte dvādaśo 'dhyāyaḥ*" is the only chapter which treats of the *Paitāmaha* or *Brāhma Siddhānta*. The thirteenth adhyāya "*trailokyasamsthānam*" contains information akin to that which is found in the twelfth chapter of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. The fourteenth adhyāya "*chhedyakayantrāṇi*" gives information about astronomical instruments, etc. The fifteenth adhyāya "*jyotishopanishad*" states the differences produced in eclipses of the sun by difference of locality; the different opinions about the beginning of the day, etc. The sixteenth adhyāya "*sūryasiddhānte madhyagatiḥ*" states the mean motions of the planets according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. The seventeenth adhyāya "*tārāgrahasphuṭīkaraṇam*" gives the rules for calculating the true places of the planets. The last adhyāya "*Paulīśasiddhānte tārāgrahāḥ*" contains rules about the heliacal rising and sitting etc. of the planets, apparently according to the *Paulīśa Siddhānta*.

The introductory verses in which Varāha Mihira states the purport of the entire Pañchasiddhāntikā run as follows :—

दिग्गकरवसिष्ठपूर्वान् विविधमुनीन्द्रान् प्रणम्य भद्रवादी ।  
जनकं मुचं च शास्त्रे येनास्मिन्नः कृते वाधः ॥  
पूर्वाचार्यमतेभ्यो यच्छेष्ठलघुसुदं वीजम् ।  
तत्तद्विद्याविक्रमसं रक्षस्वमभ्युद्यता वक्तुम् ॥  
पौलिशरोमकवासिष्ठशौरपंतानशास्त्रु पञ्च सिद्धान्ताः ।  
पञ्चभ्यो द्वावाशौ व्याख्यातो ज्ञातदेवेन ॥  
पौलिशतिथिः† सुदो ऽसौ तस्यासन्नसु रोमकप्रोक्तः‡ ।  
स्यदतरः सावित्रः परिशेषो दूरविश्रुतो ॥  
यत्नवरं रक्षस्व भ्रमति मतिर्धनं तन्त्रकाराणाम् ।  
तद्दहमपचाय नत्यरमस्मिन्वक्ष्ये ग्रहं भानोः ॥  
दिक्स्थितिविभर्दं कर्णप्रमाथवेला ग्रहाग्रहाविन्दोः ।  
नाराग्रहसंयोगं देशान्तरसाधनं‡ चास्मिन् ॥  
सममण्डलचन्द्रोदयग्रहच्छेद्यानि शाङ्कवच्छायाः ॥  
उपकरणाद्यवच्छायावल्गुम्यकापन्नमाद्यानि ॥

These verses are followed by the rule concerning the calculation of the *abargana* which will be considered later on. In the last chapter the author names himself as Varāha Mihira of Avanti.

I further extract a statement found in the 3rd chapter which is of considerable interest as containing a very clear indication of the dependence of Hindū astronomy on Greek science. We read there :

यवनान्तरज्वा नाड्यः सप्तान्वन्त्यां¶ विभागसंयुक्ताः ।  
वारषस्यां चिह्नतिः साधनमन्यत्र वच्छामि ॥

"The *nādis* arising from the difference in longitude from Yavana, (*i. e.*, Yavanapura) are seven and a third in Avanti, nine in Benares; the method of ascertaining them I will state elsewhere."

The verse contains a statement of the difference in longitude between Ujjain and Benares on the one side and Yavanapura on the other side. That by the latter name (which occurs in another place of the Pañchasiddhāntikā also) we have to understand Alexandria has been remarked by Professor Kern already; the passage we are considering at present

\* A. तन्त्रदिद्याविक्रमं B. तत्तद्विद्याविक्रमं

† A. •तिथिसुदु B. •तिथिः सुदु

‡ A. •मकः

§ A. •साधनं

¶ ? A. •क्षेत्रानिता (उ added in margin) वच्छाया B. क्षेत्रानिताग्रवच्छाया.

¶ Both MSS. •वन्याविभा•

furnishes the proof. The real eastern longitude (from Greenwich) of Ujjain is  $75^{\circ} 51' 45''$ , that of Benares  $83^{\circ} 3' 4''$ , that of Alexandria  $29^{\circ} 52'$ ; therefore, the seconds being neglected, Ujjain is in  $46^{\circ}$  E. Long. Benares in  $53^{\circ} 11'$  E. Long. from Alexandria. If we now, on the other hand, calculate the difference in longitude of the mentioned three places from the difference in time stated by Varāha Mihira we obtain  $44^{\circ}$  as the longitude of Ujjain from Alexandria and  $54^{\circ}$  as the longitude of Benares from the same place. The error involved in Varāha Mihira's determination is not inconsiderable, but not greater than might have been expected, certainly not too great for our assuming with confidence that Yavanapura is to be identified with Alexandria.\* As a transfer of Hellenic astronomy to India could not have taken place without some determination of the interval in longitude we might assume such a determination to have been made even if no trace of it had been preserved in India; still it is satisfactory to find the determination explicitly stated in the book which professes to give an account of the fundamental Siddhāntas.

Before leaving this subject we must refer to another passage of the Pañchasiddhāntikā which is quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala, and which has been supposed to contain likewise a statement about the difference in longitude between Ujjain and Alexandria. It occurs in the 15th adhyāya and need not be reprinted here in full as it has already been published by Professor Kern in his paper on some fragments of Āryabhaṭa, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XX, 1863 and again in the Preface to the edition of the Brihat Saṃhitā, p. 53. The two lines immediately concerning us here are given by Professor Kern, as follows :

रव्युदये लङ्कायां दिवाचार्येण दिनगणोऽभिहितः ।  
यवनानां निशि दशभिर्मुहूर्तैश्च तद्दृष्टत्वात् ॥

and rendered "Sinhāchārya states the sum of days (to begin) from sunrise at Laṅkā and, if we adopt this, they must begin in the country of the Yavanas at the time that ten muhūrtas of the night are past." From this Professor Kern concludes that in the opinion of Varāha Mihira the meridian of Yavana-pura has a longitude west from the meridian of

\* Professor Kern notices the possibility of Yavanapura being not Alexandria but Constantinople, but rejects it on the ground of no first meridian ever having been drawn over the latter place. If we identified Yavanapura with Constantinople we should reduce the above-mentioned error of longitude by one degree; but nevertheless its identification with Alexandria is much more likely if we consider firstly the general importance of Alexandria; secondly, its geographical position with regard to India, and thirdly, its having been the place where the system of Greek astronomy was finally elaborated.

Lañkā, of 60 degrees. (See Preface, p. 54.) This translation of the text as given by Bhaṭṭotpala and the inference he draws from it are indeed quite correct; but we see at once that the passage as it stands cannot be reconciled with the one translated above from which there results a difference of longitude amounting to 44° only. The apparent contradiction is solved when we turn to the text of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* as exhibited in the two manuscripts available at present. For there reading at the conclusion of the second line is not तद्गुरुणात् but तद्गुरुणा, so that we have to translate "Siphāchārya states the sum of days to begin from sunrise at Lañkā; when ten muhūrtas of the night of the Yavanas are passed (the day is stated to begin) by their guru, (*i. e.*, the guru of the Yavanas who I suppose is no other than the often-quoted astronomical writer Yavaneśvara)." The two lines therefore contain unconnected statements, and do not in any way enable us to draw a conclusion about what Varāha Mihira considered to be the relative longitude of Lañkā (or Ujjain) and Alexandria. In addition I quote a passage from some unknown writer found in the *Marīchī* (on *Siddhānta-Siromaṇi*, *Gaṇitādhyāya*, *Madhyamādhikāra*, *deśāntara*) which being apparently a periphrase of the passage from the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* confirms the text and translation of the latter as given above:

केचिद् वारं सवितुषदयात् प्राङ्मुख्ये दिनार्धात् ।  
 भावैरर्धालमयसमयादृचिरे केचिदेवम् ॥  
 वारास्यादिं यवनवृत्तिर्दिङ्मुञ्जते निशायां ।  
 लाटाचार्यः कथयति पुनश्चार्धरात्रे खतन्त्रे ॥

"Some declare the day to begin from sunrise, others from noon; again others from the moment when the sun has half set. The prince of the Yavanas reckons the beginning of the day from (the moment when) ten muhūrtas of the night (are past), Lāṭāchārya again in his book from midnight."

Here the "yavananripatih" of the third line answers to the yavanaguru of Varāha Mihira and renders the identification of the latter with Yavaneśvara more probable. The statement made in the last line about Lāṭāchārya is mistaken as, according to the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, that writer reckoned the beginning of the day from sunset, while midnight was chosen as starting-point by Āryabhaṭa.

After these preliminaries we now enter on a discussion of those passages of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* which contain the rules for the calculation of the mean places of the planets according to the *Sūrya* and *Romaka Siddhāntas*. Beginning with the former we at first extract a stanza of the 1st adhyāya which furnishes us with the requisite informa-

tion about the yuga acknowledged by the *Sūrya Siddhānta* as known to *Varāha Mihira*.

वर्षाद्युते ष्टतिन्ने नववसुगुणरसरसाः स्युरधिमासाः ।

सावित्रे शरनवखेन्द्रियार्थवाशास्तिथिप्रलयाः ॥

"According to the *Sūrya Siddhānta* there are in 180,000 years 66,389 intercalary months and 1,045,095 omitted lunar days."

Comparing these statements with those to be found on the same point in the hitherto known *Sūrya Siddhānta*, we observe of course at once that the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, as was to be expected from a *karana-grantha*, employs reduced numbers. The known *Sūrya Siddhānta* gives the corresponding figures for a *mahāyuga* of 4,320,000 years of which period the 180,000 years of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* are the twenty-fourth part. We therefore multiply the 66,389 intercalary months by 24 and find that the product 1,593,336 agrees with the figure which the *Sūrya Siddhānta* (I. 38) gives for the intercalary months. We, however, meet with a discrepancy when comparing the two statements regarding the number of the omitted lunar days. The *Sūrya Siddhānta* (I. 38) assumes the number of omitted lunar days in one *mahāyuga* to be 25,082,252, while the number stated above, 1,045,095, multiplied by 24 gives as product 25,082,280, which figure exceeds the former one by 28. If we now proceed to deduce from the above statements about the nature of the yuga of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* as known to *Varāha Mihira* the length of the sidereal solar year (by calculating according to the known Indian fashion the number of the tithis of the entire yuga, deducting from it the tithikshayas and dividing the remainder by the number of solar years) we obtain as the result  $365^d 6^h 12' 36''$ ; while the length of the year of the known *Sūrya Siddhānta*, in accordance with the smaller number of the omitted lunar days, amounts to a little more, *viz.*,  $365^d 6^h 12' 36.56''$ . The discrepancy is a slight one, but it suffices to show that the *Sūrya Siddhānta* which *Varāha Mihira* had before himself was different from the one known to us. It might perhaps be objected that the discrepancy is only an apparent one, *Varāha Mihira* having slightly changed one of the numbers of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* in order to be able to reduce all numbers more considerably and thereby to establish more convenient rules for calculation. That the *karana* writers are in the habit of proceeding in that manner is well-known, and we shall see later on that *Varāha Mihira* submits in certain cases the exact numbers to certain alterations. The present case, however, is of a different nature. The passage about the yuga of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* is not an independent rule, in the formulation of which the writer might have allowed himself certain liberties, but a mere statement reproducing

the doctrines of another work, and as such it would be of no value whatever if it were not strictly accurate. We shall moreover meet later on with several other instances showing that the mere fact of Varāha Mihira's statements not agreeing with the known Sūrya Siddhānta is not sufficient to throw a doubt on their accuracy. It is finally to be remarked that the solar year of the Sūrya Siddhānta as known to Varāha Mihira is identical with the solar year of that Paulīsa Siddhānta about which Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the Bṛihat Saṃhitā has given us some information (*Cf.* Colebrooke's Essays, II, p. 365).

We next turn to some verses containing rules for the calculation of the mean places of sun and moon according to the Sūrya Siddhānta. They are found in the 9th adhyāya :

सुगणे ऋं ऽनश्वने विपलवेदार्षवे ऋंविज्ञान्ते ।  
स्वखद्विदिनवयमोद्भवे क्रमाद् दिनदले ऽनव्याम्\* ॥

"The (mean place of the) sun is found, for midday at Avanti, by multiplying the ahargana by 800, deducting 442, and then dividing by 292,207."

This verse contains two elements which are to be considered separately; in the first place a general rule for calculating the mean place of the sun, in the second place a so-called kshepa, i. e., an either additive or subtractive quantity whose introduction into the rule enables us to take for the starting-point of our calculations the epoch of the karaṇa instead of the beginning of the yuga. The general rule is understood without difficulty. It bases on the proportion: if in 65,746,575 sāvana days (i. e., the sāvana days contained in 180,000 years), there take place 180,000 revolutions of the sun or, both numbers being reduced by 225, if 800 revolutions take place in 292,207 days, how many revolutions will take place in the given ahargana? The result is the mean place of the sun at the end of the given ahargana. We now turn to the kshepa 442. If on the first Chaitra Śāka 427, which date is the starting-point of all calculations of the Pañchasiddhāntikā,† the sun had performed an entire number of revolutions without remainder a kshepa would of course not be required. The actual kshepa, 442 on the other hand shows that at the mentioned time  $\frac{442}{292207}$  were wanting

\* Both manuscripts read in the first line ऋं, in the second स्वखाद्विदिनव०. The second emendation is shown by calculation to be necessary. Both emendations are borne out by the manuscripts of Bhaṭṭotpala who quotes the above verse. A. reads एलेवत्यां B. ०लेवत्यां.

† See about this point the rule for calculating the ahargana which will be discussed later on in connection with the Romaka Siddhānta.

to a complete revolution or, which comes to the same, that the sun had then performed a number of complete revolutions plus  $\frac{291765}{292207}$  of a revolution. Now in order to explain this kshepa we must ascertain according to what principles and starting from which period Varāha Mihira calculated the mean place of the sun on the 1st Chaitra Śaka 427. The principles are doubtless those on which the statement concerning the nature of the yuga and the general rule for calculating the sun's mean places are founded, and we can therefore be in no uncertainty as to the method of forming the ahargana and calculating from it the madhyama Sūrya. Less certain is the epoch beginning from which the ahargana is to be formed. If we try the different possibilities we find that neither the beginning of the Kaliyuga nor the end of the Kṛitayuga lead to the above-stated kshepa, that, however, a calculation starting from the beginning of the kalpa gives the desired result, although the course of procedure involves a few small irregularities. I will succinctly state the details of the calculation in order to facilitate its control. The sum of years (the varshagana) from the beginning of the kalpa to the epoch of the karana amounts to 1,955,883,606 (1,953,720,000 to the end of the kṛita, 2,160,000 for Tretā and Dvāpara, 3,179 from beginning of Kali to Śaka, 427 from Śaka to epoch of Karana). From the varshagana we deduce in the customary manner (availing ourselves, however, of the elements of the yuga as stated by Varāha Mihira, not of the corresponding elements of the known Sūrya Siddhānta) the adhimāsas, which we find to amount to  $721,384,203 + \frac{178734}{180000}$ . Instead of those we take, svalpāntaratvāt, 721,384,204 and thus obtain as the number of chāndramāsas for the entire stated period 24,191,987,476. Multiplying this number by 30 we get the tithis from which we deduce, by means of the statement about the tithikshayas of the yuga, the number of the ishṭa kshayāha. We find  $11,356,023,206 + \frac{4941258}{6679167}$ . Instead of this we take 11,356,023,207 which deducted from the tithis gives for the ishṭa sāvana ahargana 7,14,403,601,073. Multiplying this number by 800, according to the general rule about the mean places of the sun, and dividing by 292,207 we find that the sun has performed, from the beginning of the kalpa down to the epoch of the Pañchasiddhāntikā,  $1,955,883,606 - \frac{42}{292207}$  revolutions. The required kshepa is  $-\frac{442}{292207}$ . But now we have to remember that the ahargana of the Sūrya Siddhānta gives the mean places of the planets at midnight at

Lañka while the rule of Varāha Mihira is, as we have seen, meant to give their mean places at noon. We therefore have to deduct from the mean place of the sun as found hitherto his mean motion for half a day, in order to obtain his mean place on the preceding noon. This mean motion for a day is  $\frac{800}{292207}$ , half of which is  $\frac{400}{292207}$ . Combining this

subtractive quantity with the one found above  $\left(-\frac{42}{292207}\right)$  we get

$-\frac{442}{292207}$ , the exact quantity stated in Varāha Mihira's rule. The

result has therefore justified the small assumptions made in the calculation of the abargana; the latter will moreover receive additional confirmation from the rules about the mean places of the moon and the planets which will be discussed later on.

The period of 800 years comprising 292,207 sāvana days whereby to calculate the mean place of the sun is of frequent occurrence in Indian astronomical writings and tables. It is employed by Brahmagupta in the Khaṇḍa-khādyā. It is found in the Siamese astronomical rules which became known in Europe as early as 1688 and were first interpreted by Cassini. It is likewise used in the astronomical tables sent to France by the Père Patouillet and explained by Bailly in his *Traité de l'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale*, (p. 54; Discours préliminaire, p. xi).

The verse which in the Pañchasiddhāntikā follows next on the one explained above runs as follows :

नवशतसहस्रगुणिते सुखरैकपचाम्बरस्वरतुने ।

पट्टनेन्द्रियनववसुविषयजिनैर्भाजिते चन्द्रः ॥

(In the first line we have to read  $\bullet$ स्वरतुने; in the second line, as will appear from the calculation, पट्टनेन्द्रिय०; B. reads पट्टनेन्द्रिय०.)

"Multiply (the abargana) by 900,000, deduct 670,217 and divide by 24,589,506; the result is the mean place of the moon." The general rule about the mean places of the moon which is contained in this verse is easily explained from the statements on the yuga of the Śūrya Siddhānta which we have had occasion to consider. The yuga comprises 180,000 years. Multiplying these by 12 and adding the intercalary months we have 2,226,389 lunar synodical months. Again adding to these the 180,000 revolutions of the sun we get 2,406,389 as the number of the sidereal revolutions of the moon which take place in one yuga. (Dividing by the last number the sāvana days of the yuga we find as the length of the sidereal month  $27^d 7^h 43' 12.66''$ . The length of the sidereal month of the known Śūrya Siddhānta amounts to  $27^d 7^h 43' 12.64''$ ). From the fact of 2,406,389 sidereal revolutions of the moon

being contained in 65,746,575 days the mean place of the moon for any given ahargana might of course be deduced directly; smaller numbers were, however, desirable as facilitating the calculations, and Varāha Mihira therefore substituted the relation of 900,000 revolutions to 24,589,506 days which offers the advantage of a smaller divisor, and a not only smaller but also much simpler multiplicator. The substitution involves indeed a slight inaccuracy since 900,000 revolutions of the moon

take place in  $24,589,506 + \frac{746166}{2406389}$  days, the fractional part of which quantity is neglected in the general rule. The error which results therefrom is, although insignificant, not to remain uncorrected and Varāha Mihira adds therefore (after one intervening verse about the mean place of the moon's *uccha*) the following rule:

शशिविषयज्ञानौन्दोः सार्कामिच्छन्तानि मण्डलानि क्षेपम् ।  
सोचे दिग्गानि धनं स्ररदस्यमोदते विकलाः ॥

“Multiply the (elapsed) revolutions of the moon by 51 and divide by 3,120; the (resulting) seconds are to be deducted (from the mean place of the moon as found by the general rule).” (The second part of the rule refers to the moon's *uccha*). The correction stated here is easily accounted for. By a proportional calculation we find that the moon performs in  $\frac{746166}{2406389}$  of a day about 14,708 seconds of a circle. To so much consequently the error resulting from the neglect of the fraction amounts for 900,000 revolutions. The error for one revolution is therefore equal to  $\frac{14708}{900000}$  seconds or, as Varāha Mihira prefers to ex-

press it, reducing both numbers by 288, to (about)  $\frac{51}{3120}$  seconds. The explanation of the *kshepa*, 670,217 is not quite so simple as that of the solar *kshepa*. We of course again employ the *kalpādy-ahargana* which had led to a satisfactory result in the case of the sun's mean place. If we, however, proceed according to the general rule given by Varāha Mihira, multiplying that *ahargana* by 900,000 and dividing by 24,589,506 and finally applying the prescribed correction, we find that the remainder combined with the moon's mean motion for half a day does not equal the stated *kshepa*. The fact is that approximately correct rules and approximately accurate corrections are applicable to comparatively short periods, but become altogether misleading if periods of very considerable length as for instance the *kalpādy-ahargana* are concerned. In such cases we must discontinue the use of reduced factors and employ absolutely correct numbers. In the present instance we consequently have to employ the

number of lunar months and sāvana days of the entire yuga. We multiply the kalpādy-ahargana as formed above by 2,406,389 (= the number of the sidereal revolutions of the moon in a yuga), divide by 65,746,575 (= number of sāvana days), reject the quotient which expresses the complete revolutions and keep the remainder 65,157,822 which indicates that at the time of the epoch the moon had, in addition to the complete revolutions, performed  $\frac{65157822}{65746575}$  of a revolution or, which is

the same, that  $\frac{588753}{65746575}$  were wanting to a complete revolution. This fraction, in order to be capable of being introduced into the general rule must be turned into 24,589,506<sup>ths</sup>; which being done we obtain  $\frac{220197}{24589506}$ . To this quantity again we have to add half the amount of

the moon's daily mean motion =  $\frac{450000}{24589506}$  in order to find the mean place of the moon at noon instead of the following midnight. The addition of the two subtractive quantities gives — 670,197, which quantity differs by 20 only from the kshepa stated in Varāha Mihira's rule: the discrepancy to whatever reasons it may be owing is much too small to be taken into account; the difference in the mean place of the moon at the time of the epoch which results from it amounts to 1" 3" only.

The rule following next on the one referring to the mean motion of the moon teaches how to find the mean place of the moon's uchcha. A few unimportant emendations being made, it runs as follows :

नवशतगुणिते दद्याद्द्रुस्यियगुणान्स्वर्तुयसपक्षान् ।

नववसुसप्तशतान्स्वर्नवास्त्रिभङ्गे शशाङ्कैश्वम् ॥

"Add 2,260,356 to (the ahargana) multiplied by 900 and divide by 2,908,789; the result is the mean place of the uchcha of the moon."

From the general rule involved in the above viz. that 900 revolutions of the moon's uchcha take place in 2,908,789 days, it follows that one revolution occupies 3,231<sup>d</sup> 23<sup>h</sup> 42' 16.76". Comparing this period with the duration of the revolution according to the known Sūrya Siddhānta which amounts to 3,232<sup>d</sup> 2<sup>h</sup> 14' 53.4" we feel at once inclined to suspect that the difference of the two quantities which is rather considerable is not merely owing to Varāha Mihira's desire of establishing a rule offering facilities for practical calculations but results from a real discrepancy of the two Sūrya Siddhāntas. And a closer consideration of the point confirms this suspicion. According to the known Sūrya Siddhānta the chandrochcha of the moon performs 488,203 revolutions in one mahāyuga. If we now, in order to ascertain the corresponding number of the

Sūrya Siddhānta known to Varāha Mihira, multiply the 1,577,917,800 days of the mahāyuga by 900 and divide by 2,908,789 we get as quotient nearly 488,219. Varāha Mihira's Sūrya Siddhānta therefore reckoned so many revolutions of the uchcha to one mahāyuga and it is of interest to remark that it therein exactly agreed with the doctrine of Āryabhaṭa (see the Āryabhaṭīya edited by Kern, p. 6). We finally test the exactness of our assumption by the calculation of the kshepa stated in Varāha Mihira's rule. Multiplying the kalpādy-aharagaṇa as ascertained before by 488,219 and dividing the product by 1,577,917,800 (the number of the days of a yuga) we get as remainder  $\frac{1226408787}{1577917800}$ .

Converting the quantity which expresses the fraction of the revolution incomplete at the epoch of the karaṇa into 2,908,789ths in order to render it capable of being introduced into the general rule, we obtain for the numerator 2260805 (and a small fraction). From this positive kshepa we finally deduct 450 = half the daily motion of the uchcha in order to carry back the mean place to the preceding noon; the remainder 2,260,357 differs by one only from the kshepa stated in the rule. It thus appears that the number we had assumed for the revolutions of the uchcha according to Varāha Mihira's Sūrya Siddhānta is the right one. Varāha Mihira finally applies a correction which becomes necessary in consequence of reduced and slightly inaccurate figures having been employed in the general rule. The amount of this correction is stated in the second half of the verse quoted above शशिविषयज्ञानोन्दोः etc., I am, however, unable for the present to account for it by calculation. The fault possibly lies with the corruption of the manuscripts.

The same chapter contains a rule for calculating the mean places of the moon's node; which I am, however, unable to explain. We therefore turn now to the 16th adhyāya which treats of the mean places of the so-called tārá-grahas. The text of this short adhyāya runs as follows:

एष निशार्धे ऽवन्धां ताराग्रहनिर्णयो ऽकसिद्धान्ते । \*  
 तचेन्दुपवशक्रौ तुल्यगतौ मध्यमार्केष । †  
 जीवस्य शताभ्यसं द्वित्रियमाग्नित्रिसागरैर्विभजेत् । ‡  
 द्युगणं कुजस्य चन्द्राहतं तु सप्राष्टपङ्क्तम् । §  
 सौरस्य सदस्यगुणादतुरसष्टन्वर्तुपटकमुनिखेकेः ॥

\* A. B. ०वन्धां A. निर्णोर्केसि० B. ०प्रदणकसि०

† A. मरुमा० B. ०मार्केसा.

‡ B. निवस्य.

§ A. सप्राष्टपङ्क्तं

॥ B. सौम्यस्य A. गुणादनुरसस्य०

यल्लब्धं ते भगणाः शेषा मध्यमराः क्रमेणैव । \*  
 दश दश भगणे भगणे संगोधास्तवराः सुरेव्यस्य । †  
 मनवः कुजस्य देयाः शनेश्च वाणा विशोधास्तु । ‡  
 राशितुष्टयमंशद्वयं कलाविंशतिर्वसुसमेताः । §  
 नववेदाश्च विलिप्ताः शनेर्धने मध्यमास्तेव (?) ।  
 अष्टौ भागा ल्लिप्तैवः खमसौ गुरौ विलिप्ताश्च । ¶  
 क्षेपः कुजस्य यमतिथिपञ्चविंशच्च राश्याद्याः । \*\*  
 शतगुणिते बुधश्रीं स्वरेणवसप्राष्टभाजिते क्रमशः । ††  
 अर्धपञ्चमास्तवराश्च भगणाहताः क्षेपः । ‡‡  
 शितश्रीं दशगुणिते द्युगणे भक्ते स्वराणवाशियमैः । §§  
 अर्धैकादश देया विलिप्ता भगणसंगुणिताः । |||  
 सिंहस्य वसुयमांशः स्वरेन्दो विलिप्ता ज्ञश्रीं प्रधनम् । ¶¶  
 शोधाः सितस्य विकलाः शशिरसनवपञ्चगुणदहनाः । \*\*\*

(The few remaining verses of the adhyāya will be quoted below.)

"1. The determination of the (mean places of the) smaller planets (i. e., the grahas except sun and moon) for midnight at Avanti is as follows :

"2. Mercury and Venus have the same motion with the mean sun.

"3. For Jupiter multiply the ahargana by 100 and divide by 433,232.

"4. For Mars multiply the ahargana by 1 and divide by 687.

"5. For Saturn multiply the ahargana by 1000 and divide by 10,766,066.

"6. The quotients are the entire revolutions, the remainders are the mean places of the planets in their order.

"7. For each revolution of Jupiter 10 tatparas (thirds, i. e., sixtieth parts of a second) are to be deducted.

"8. 14 tatparas are to be added for each revolution of Mars; 5 are to be deducted for each revolution of Saturn.

"9. 10. 4 signs, 2 degrees, 28 minutes and 49 seconds are to be added to the mean place of Saturn.

"11. 8 degrees, 6 minutes and 20 seconds are the additive quantity for Jupiter.

\* B. सहस्रगुणा १०००। चतुरस्र०

† B. दशांशभगणे.

‡ B. नमवः कुकुचु दे० A. शोधास्तु,

§ B. शोधाः स्यः

|| B. नवदेवाश्च लिप्ताः शनेमध्यमस्तेयम्.

¶ B. नैवः शेषसौ गुरुवि०

\*\* A. जमति० B. तितिथि० शस्य.

†† B. षणितं.

‡‡ A. षतः B. षताक्षिपा.

§§ A. B. द्विगुणे.

||| A. अर्धैका० B. विलिप्ता भ०

¶¶ A. स्वरादयो B. स्वरेदेवो.

\*\*\* A. B. शोसितस्य षपत्ता० षगणा०

"12. For Mars the additive quantity are 2 signs, 15 degrees, 35 minutes.

"13. For the Sīghra of Mercury, multiply the ahargaṇa by 100 and divide by 8,797.

"14. There the kshepa amounts to the product of four and a half fatparas into the (accomplished) revolutions.

"15. For the Sīghra of Venus multiply the ahargaṇa by 10 and divide by 2,247.

"16. To be added are ten and a half seconds multiplied by the revolutions.

"17. 28 degrees of Leo (*i. e.*, 4 signs plus 28 degrees) and 17 minutes are the additive quantity of the Sīghra of Budha.

"18. From (the Sīghra of) Venus are to be deducted 332,961 seconds."

Of these sixteen lines, lines 1 to 6 contain rules for the calculation of the mean places of the five planets. Lines 7 and 8 state what corrections have to be applied to the mean places of Jupiter, Mars and Saturn if calculated according to the rules previously laid down. Lines 9 to 12 inform us what quantities are to be added to the mean places calculated and corrected according to the preceding rules, *i. e.*, they state the mean longitudes of the planets at the epoch of the *Karaṇa*. Lines 13 to 16 contain the rules for calculating and correcting the mean places of the Sīghra of Mercury and Venus.

Let us now enter into details and compare the above statement regarding the planets' periods of revolution with what is known from other sources. Of Jupiter it is stated in line 3 that it performs 100 revolutions in 433,232 days; one revolution therefore occupies 4,332.32 days. This nearly agrees with the doctrine of the published *Sūrya Siddhānta* which counts 364,220 revolutions of Jupiter to 1 mahāyuga of 4,320,000 years, and consequently, the mahāyuga comprising 1,577,917,828 days, 1 revolution to 4,332.3,206,523 days. A small difference between Jupiter's periods of revolution according to the known *Sūrya Siddhānta* and the *Sūrya Siddhānta* of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* results of course from the repeatedly mentioned fact of the yuga of the latter work comprising 28 days less. We therefore assume at first that the *Sūrya Siddhānta* of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* also gave 364,220 revolutions to 1 yuga, and therefrom derive the exact

period of one revolution  $\frac{1577917800}{364200} = 4,332,3,205,754$ . From this it

appears that the general rule given above, according to which 1 revolution comprises 4,332.32 days, is inaccurate and stands in need of a correction. In order to ascertain the amount of the latter we take the difference of the accurate and the approximate periods of revolution = 0.0005754 and there-

from derive by means of a proportion ( $4,332,3,205,754 : 360 = 0.0005754 : \kappa$ ) that fractional part of a circle which Jupiter passes through in the 0.0005754th of a day. The result are  $10''$  of a circle. Thereby is explained the rule given in line 7 according to which  $10''$  for each revolution have to be deducted from the mean place of Jupiter resulting from line 3. We finally have to explain the kshepa stated in line 11. Multiplying the kalpādy-ahargana by 364, 220 and dividing by the days of a mahāyuga we find that from the beginning of the kalpa down to the epoch of the book, Jupiter had performed  $16490909 + \frac{1776393}{78895890}$  revolutions. The

fraction turned into degrees, minutes etc. gives  $8^{\circ} 6' 20''$  for the mean longitude of Jupiter at the time of the epoch. As according to line 1, the rules for the mean longitudes of the planets refer to midnight at Avanti, the deduction of half a day's mean motion which had to be made in the case of sun, moon and moon's apsis is not required here.

We next turn to Mars. According to line 4, 1 revolution of Mars takes place in 687 days. The round number clearly shows the rule to be only an approximate one, and it now becomes our task to ascertain the exact determination on which it is founded. According to the published *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Mars performs 1 revolution in 686.99,749,394 days, and it so might appear that the approximate value 687 presupposes the more accurate value 686.9,974... (if we neglect for the moment the small difference resulting from the slightly different number of the days of a yuga according to the two *Sūrya Siddhāntas*) and that consequently the *Sūrya Siddhānta* of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, as well as the known *Sūrya Siddhānta* counts 2,296,832 revolutions of Mars to 1 mahāyuga. But if on this assumption we try to explain the correction of Mars' mean place which is stated in line 8 and the kshepa mentioned in line 12, we are unsuccessful and conclude therefrom that our assumption has been premature. We therefore try the opposite course and proceed to deduce the number of revolutions which Mars performs in one yuga from the correction of fourteen tatparas for each revolution. If Mars, as the general rule teaches, performs  $360^{\circ}$  in 687 days, it passes through  $14''$  in 0.000124 ... of a day. This fraction has therefore to be deducted from the approximate period of revolution, 687 days, when the remainder, 686.999874 ... days, indicates the accurate period of revolution. By this again we divide the days of the yuga (1,577,917,800). The quotient, 2,296,824, indicates that according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta* of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, Mars performs in one yuga 2,296,824 revolutions; which number agrees with that given in the *Āryabhaṭīya*, (p. 4) and likewise in the *Paulīśa Siddhānta* (Colebrooke's *Essays*, II, p. 365). This number finally explains the kshepa stated in line 12; for if we multiply by it the kalpādy-ahargana

and divide by the number of the days of a yuga, the remainder, which indicates the mean longitude of Mars at the time of the epoch, is  $2^{\circ} 15' 35''$ .

Passing on to Saturn we find it stated in line 5 that 1000 revolutions of the planet occupy 10,766,066 days. One revolution therefore occupies 10766·066 days. The difference of this value from the corresponding value which results from the statements of the known *Súrya Siddhánta*, viz., 10765·77307461, is too considerable for us to assume that the *Súrya Siddhánta* of the *Pañchasiddhántiká* should have agreed with the known *Súrya Siddhánta* in reckoning 146,568 revolutions of Saturn to 1 maháyuga. In order to find the number of revolutions actually acknowledged by the former work we therefore again have recourse to the correction of Saturn's mean longitude. As according to the latter (see line 8)  $5''$  have to be deducted for each revolution of Saturn, the period assumed for Saturn's revolution in the general rule is too short and has to be lengthened by the time which Saturn requires to pass through  $5''$  of a circle. That time amounts to 0·0007 ... of a day. This being added to 10766·066 and the days of a yuga being divided by the sum, 10766·0667, the quotient, 146,564, indicates the number of revolutions in one yuga. This result shows that here too the *Súrya Siddhánta* referred to by *Varáha Mihira* agreed with the *Aryabhaṭṭiya* and the *Pauliśa Siddhánta* while it differed from the known *Súrya Siddhánta*. Finally in order to explain the *kshepa* we multiply the *kalpády-abargana* by 146,564 and divide the product by the days of a yuga. The result— $4^{\circ} 2' 28' 49''$ —indicates the mean longitude of Saturn at the time of the epoch in strict agreement with line 9.

We now turn to Mercury and Venus whose periods of revolution are treated in the Indian systems as revolutions of their *śighras* while the mean place of the two planets is supposed always to correspond to the mean place of the sun. The latter circumstance is mentioned in line 2. Lines 9 and 10 state the real period of revolution of Mercury and the rule for finding its mean longitude. A hundred revolutions are reckoned to 8,797 days; one revolution therefore occupies 87·97 days. The known *Súrya Siddhánta* gives to one yuga 17,937,060 revolutions of Mercury; to one of the latter therefore 87·969702 days. So far it might appear that the two *Siddhántas* agree with regard to the number of revolutions of Mercury; this supposition, however, does not confirm itself when we make use of the correction stated in line 14 for the purpose of deducing therefrom the number of Mercury's revolutions in one yuga. We find by proportion that Mercury takes 0·000005 of a day to pass through  $45''$  of a circle; we therefore subtract the fraction from 87·97 and divide by the remainder the days of a yuga, when the quotient, 1,793,700,

indicates the number of Mercury's revolutions. This number agrees neither with the one stated in the known *Sūrya Siddhānta* (17,937,060) nor with the doctrine of *Āryabhaṭa* who reckons 17,937,020 revolutions of Mercury to one yuga (*Āryabhaṭa*, p. 6); on the other hand it does not differ from the number assumed in the *Paulīśa Siddhānta* (Colebrooke, *Essays*, II, p. 365). Mercury's *kshepa* finally is stated in line 17. We multiply the *kalpādy-ahargana* by 17,937,000 and divide by the days of a yuga. The result is  $148^{\circ} 17'$  and about  $6''$ ; the last quantity is not stated by *Varāha Mihira*.

We conclude with Venus. According to line 15 it performs ten revolutions in 2,247 days, consequently one revolution in 224.7 days. According to line 16 we have to add  $10.5''$  for each revolution to the mean place of Venus as calculated in line 15. Venus passes through so many seconds in 0.00182 of a day. We deduct this amount from 224.7 and divide by the remainder the days of the yuga. The quotient, 7,022,388, indicates the number of revolutions that Venus performs in one yuga, a number in which the *Sūrya Siddhānta* of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* again agrees with the *Āryabhaṭīya* (p. 6) and the *Paulīśa Siddhānta*, while the known *Sūrya Siddhānta* reckons 7,022,376 revolutions of Venus to one yuga. Lastly to calculate the *kshepa* we multiply the *kalpādy-ahargana* by 7,022,388 and divide by the days of a yuga. The result is  $8^{\circ} 27' 30'' 35''$ , which positive quantity is turned into a negative one by being deducted from an entire revolution or twelve signs. The remainder is  $3^{\circ} 2' 29' 25''$  which quantity is equal to 332,965 seconds. The text says 332,961; but most probably we have to read (in line 18) शर instead of शमि, which emendation would remove the discrepancy.

In addition to the rules translated and explained in the above the chapter on "*Sūrya Siddhānta, madhyagati*" contains a few more verses which as it appears state a so-called *bīja* to be applied to the positions of the planets resulting from the general rules. These verses, which together with those already quoted constitute the entire chapter, run as follows:

क्षेपाः खरेन्दुविकलाः प्रतिवर्षं\* मध्यमक्षितिजे† ।  
 दश दश गुरोर्विशोद्याः शनैश्चरे सार्धसप्त युताः ॥  
 पञ्चाब्धयो‡ विशोद्याः सिते बुधे खाद्यिचन्द्रयुक्ताः§ ।  
 खखवेदेन्दुविकालिकाः शोद्याः सुरपूजितस्य मध्यात् स्युः ॥

"Seventeen seconds for each year are to be added to the mean place of Mars; ten to be deducted from that of Jupiter; seven and a half to be

\* A. B. •वषमाद्य•

† A. •जा B. जोः

‡ A. पंचाब्धयो B. पंचद्भयो.

§ A. साद्यि• •युताः

added to that of Saturn; forty-five to be deducted from that of Venus; one hundred and twenty to be added to that of Mercury. Fourteen hundred seconds are to be deducted from the mean place of Jupiter."

These corrections call for no special remarks. As in similar cases, no special reason is given for the amount of the correction, it being understood that corrections of just that value will bring about a satisfactory agreement between calculation and observation. It is not said with whom the *bija* originated; but we have no reason to doubt that it was Varāha Mihira himself who had perceived that the elements of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* did not fully satisfy the requirements of his time. It is moreover noteworthy that the corrections proposed by Varāha Mihira for the *Sūrya Siddhānta* do not differ very much from those proposed for the elements of the *Āryabhaṭīya* by Lallāchārya who is called the disciple of *Āryabhaṭa*. The passage from Lalla which refers to this point is quoted in the commentary on the *Āryabhaṭīya* (Kern's edition, p. 58) and runs as follows:

शक्रे नखाभिरहिते शशिनो ऽक्षदशैस्तनुव्रतः कृतशिवैस्तमस्यपडङ्कैः ।  
 शैलाभिमिसूरगुरोर्गुणिते मितोच्चाच्छार्थं विपद्यकुरुते ऽवशराक्षिभक्ते ॥  
 स्रग्भरमान्मुधिहते क्षितिनन्दनस्य सूशोद्वजस्य गुणिते ऽम्बरलोचनेच्च ॥  
 यामाग्निवेदनिते विदधौत स्रग्भं शौतांशुसूनुकुजमन्दकलासु दृक्षिस् ॥

"Deduct 420 from the *S'āka* year, multiply it, for the moon, by 25, for the moon's *uchcha* by 114, for *Rāhu* by 96, for Jupiter by 47, for Venus' *uchcha* by 153, for Mars by 48, for Saturn by 20 and (for Mercury's *uchcha*) by 430; divide in all cases by 250. The resulting (minutes) are to be added to the minute (of the mean places) of Mercury, Mars and Saturn (while they are to be deducted in the case of the other planets)."

This means that—the moon with her apogee and node being left

aside —  $\frac{47'}{250}$  = about 11" for each year are to be deducted from Jupiter's

mean place;  $\frac{53'}{250}$  = 36" are to be deducted from the mean place of Venus;

$\frac{430'}{250}$  = 103" are to be added to Mercury;  $\frac{48'}{250}$  = 11" are to be added to

Mars;  $\frac{20'}{250}$  = 5" are to be added to Saturn. It will be observed that

these corrections differ in no case very widely, in some hardly at all from those which Varāha Mihira proposes.

The last clause in Varāha Mihira's chapter on the mean motions of the planets according to which 1,400 seconds are to be deducted from the mean place of Jupiter must refer to a constant *bija* to be applied to

the place of the planet at the epoch of the *Karāṇa*. It is too considerable for being considered as a yearly *bija*; a *bija* of the latter kind for Jupiter has moreover been stated in the preceding verse already.

Having gathered all the information which the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* supplies regarding the mean motions of the planets according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta* we now turn to the *Romaka Siddhānta*.

The information regarding the *yuga* adopted by the *Romaka Siddhānta* is contained in the 15th verse of the first *adhyāya* :

रामकयुगमर्केन्दोर्विर्षाणाकाशपञ्चवसुपलाः ।

सुन्दिरदिशा ऽधिमासाः स्वरक्तविषयादयः\* प्रलयाः ॥

"The lunisolar *yuga* of the *Romaka (Siddhānta)* comprises 2,850 years; (in these) there are 1,050 *adhimāsas* and 16,547 omitted lunar days."

The first point to be noted with regard to this passage is that the *yuga* is called "arkendvoḥ," a lunisolar *yuga*, from which it might appear that the *yuga* of the *Romaka Siddhānta* comprised an integral number of revolutions of the sun and the moon only, while the *yugas* of the other *Siddhāntas* as for instance the *Sūrya Siddhānta* are founded on the revolutions of the other planets also. If this was really the case cannot as yet be settled with certainty. The *Pañchasiddhāntikā* indeed extracts from the *Romaka Siddhānta* information about the motions of the sun and moon merely; but on the other hand a passage in the *Brahmagupta Sphuṭa Siddhānta* which will be quoted later on shows that *Srīshēṇa* treated also of the other planets. That he, however, in the construction of his astronomical periods considerably diverged from the other *Siddhāntas* we are told by *Brahmagupta* himself in a passage occurring in the first chapter of his *Sphuṭa Siddhānta* :

युगमन्वन्तरकल्पाः कालपरिच्छेदकाः स्मृतावुक्ताः ।

यस्मान्न रामके ते स्मृतिवाच्यौ रामककालात् ॥

"Because the *yugas*, *manvantaras* and *kalpas* which are stated in the *Smṛitis* as defining time are not employed in the *Romaka (Siddhānta)*, therefore the *Romaka* stands outside *Smṛiti*."

If we now inquire more closely into the nature of the period made use of in the *Romaka Siddhānta*, we observe at once that the number of the solar years as well as that of the intercalary months can be reduced by 150 so that we may say as well that 19 solar years contain 7 intercalary months or that 19 solar years contain 235 synodical months. In other words the *yuga* of the *Romaka Siddhānta* is founded on the well-known *Metonic period*. Nor is it a matter of great difficulty to

\* A. स्वरक्त० • दृयाप्रल०

find out why the Romaka uses instead of the simple Metonic period its 150th multiple. At first we have to ascertain the length of the solar year of the Romaka, by dividing the 1,040,953 civil days comprised in the entire yuga by 2,850, the number of years; when we obtain  $365^d 5^h 55' 12''$ ; a result showing, as of course we might already have inferred from the mere use of the Metonic period, that the Romaka uses not the sidereal solar year the uniform employment of which is so marked a feature of later Indian astronomy but the tropical solar year. Nor again is there any room for doubt concerning the origin of this determination of the solar year. It is the tropical year of Hipparchus or if we like of Ptolemy who adopted his great predecessor's estimation of the time occupied by one tropical revolution of the sun without attempting to correct it although it is considerably too long. (*Cf.* Ptolemy's *Syntaxis*, Book III.)

It is certainly a matter of interest to meet in one of the oldest Siddhāntas with an estimation of the year's length whose Greek origin it is impossible to deny. The comparison of the length of the year as fixed by the different Siddhāntas on one side and the Greek astronomers on the other side is generally beset by considerable difficulties chiefly in consequence of the Hindú astronomers giving no direct information about the length of the tropical year, while the Greeks on their part speak in clear terms of the tropical year only, and oblige us to infer their opinions regarding the length of the sidereal year. It is of course easy enough to deduce the length of the one species of year from the length of the other if we are acquainted with the assumed yearly rate of the precession of the equinoxes. But it so happens that the determination of the latter point is in many cases by no means easy. To take for instance the (published) *Súrya Siddhānta* we easily derive from its data the length of its sidereal year, *viz.*,  $365^d 6^h 12^m 36.6^s$  and, if we avail ourselves of the amount of yearly precession as stated in its *tripraś-nádhya*, *viz.*,  $54''$ , we find for the length of the tropical year  $365^d 5^h 50^m 41.7^s$ , which is a determination much more correct than that of the Greek astronomers. But I quite share the suspicion expressed by Professor Whitney (translation of the *Súrya Siddhānta*, p. 246 ff.) that the passage of the *tripraśnádhikāra* alluded to formed no part of the original *Súrya Siddhānta*, but is a later interpolation. It remains therefore uncertain by what process the length of the sidereal year of the *Súrya Siddhānta* was determined; the possibility of its being founded on the tropical year of Hipparchus and the Romaka Siddhānta is meanwhile not to be considered as altogether excluded.\*

\* The proposal made by Biot (*Etudes sur l'astronomie Indienne*, p. 29) to account for the sidereal year of the *Súrya Siddhānta* by considering it as the

Hipparchus himself basing on his calculation of the tropical year and on the Metonic cycle constructed a period of 304 ( $4 \times 4 \times 19$ ) years *minus* one day = 111,035 days which period comprises 3,760 synodical months. (See Ideler's *Chronology*, I, p. 352.) The advantages of this period are that it comprises integral numbers of civil days and of lunar months and, very nearly, of tropical years while at the same time it implies nearly accurate estimations of the length of the year and the month, (*viz.*,  $365^d 5^h 55' 15''$  and  $29^d 12^h 44' 2.5''$ ; the accurate figures according to Hipparchus being  $365^d 5^h 55' 12''$  and  $29^d 12^h 44' 3.2''$ ). A period of this kind would, however, apparently not have suited Indian purposes. We here are met by one of the particular Indian requirements which helped to transform systems of Greek origin into the Indian systems with their strongly marked peculiarities. At the time when Greek astronomy began to act on India the calendar in prevalent use in the latter country was undoubtedly already the well-known lunisolar one with its tithis and intercalary lunar months. The peculiarity of this calendar is, that it does not inform one directly of the number of civil days which have expired from the beginning of the current year but only of the number of the elapsed lunar days or tithis. From the latter the number of civil days has to be derived by means of a proportion. And again in order to ascertain the number of tithis contained in a certain number of years antecedent to the current year, it is necessary at first to ascertain the number of intercalary lunar months which have occurred in the course of those years, a process requiring the employment of another proportion. We cannot enter in this place into a discussion of the reasons which may have led to the adoption of such an extraordinary and inconvenient style of calendar; for our purposes it is sufficient to know that it had established itself on Indian soil at an early period. It appears for instance in the *Jyotisha-Vedāṅga*, although the form in which it there presents itself is a comparatively simple and primitive one, the writer of the *Vedāṅga* neither having an accurate knowledge of the length of the revolutions of the sun and the moon nor being acquainted with the solar and lunar inequalities. At any rate it had taken a firm hold on the Hindú nation and when Greek notions and methods streamed in, they had to adapt themselves to the existing system. Thus the above described manner of calculating the number of civil days comprised in a certain period with its twofold transformation of solar years into lunar months and of lunar days into civil days required the establishment of

arithmetical mean taken between the sidereal year of Hipparchus and that of the Chaldeans has not much to recommend itself; the mean would not even be an accurate one.

periods containing integral numbers of all the different constituent elements, as otherwise the already laborious calculations would have become vastly more troublesome. For this reason the author of the Romaka Siddhānta formed his yuga of 2,850 years which is not only a multiple of 19 years, from which circumstance it follows that it comprises an integral number of intercalary months; but which in addition comprises as we have seen an integral number of civil days. That 150 is the smallest multiplier by which the desired purpose can be effected it is easy to see. The Romaka period has the additional advantage of being based on the exact tropical year of Hipparchus while the period of 304 years demands a lengthening of the year by 3 seconds.

From the verse translated above we moreover derive the length of the month according to the Romaka Siddhānta. Dividing the sāvāna days of the yuga by the number of its synodical months we obtain for the length of one synodical month  $29^d 12^h 44' 2.25''$ . Further, adding to the number of the synodical months of the yuga the number of solar revolutions and dividing by the sum the number of sāvāna days, we arrive at a periodical month of  $27^d 7^h 43' 6.3''$ . (It need not be mentioned that the periodical month of the Romaka is, like its year, a tropical one.) A comparison of these values with those assigned to the same periods by the Greek astronomers offers, owing to the particular nature of the case, no special interest. Hipparchus had found for the length of the synodical month  $29^d 12^h 44' 3.262''$ \* and this estimation might not improbably have been known to the author of the Romaka Siddhānta; but since, as we have seen above, the absolute equality of 19 solar years and 235 synodical months was insisted on, the length of the month had to be modified slightly.†

\* This is the value resulting from Hipparchus's lunisolar period (about which see the following note). Ptolemy, as pointed out by Biot, *Résumé de Chronologie Astronomique*, p. 401, derives his value of the synodical month from the same period, arrives, however, from unknown reasons at a result differing in the decimal places of the seconds ( $29^d 12^h 44' 3.333''$ ) and employs this value in all his subsequent investigations.

† The above remark on the synodical month of course applies to the periodical month likewise. Although, however, I do not wish to enter in this place into a detailed comparison of the Greek and Indian determinations of the length of the month the following hints as to the course of procedure of the chief Greek astronomers may find a place. The lunisolar period employed by Hipparchus and described by Ptolemy in the 2nd chapter of the 4th book of the *Syntaxis* sets 126,007 days plus one hour equal on one side to 4,267 synodical months and on the other side to 4,612 sidereal revolutions of the moon minus  $7\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ ; the same period is said to comprise 345 sidereal revolutions of the sun minus  $7\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ . On these equalities may be based in the first place a calculation of the length of the synodical month, in the second place

We now proceed to consider some verses which teach how to employ the general principles stated above for the purpose of calculating the mean places of sun and moon. They are found in the 8th adhyāya whose general subject is the calculation of solar eclipses according to the Romaka :

रामकख्येयं युगणात् खतिथिघ्नात् पञ्चकतुं परिचैषात् ।  
सप्तष्टकसप्तकवेन्द्रियेहृतान्मथ्यमाः क्रमशः ॥

(Without entering on the discussion of a few necessary emendations of the above text I at once proceed to render its undoubted sense.) "Multiply the ahargana by 150, subtract from it 65 and divide by 54,787; the result is the mean place of the sun according to the Romaka." (From one of the following verses we see that the mean places of the Romaka are calculated for the time of sunset at Avanti.) I wish, with regard to the above verse as well as those verses which will be translated later on, to confine myself to the general part of the rule and not to enter for the present on a discussion of the additive quantity—the kshepa—which as we have seen when considering the corresponding rules of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* is introduced for the purpose of enabling us to start in our calculations from the epoch of the *karāṇa*. The additive—or in this case subtractive—quantity (—65) being left aside the remainder of the rule presents no difficulties. As we have seen above the

a calculation, independent from the former one, of the length of the sidereal month and the sidereal year. Ptolemy when determining the mean motions of the moon exclusively avails himself of the first mentioned equation between 126,007 days *plus* one hour and 4,267 synodical months and—employing the mean tropical motion of the sun settled independently—derives therefrom the mean tropical motion of the moon. From the latter it is easy to calculate the length of the periodical (tropical) month, with the result 27<sup>d</sup> 7<sup>h</sup> 43' 7.27", and from that again, if we avail ourselves of the value of the yearly precession which Ptolemy had accepted, *viz.*, 36", the value of the sidereal month, for which we find 27<sup>d</sup> 7<sup>h</sup> 43' 12.1". (Thus also in the Comparative Table of the sidereal revolutions of the planets, Burgess—Whitney's translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, p. 168.) Hipparchus on the other hand who had not settled a definite value of the annual precession would, in order to ascertain the duration of the sidereal month, most probably have made use of the second of the above-mentioned equations. The resulting length of the sidereal month is 27<sup>d</sup> 7<sup>h</sup> 43' 13.57" (thus also Biot *études sur l'astronomie Indienne*, p. 44). A certain rate of the precession may be derived from comparing this sidereal month with the tropical month mentioned above (regarding whose length Ptolemy and Hipparchus agree if we set aside the insignificant difference resulting from the inadvertence of Ptolemy remarked on in the preceding note). Or again the rate of the precession may be calculated by comparing the length of the sidereal year which results from the third of the stated equations (*vide* 365<sup>d</sup> 6<sup>h</sup> 14' 11.79") with the duration of the tropical year; we thus obtain for the annual rate 46' 5".

sun performs 2,850 revolutions in 1,040,953 days. Both numbers can be reduced by 19. In order therefore to find the place of the sun at a given time or, in Indian terminology, for a given ahargana, we multiply the ahargana by 150 and divide the product by 54,787. The result represents the mean place of the sun in the tropical sphere.

In the same adhyāya we read the following rule for calculating the mean place of the moon :

खखरुपाष्टगुणाष्टप्लाक्तताष्टनवकेकवर्जिताद् यगणात् ।  
विविपवेचखकृताशापरिशुद्धान्धमशैताभिः ॥

(The translation will show what emendations of the text are required.) "Multiply the ahargana by 38,100, subtract 1,984 and divide by 1,040,953; the result is the mean place of the moon."

The kshepa being set aside the rule is easy to understand. The multiplier is the number of the sidereal months contained in the yuga of the Romaka Siddhānta; the number of the civil days of the same period forms the divisor. The quotient represents the mean place of the moon in the tropical sphere.

While the preceding rules regarding the mean places of sun and moon gave no information about the elements of the Romaka which we might not have directly derived from the statement concerning the nature of the yuga and were chiefly interesting as confirming the latter, a new element is furnished by the next following verse which refers to the anomaly of the moon :

शुन्दैकेकाभ्यस्तान् नवशून्यरसान्वितादिनसमूहात् ।  
रूपविखगुणभक्तात् केन्द्रं शशिनी स्तगने ज्वन्याम् ॥

(Without translating the compound which refers to the kshepa, and only remarking that the last words are an emendation of शशिनीस्तगमवद्यां which is the reading exhibited by the manuscripts we render :) "Multiply the ahargana by 110 and divide by 3,031; the result is the moon's kendra at the time of sunset at Avanti."

The last words indicate the time of the day from which the calculations according to the Romaka Siddhānta have to start and the Meridian employed; they will not be considered here as they are important only if viewed in connexion with the kshepa. The kendra performing 110 revolutions in 3,031 days we obtain by division  $27^d 13^h 18' 32.7''$  as the time of one revolution of the kendra or, according to the Greeks' and our own terminology, of one anomalistic month. The manner in which we are here taught to calculate the moon's mean anomaly seems to be another interesting proof of the Romaka Siddhānta standing in a specially close relation to Greek astronomy. The Indian systems in general

do, as is well-known, not speak of revolutions of the moon's anomaly but of revolutions of the *uchcha*, *i. e.*, the apogee or the apsis, while the Greeks combined the motion of the apogee and that of the moon herself in the so-called restitution of the anomaly (*ἀποκατάστασις τῆς ἀνομαλίας*) which corresponds to the modern anomalistic month and which we here meet with in the Romaka as the revolution of the *kendra*. I am aware that Hindu Astronomers occasionally calculate the position of the *kendra* in the same way, *i. e.*, without having recourse to the separate revolutions of the *uchcha*, and moreover it might be said that Varāha Mihira who reproduces the systems of his predecessors in a greatly condensed shape may have modified the rules of the Romaka Siddhānta in this special point, merely aiming at giving rules the results of which would be identical or nearly identical with those of the Romaka. But against this it is to be urged that in the next following chapter which treats of the calculation of eclipses according to the Sūrya Siddhānta we meet with a rule for calculating the place of the *uchcha* which exactly agrees with the Sūrya Siddhānta as known to us, and that therefore Varāha Mihira who faithfully reports the doctrine of one Siddhānta regarding this particular point may be expected to have done the same with regard to the other. Remembering therefore that in other points also, as shown above, the Romaka Siddhānta evinces more unmistakeable traces of Greek influence than the remainder of the Siddhāntas, we shall most probably not err in considering its peculiar method of calculating the moon's mean anomaly as due to Greek models, while on the other hand the employment of separate revolutions of the *uchcha* as exhibited in the Sūrya Siddhānta, etc. has to be viewed as an Indian innovation.

The rates of mean motion of the moon and her *uchcha* can of course be deduced from the rules extracted and translated in the above; they are, however, specially stated in another verse of the same chapter :

खनवनमाः शशिभुक्तिः कृतवस्तुनयः शशाङ्ककेन्द्रस्य ।

“The (mean daily) motion of the moon is 790 (minutes); of the moon's anomaly 784 (minutes).”

These are of course mere “*sthūla*” values, of sufficient accuracy, however, for ordinary purposes.

The value of the anomalistic month which results from Hipparchus's lunisolar periods is  $27^d 13^h 18' 34.7''$ . The small difference between this value and the one adopted by the author of the Romaka Siddhānta may be owing to the latter's wish to establish a not over long period containing integral numbers of revolutions of the *kendra* and of civil days.

We finally have to consider a verse which contains the rule for calculating the mean place of the moon's node. The latter part of the text of the verse is very corrupt :

अष्टकगणिते दद्यात्सर्तुयमष्टकपञ्चकान् राशेः ।  
भवरूपाः प्राष्टिहते क्रमादुत्थानोच्यते वक्रं ॥

We are concerned only with the first half of the first line and the first half of the second line. The second half of the first line states the kshepa whose consideration we exclude; the second half of the second line is corrupt (the वक्रं, however, clearly indicates that the motion of the node is retrograde). "Tryashtaka" has to be taken as meaning 24. The rule therefore directs us to multiply (the ahargana) in the case of Rāhu by 24 and to divide by 163,111. From this it appears that the Romaka reckons 24 revolutions of the node to 163,111 days; one revolution therefore comprises 6,796<sup>d</sup> 7<sup>h</sup>. This agrees very nearly with Ptolemy's determination (which we calculate from the mean daily motion of the node as determined by him) according to which one revolution of the node takes place in 6,796<sup>d</sup> 14<sup>h</sup>, etc.†

From these statements regarding the yuga of the Romaka Siddhānta we now turn to the practical rule concerning the calculation of the ahargana which is contained in the 8th, 9th and 10th verses of the first chapter where it follows immediately on the introductory verses quoted and translated above.

सप्तशिवेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्य चैत्रशुक्लादौ ।  
अर्धासमिते भानौ यवनपुरे सौम्यदिवसाद्ये ।  
मासौक्यते समासे द्विष्टे सप्ताहते ऽष्टमपक्षेः ।  
लब्धैर्युतो ऽधिसौख्येणदृष्टसिधियुतो द्विष्टः ।  
वद्रन्नः समनशरे लब्धेना गृहखसप्तभिर्युगणः ।  
रोमकविद्वानो ‡ अथ नातिचिरे पौलिशे ऽथेवम् ॥

"Deduct the Saka year 427, (*i. e.*, deduct 427 from the number of that Saka year for any day in which you wish to calculate the ahargana) at the beginning of the light half of Chaitra, when the sun had half set

\* So in B. A. has over क्रमा rather indistinctly shaped letter which may be a द or perhaps an र and after that खान्द्यते.

† We may notice here a mistake which has crept into the Comparative Table of the Sidereal Revolutions of the planets in Burgess—Whitney's translation of the Sūrya Siddhānta, p. 168. The compiler of that Table when calculating the sidereal revolution of the node according to Ptolemy and the moderns apparently forgot that, the motion of the node being retrograde, the effect of the precession of the equinoxes is to render the sidereal revolution of the node not longer but shorter than the tropical revolution; he therefore added the difference due to the precession to the tropical revolution instead of deducting it. The real value of the sidereal revolution of the node according to the moderns is 6,793<sup>d</sup> 10<sup>h</sup>, etc., and rather less than this quantity according to Ptolemy.

‡ A. B. • सिद्धान्तो.

in Yavanapura, at the beginning of Wednesday; turn (the number of solar years remaining after the deduction of 427) into months, add the months, (*i. e.*, the elapsed lunar months of the current year), put the result down in two places, multiply it (in one place) by 7 and divide by 228, add the resulting *adhimāsas* (to the number of months obtained above); multiply the sum by 30, add the *tithis*, (*i. e.*, the elapsed *tithis* of the current month), put the result down in two places; multiply it (in one place) by 11, add 51½ and (divide) by 703; deduct the quotient (from the number of *tithis* found above). The final result is the (*sāvana*) *ahargana* according to the Romaka Siddhānta; in the Paulīsa too it is not very much different."

The above is a very concisely stated rule for a rough calculation of the *ahargana*, *i. e.*, the sum of civil days elapsed from a certain epoch down to a given date. The general principles of the calculation do not differ from the usual ones and therefore stand in no need of elucidation. Concerning the details we have in the first place to notice that the Saka date 427 has to be deducted from the given sum of years. This means of course that the *ahargana* is to be calculated from the end of the 427th year of the Saka era. The question remains whether 427 Saka elapsed is to be taken as the time when the Romaka Siddhānta was written or at least is the epoch fixed upon by the author of the Romaka Siddhānta as the starting-point of his calculations, or whether the named year represents either the time of the composition of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* or the epoch selected by Varāha Mihira himself. The former alternative is indeed *primā facie* the much more probable one as the date appears in the text in connexion with other details which certainly originally belonged to the Romaka and not to Varāha Mihira. The latter alternative can, however, not be rejected altogether; for it is by no means impossible that while the principles of the calculation of the *ahargana* are taken from the Romaka, the particular date from which it starts might have been chosen by Varāha Mihira himself. It is moreover the habit of the writers of *karana-granthas* to take for their epoch either the year in which their book is actually composed or at least some very near year. And finally Albīrūnī as well as the Hindū Astronomers of Ujjain who in the beginning of this century furnished Dr. W. Hunter with the list of astronomers published by Colebrooke (*Algebra*, p. xxxiii) took 427 as the date of Varāha Mihira himself (*Cf.* Kern, Preface to the *Bṛihat Saṃhitā*, p. 2.) On the other hand as Prof. Kern points out, it is certainly most improbable that Varāha Mihira whose death has been ascertained by Dr. Bhau Daji to have taken place in 587 A. D. should have written the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* in 505 already. The other argument adduced by Prof. Kern against 505 being the date of the *Pañchasiddhānta*

tikā is that the latter work quotes Ārya Bhaṭṭa who was born in 476 only and therefore is not likely to have been referred to in 505 already as a writer of authority. Matters lie, however, somewhat differently. We know from a passage of Brahmagupta which will be quoted later on, that Śrīsheṇa the author of the Romaka Siddhānta had borrowed some of the fundamental principles of his astronomical system from Āryabhaṭṭa. Now Āryabhaṭṭa's first work (for it is not likely that he began to write before the age of twenty-three) having been composed in 499, the assumption that 505 marks the time of the Pañchasiddhāntikā would compel us to conclude that Śrīsheṇa's work was written in the short interval between 499 and 505, and had then already become famous enough to be esteemed one of the principal five Siddhāntas. Such a conclusion does certainly not recommend itself, and we may safely I think assume that 505 is either the year in which Śrīsheṇa's work was written or else the year selected by him for the starting-point of his calculations, and therefore not far remote from the year in which he wrote. For the date of the Pañchasiddhāntikā there would finally remain the period from 505 to 587. I should, however, be unwilling to assign it to a later date than perhaps 530 to 540; for if its composition was removed by too great an interval from 505, it is improbable that Varāha Mihira should have kept the latter year as his epoch and not have introduced a more recent one.

We return to the ahargana rule. The days are to be counted from sunset, a practice which we do not elsewhere meet with in India while it is known to have been generally followed by the Greeks; another proof for the particularly intimate dependance of the Romaka on Greek science. The years which have elapsed from the epoch are turned into months (in the usual way, by being multiplied by 12) and the elapsed months of the current year are added. Then by a proportion resulting from the yuga of the Romaka the intercalary months are calculated (7 intercalary months are to be added to 228 months; how many to the given number of months?). The number of the months is then multiplied by 30, and from the number of tithis found in that way the number of omitted lunar days (tithi kshaya) is derived by another proportion, which is, however, merely approximate. Since, as we have seen above, the Romaka reckons 16,547 omitted lunar days to the yuga (which comprises 1,057,500 tithis), 703 lunar days comprise

$11 + \frac{41}{1057500}$  omitted lunar days, while the proportion made use of

for the calculation of the ahargana neglects the fraction. The additional quantity  $\frac{41}{1057500}$  does not occupy us because, as stated above, we exclude for the present the consideration of the epoch of the Romaka Siddhānta and the kshaya-quantities connected with it.

An identical rule for the calculation of the ahargana is not found anywhere else in Indian astronomy (as indeed it cannot be on account of the prevailing employment of the sidereal solar year) with one exception. The rules of Siamese astronomy which have been alluded to above teach the calculation of the ahargana (or as it is called there horoeonne—I quote from the account of Siamese astronomy given by Bailly in his *Traité de l'astronomie Indienne et Orientale*) according to exactly the same method. The kshepa-quantities differ on account of the Siamese rules starting from a different epoch. But the proportions  $\frac{7}{228}$  and  $\frac{11}{703}$  are both made use of. The use of the latter proportion is of no particular interest; for the proportion is only approximately correct, and does not allow of any certain inference regarding the length of the synodical month being founded on it. It is in fact—if I am not mistaken—occasionally used by karuṇa writers who deal with the sidereal year only. But the former proportion as clearly pointing to a tropical solar year is noteworthy, all the more as the Siamese rules nowhere directly acknowledge the tropical year but uniformly employ the sidereal one. It did in fact not escape the attention of Cassini who inferred from it that a tropical year of 365<sup>d</sup> 5<sup>h</sup> 55' 13" 46" had originally been known to the Siamese, and remarked that such a year differed by two seconds only from Hipparchus's year. We are now able to maintain that the two years originally did not differ at all, and that the later small divergence is merely due to the inaccurate proportion  $\left(\frac{11}{703}\right)$  which for reasons of convenience was preferred to the accurate one.

We finally have to consider an interesting stanza in the 11th chapter of Brahmagupta's *Sphuṭa Siddhānta* which contains some information about the sources from which the elements of the *Romaka Siddhānta* were derived. The two manuscripts of the *Sphuṭa Siddhānta* at my disposal are unfortunately so incorrect that only a part of the stanza is intelligible; what interests us more particularly can, however, be made out I think. One manuscript (containing the text of the *Sphuṭa Siddhānta* only) reads:

दुग्धार्थभट्टानि प्रत्येकं दूषणानि शेषानि ।  
 शौखेनप्रभृतौनां कानिचिदन्धानि वक्ष्यामि ॥  
 साटासूर्यशशङ्को मध्याविन्दूच्चपातो च ।  
 कुजबुधशौभ्रवृक्षस्यतिसितशौभ्रश्नेश्वरान् मध्यान् ।  
 युगपातवर्षभगणान् वासिष्ठाभदेन युगादिऋतपादात् ।  
 • मन्दोच्चपरिधिपातस्यष्टौकरणाद्यमायंभटात् ।  
 शौभ्येन गृहीत्वा रन्ध्राच्चपरामकान् ऋतः कथा ।

The other manuscript (E. J. H. 1304) which contains parts of the *Sphuṭa Siddhānta* with the commentary by Prithūdaka Svāmin reads :

Comm. : यानि संभवन्ति तान्यार्यभटदूषणानि श्रौषेणादीनां योज्यानि इत्येतदार्थश्च ।

Text : सुतदार्थभटोक्तानि प्रत्येकं दुग्णानि योज्यानि ।

श्रौषेणप्रभृतानां कानिचिदन्धानि वक्ष्यामि ॥

Comm. : गतार्थेभ्यस्तथा । इदानीं श्रौषेणाचार्येण कृते रोमकसिद्धान्तो यश्च नासिद्धो त्रिष्णुचंद्रेण यतो दूषणमार्थाचतुष्टयेनाह ।

Text : आर्यान्तर्द्वयशशांको मध्याविदूषचंद्रपातो च । कुजबुधश्रीघ्रवृहस्यनिसितशौभ्र-  
सनिसरान् मध्यान् । यमघातवर्षे भगवान्वासिष्ठान्विजयनंदिकृतपादान् । मंदोच्चपरिधिपा-  
तान्द्रुष्टोकराद्यमार्थभटान् । श्रौषेणेन गृहीत्वा रत्नोच्चरारोमककृतकथः इत्यादि ।

What chiefly concerns us in the above extract (the text of which it is not possible to emendate in all places without the help of further manuscripts) is the fact of *Aryabhaṭa* and *Lāṭa* being mentioned among the predecessors of *Sriṣheṇa*. The *Romaka Siddhānta*, in that shape at any rate which was given to it by *Sriṣheṇa*, is therefore later than *Aryabhaṭa* and was as we have remarked above most probably composed in 505. It borrowed from *Aryabhaṭa*, as we see from the line मंदोच्च\*, all those processes which are required for finding the true places of the planets. On the other hand it adopted from *Lāṭa* all those rules by means of which the mean places of the planets are calculated.\* *Lāṭa* therefore appears to have been that Hindú astronomer who first borrowed from the Greeks the tropical year of Hipparchus, the Metonic period, etc. This would agree very well with the other notice, quoted above, which the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* furnishes concerning *Lāṭachārya*, viz., that according to him the beginning of the day was to be reckoned from the moment of sunset in *Yavanapura*. It is greatly to be regretted that the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* does not treat of the mean motions of the planets other than sun and moon according to the *Romaka Siddhānta*; as these also were, according to *Brahmagupta*, borrowed from *Lāṭa* they would most likely correspond with the mean motions as determined by Hipparchus more closely than the mean motions resulting from the cycles of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* and the *Aryabhaṭīya*. If the *Romaka Siddhānta* by *Sriṣheṇa* was composed in 505 as appears very likely *Lāṭa* would have to be considered at least as a contemporary of *Aryabhaṭa*; but considering the specifically Greek character of his astronomy I think it much more likely that he preceded him.

\* The reading आर्यान्तु\* of the E. J. H. manuscript (instead of लाटाच\* of the other manuscript) is clearly wrong. In the first place *Arya* could hardly be used for *Aryabhaṭa*; secondly, the mean motions of the *Romaka* are not those of *Aryabhaṭa*; thirdly, the indebtedness of the *Romaka* to *Aryabhaṭa* is stated in the later line मंदोच्चपरि\*.

A doubt concerning Lāṭa's position might arise from the introduction of the Pañchasiddhāntikā in which it is remarked that the Paulīśa and Romaka Siddhāntas were "vyākhyātau" by Lāṭadeva. This Lāṭadeva is either to be considered as a writer altogether different from that Lāṭa to whom Śriṣheṇa was indebted for a part of the elements of his Siddhānta, or else we must suppose that Śriṣheṇa's Romaka Siddhānta was only a recast of an older Romaka Siddhānta which was written or commented on by Lāṭa. The latter remark perhaps applies to the Paulīśa Siddhānta also, and we must here remember that, as Prof. Kern has shown, Utpala distinguishes between the Paulīśa Siddhānta and a Mūla Paulīśa Siddhānta.

We may in conclusion sum up in a few words the chief results following from the consideration of those parts of the Pañchasiddhāntikā which form the subject of this paper. In the first place it appears that the rules of the Sūrya Siddhānta known to Varāha Mihira differed very considerably from the corresponding rules of the Sūrya Siddhānta which has come down to us while they agreed partly with the Āryabhaṭṭīya partly with the Paulīśa Siddhānta as represented by Bhaṭṭotpala. It follows that in any inquiries into the earliest history of modern Indian astronomy the existing Sūrya Siddhānta is not to be referred to, at any rate not without great caution. In the second place we are enabled, by what we have learned about the Romaka Siddhānta, to go back beyond Āryabhaṭṭa and the Sūrya Siddhānta, and to gain an insight into the very beginning of modern Hindū science when it still wore the unmistakable impress of its Greek prototype and had not yet hardened into its distinctive national form.

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#### APPENDIX.

I take this opportunity of showing by some more examples how practical Hindū works on astronomy facilitate their calculations by at first employing greatly reduced numbers and afterwards making up for the resulting errors by applying corrections. In the astronomical tables alluded to in the preceding paper which Bailly calls the tables of Narsapur, a period is employed for the calculation of the moon's mean place which is yet considerably simpler than the one which according to Varāha Mihira may be constructed on the elements of the Sūrya Siddhānta. We are there directed to multiply the ahargaṇa by 800 and to divide by 21,857. Eight hundred revolutions of the moon comprising 21,857 days, one revolution would be equal to  $27^d 7^h 42' 36''$ . But a correction is stated to the effect that the given ahargaṇa is to be divided by 4,888 and the quotient, taken as indicating degrees, is to be deducted from

the mean place of the moon as found from the general rule. This is as much as saying that  $\frac{1}{4888}^\circ = 0.7365''$  for each day of the ahargaṇa are to be deducted. Multiplying this quantity by the duration of the periodical month as stated above ( $27^d 7^h$  etc.) we obtain  $20.1218''$ . So many seconds of the circle are passed through by the moon in  $36.65'$ . We add the latter quantity to the duration of the month and thus obtain  $27^d 7^h 43' 12.65''$ , which is almost identical with that duration of the sidereal month which results from the elements of the published *Sūrya Siddhānta* and differs very little only from the duration of the month presupposed by the *Sūrya Siddhānta* of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. Bailly supposes that that estimation of the month which results from 800 revolutions being considered equal to 21,857 days was the original one, and that the stated correction was added later for the purpose of bringing about an equality between the results of the tables of Narsapur and the tables of Krishnapur (which are likewise described by Bailly, *Traité*, etc., p. 31 ff.). But matters have doubtless to be explained differently. The author of the tables of Narsapur was acquainted with the *Sūrya Siddhānta* from which he derived his knowledge of the length of the sidereal month. He, however, aimed at replacing the inconveniently big numbers of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* by smaller ones—in the same way as *Varāha Mihira* does in his account of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, went, however, a step further than the latter astronomer by reducing the period of 900,000 revolutions to its 1125th part, i. e., 800 revolutions. Dividing the 24,589,506 days of the former period by 1,125 we get  $21857 + \frac{381}{1125}$ . The moon's mean place is then calculated at first without the fraction being taken into account; but the error arising from this neglect is too considerable to be neglected, and so the above stated correction is applied finally.—We have to account in an analogous manner for the origin of the correction of the sun's mean place which the tables of Narsapur apply (Bailly, p. 54). The period comprising 800 revolutions of the sun which is employed there immediately presupposes a year of  $365^d 6^h 12' 36''$  while the year of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* is longer by  $0.56''$ . To make up for this difference  $2''$  for each period of 87 years are deducted from the sun's mean place as calculated from the 800 year period. For if the year has been estimated  $0.56''$  short of its real length the error amounts in 87 years to  $48.7''$ , and in so much time the sun passes through two seconds of the circle. It thus appears that here again the correction had not the aim of reconciling two sets of astronomical tables but was contemplated by the author of the Narsapur tables at the outset.

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## ADDENDUM

(To Mr. V. A. Smith's paper on the Gupta Coins, p. 119.)

Coins lately procured by Mr. H. Riveti-Carnac, C. S., C. I. E. in Benares bazar:—

1. Chandra Gupta I; King and Queen type; legends legible; as Plate II, 2. A good specimen.
2. Chandra Gupta II; Archer Type lotus-seat reverse, as Plate III, 1.
3. Kumára Gupta Mahendra; Archer Type; <sup>कु</sup> ~~म~~ under arm, on margin 'Mahárāja';  
<sub>र</sub>  
*rev.* as usual.  
*Obv.* differs in legend, and in pose of figure from Plate III, 10. A fine specimen.

## ERRATA.

- P. 119, l. 19 read Ghatokacha, for Ghatoí Kacha, and so throughout Mr. Smith's paper on the Gupta coins.  
„ 128, „ 24 omit ' or jalampa.'

I N D E X  
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**A**KBAR, Geography of India during the reign of, p. 215  
 Argha-sthápana, ritual of, p. 70  
 Atkinson, E. T., Notes on the history of Religion in the Himálaya of the N. W. Prov., p. 39  
 Avadh, Geography of, during reign of Akbar, p. 217

**B**AHRAICH, District, geography of, during reign of Akbar, p. 222  
 Baiswári Folksongs, p. 232  
 Beames, J., on the Geography of India in the reign of Akbar, p. 215  
 Bhanjan, Vaishnava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 90  
 Bhánunáth, Vaishnava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 86  
 Bijai Mal, song of, Sp. No., p. 94  
 ———, translation of above, Sp. No., p. 131  
 Birth-ceremonies, in the Himálayas, p. 79  
 Birthday ceremonies; in the Himálayas, p. 82

**C**ALENDAR, in Kumaon, p. 44  
 Capital of Gupta Dynastý, p. 156  
 Casual religious ceremonies, p. 100  
 Catalogue of gold Gupta Coins, pp. 119, 169  
 Ceremonies, of birth, p. 79  
 ——— of birthday, p. 82  
 ——— of marriage, p. 94  
 ——— casual, p. 100  
 ——— see Ritual.  
 Chakrapáni, Vaishnava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 91  
 Chandra Gupta I, gold coins of, p. 171

Chandra Gupta II, gold coins of, pp. 179, 199  
 Chárvákas, psychological tenets of, p. 104  
 Chatarbhuja, Vaishnava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 86  
 Chúra Karana, ritual of, p. 91  
 Coins, gold Gupta, p. 19  
 ——— Ramtinkis, p. 207

**D**ÆMONISM in the Himálayas, p. 43  
 Daily prayers, in the Himálayas, p. 65  
 Dialect of the Naqqásh in the Panjáb, p. 1  
 Domestic Ritual, in the Himálayas, p. 64  
 Duráshatmí, a religious ceremony, p. 48

**F**ESTIVALS, religious, in the Himálayas, p. 44  
 ——— regulated by the solar calendar, p. 60  
 Findspots of Gold Gupta coins, p. 148  
 Folksongs, Baiswári, p. 232

**G**ANESA-PUJA, ritual of, p. 70  
 Geography of India during the reign of Akbar, p. 215  
 Ghatotkacha, gold coins of, p. 169  
 Gibbs, Hon'ble J., a paper on the medals known as Ramtinkis, p. 207  
 Gorakhpur District, geography of, during reign of Akbar, p. 220  
 Gosains, a sect in the Himálayas, p. 53  
 Grierson, G. A., Translation of Manbodh's Haribans, Sp. No., p. 1  
 ——— Index to do., Sp. No., p. 37

- Grierson, G. A. twenty-one Vaishṇava Hymns, Sp. No., p. 76  
 ——— the song of Bijai Mal, Sp. No., p. 94  
 ——— translation of above, Sp. No., p. 131
- Gupta, Catalogue of gold coins of the Gupta dynasty, p. 119  
 ——— capital of, p. 156  
 ——— findspots of, p. 148  
 ——— monograms on, p. 137  
 ——— weights of, p. 141
- H**ARIBANS of Manbodh, translated, Sp. No., p. 1  
 ——— index to, Sp. No., p. 37
- Harkhnáth, Vaishṇava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 92
- Himálayas, history of Religion in, p. 39  
 ——— domestic ritual in, p. 64  
 ——— birth ceremonies in, p. 79  
 ——— marriage ceremonies in, p. 94  
 ——— Dæmonism in, p. 43  
 ——— Gosains and Jangamas in, p. 55  
 ——— Kanphaṭas in, p. 57  
 ——— sacrifices in, p. 58  
 ——— Holi festival in, p. 59
- History of Religion in the Himálayas, Notes on, p. 39
- Holi, a festival in the Himálayas, p. 59  
 Hymns, Vaishṇava, Sp. No., p. 76
- I**RVINE, W., Baiswári Folkson<sup>gs</sup>, p. 232
- J**ANGAMAS, a sect in the Himálayas, p. 55
- Jannotsava, or birthday ceremonies, p. 82
- Játa-karma, or birth ceremonies in the Himálayas, p. 79
- Jayadeb, Vaishṇava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 88
- Jayánand, Vaishṇava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 85
- K**ALASA-STHÁPANA, ritual of, p. 77
- Kanphaṭas, a sect in the Himálayas, p. 57
- Karṇavedha, ritual of, p. 83
- Kashmír, dialect of the Naqqásh in, p. 1
- Kesab, Vaishṇava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 89
- Khairábád, District, geography of, during reign of Akbar, p. 224
- Kumaon calendar, p. 44
- Kumára Gupta, gold coins of, pp. 189, 200
- L**ACKNAU, District, geography of, during reign of Akbar, p. 227
- M**AHIPATI, Vaishṇava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 84
- Manbodh, translation of Haribans, Sp. No., p. 1  
 ——— index to do., Sp. No., p. 37
- Mátri-pújá, ritual of, p. 75
- Medals, known as Ramtinkis, p. 207
- Mitra, Rajendralála, on the Psychological Tenets of the Vaishṇavas, p. 103
- Mod Náráyan, Vaishṇava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 82
- Monogrammatic Emblems on gold Gupta coins, p. 137
- N**AGA-PANCHAMÍ, a religious festival, p. 47
- Náma Karaṇa or ceremony of child naming, p. 82
- Nandipati, Vaishṇava hymns of Sp. No., p. 79
- Nándi-śraddhá, ritual of, p. 77
- Nara Gupta, gold coins of, p. 201
- Naqqásh or painters on papier-maché, p. 1
- Nicobar, a Tale from, p. 24
- Numerals, of the Naqqásh dialect, in the Panjáb, p. 1
- P**ANCHASIDDHÁNTIKÁ, of Varáha Mihira, Notes on, p. 259
- Panjáb, dialect of the Naqqásh in, p. 1
- Piercing the ear, a religious ceremony, p. 83
- Planets, worship of, in the Himálayas, p. 85  
 ——— mean motion of, p. 259
- Prakásáditya, gold coins of, p. 202
- Psychological tenets of the Vaishṇavas, p. 103
- R**AE, J. N., Baiswári folksongs, p. 232
- Rakshábandí, a religious ceremony, p. 78
- Rakshávidhána, ritual of, p. 78
- Ramapáti, Vaishṇava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 83
- Ramtinkis, coins or medals, p. 207
- Religion in the Himálayas, Notes on history of, p. 39
- Ritual, domestic, in the Himálayas, p. 64

- Romaka Siddhānta, mean motion of planets, according to, p. 259
- Rospstorff, F. A. de, Tiomberombi, a Nicobar Tale, p. 24
- S**ACRIFICES, in the Himálayas, p. 58
- Samávartana, ritual of, p. 94
- Sandhyá, ritual of, p. 65
- Sámudra Gupta, gold coins of, p. 172
- Saras Rám, Vaishnava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 87
- Shashti-Mahotsava, ritual of, p. 80
- Shaving the head, a religious ceremony, p. 91
- Skanda Gupta, gold coins of, pp. 199, 200
- Smith, V. A., a classified and detailed catalogue of the gold coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India, with an Introductory Essay, p. 119
- Súrya Siddhānta, mean motion of planets, according to, p. 259
- Svasti-vachana, ritual of, p. 70
- or painters on papier-maché in the Panjáb and Kashmir, p. 1
- Thibaut, G., Phil. Dr., Notes from Varáha Mihira's Pañchasiddhāntika. Part I, p. 2
- Tiomberombi, a Nicobar Tale, p. 24
- U**MÁPATI, Vaishnava hymns of, Sp. No., p. 76
- V**AISHNAVAS, on the psychological tenets of, p. 103
- twenty-one hymns, Sp. No., 76
- Varáha Mihira, Notes on Pañchasiddhāntiká of, p. 259
- Vedárambha, ritual of, p. 89
- Viváha-karma or marriage ceremonies, p. 94
- W**EIGHTS of gold Gupta Coins, p. 141
- Worship of the planets, in the Himálayas, p. 83

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# JOURNAL

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## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

SPECIAL No. 1884.

*Translation to Manbodh's Haribans.*—By G. A. GRIERSON.

As promised when laying the text of this interesting Maithil poem before the Society,<sup>1</sup> I now offer a translation of it.

This was the more necessary, as the text is very difficult, there being many passages which even Maithil paṇḍits have been unable to interpret satisfactorily. I have done my best to give a clear rendering of the whole, and have added notes where requisite.

As the poem contains a large number of words and forms not mentioned in any extant dictionary or grammar, I have added an *index vocabulorum*, which will I hope prove useful.

In the introduction to the text I stated that the author had no issue. I have since ascertained that he had a daughter from whom the present Mahārāj of Darbhanga is descended.

### BOOK I.

I reverence<sup>2</sup> the feet of the daughter of the Himālaya,<sup>3</sup> through whose power poets can describe the three worlds. I also<sup>4</sup> have made my

<sup>1</sup> See J. A. S. B. Part I for 1882, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> प्रणमौ or प्रणवेौ, old Mth. for प्रनमौ: = Skr. प्रणमामि, 'I reverence.' For similar forms in a still older stage, cf. विनमञ्जो and समदञ्जो in Vid. LXXVIII, 2, 5. Here the termination ञ्जो is simply another way of writing येौ, so that विनमञ्जो for विनमयेौ = Ap. Pr. विणमर्ड = Skr. विनमामि.

<sup>3</sup> हिमालय, i. e., Devī.

<sup>4</sup> अहमपि, i. e., 'I also,' अहमपि.

mind a<sup>1</sup> great one (in order to undertake so great a subject, for) Krishna's birth and marriage are no small (subject to attempt). How can it be accomplished (by me), for now it seemeth unapproachable, unfathomable. If it ever is completed, may it be done well; for of this, also, I have a doubt that (my treatment) may not be (worthy of the subject). (5) Owing to this fear I continually perform<sup>2</sup> auspicious ceremonies, and lay my heart upon the lotus of Hari's feet.

The Earth became distressed with the burden (of sin which she bore); and, taking the form of a cow, went to Indra's paradise, but thence she derived no (assistance) from any one. Then all the gods went with her and told (their tale) to Brahmá, but from him, also, their hopes were unfulfilled,<sup>3</sup> so Brahmá, closely followed by the Earth, went before them. (10) They all approached the shore of the sea of milk, and with folded hands, assuming the attitude of contemplation, saw the grove of the Kalpa tree, and the jewelled abode, and Lakshmi and Náráyaṇa in proper form. (Brahmá), whose seat is on the lotus, first commenced to address<sup>4</sup> (Vishnu), and then the Earth came forward.<sup>5</sup> Weak with her load (of sin), her body trembling, her eyes hidden with tears as she spake, gazing upon Hari she began to address him as follows, "I shall

<sup>1</sup> गोट idiomatically gives the force of the indefinite. गोट usually means 'only.' Thus वन में चड़ई बहुत हल परन्तु हमरा कौआ गोट दिष्ट गोचर भेल, 'there were many birds in the forest, but the crow *only* became visible to me,' एक गोट (contr. एगो), दुर गोट (contr. दुगो), 'only one,' 'only two,' &c. जै गोट, 'only as many as,' गोट गोट, 'one by one.' बड़ गोट thus means primarily, 'only great,' and hence great.' Similarly एगो is often used as an indefinite article to mean 'a,' thus एगो चड़ई, 'a bird.' गोग can only be used with certain words. Thus, छोट गोट 'a little' is never used. The word टा has the same meaning as गोट, and can often be substituted for it.

<sup>2</sup> करिअ and धरिअ are shortened forms of करिरे and धरिरे, common in poetry, viz., the 1st sing. present conjunctive in its original sense of the present indicative.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'Their desires remained in the same state.'

<sup>4</sup> कहवाँ लाग is old Mth. for कहे लाग, began to say. Both कहे and कहवाँ are oblique forms of verbal nouns. Both forms are used by Manbodh. कहे is oblique of कहि; M. always spells it कहप्र; it is for Ap. Pr. कहिहे or कहहे, Mg. Pr. कहौए, gen. of कहौ = Skr. कथा, gen. कथायाः. कहवाँ is oblique of कहव; it is for Ap. Pr. कहिव्यहं, Mg. Pr. कहिव्यह्यहं the gen. plur. (used for sing.) of Ap. Pr. कहिव्यं, Mg. Pr. कहिव्यं, Skr. \*कथितव्यं (gen. plur. \*कथितव्यानां). The modern obl. form कहवा (see Gram. § 189) is either the same as कहवाँ with loss of the anusásika, or derived from the Ap. Pr. gen. sing. कहिव्यहो, Mg. Pr. कहिव्यहो, Skr. \*कथितव्यस्य.

again be plunged into the infernal regions. (15) Every Asura who hath fought a battle with the Immortals hath now been born with full array of attendants. Who can describe the weight of horses, elephants and weapons, of mountains and of groves? I make a vow that to-day I withdraw from my name of all supporting.<sup>1</sup> Lord of the lordless! Thou who bearest a conch shell in thine hand, know me who have come to thee for refuge, and grant me thy protection." He whose essence is pity, became pitiful, and consoled her in many ways. (20) "O Earth, have patience for but a little while; I will become incarnate, and take away all thy burden. In Mathurá dwell<sup>2</sup> Devaki and Vasudeva. In their abode will I take my birth." On hearing these words the ears of all became satisfied<sup>3</sup> and Śrī Bhagavat faded from their vision. They also consulted<sup>4</sup> for a space, concerning<sup>5</sup> how many and who of them should take human birth. Indra determined to become incarnate in portion as Arjuna, and Váyu as Prince Bhíma Sena.<sup>6</sup> (25) (One said) you will consider Yudhishtíra, as the incarnation of Dharma, and Nakula and Sahadeva as those of the two Aświns.

After taking Hari's permission this was the result of their deliberations, and the immortals departed for Amarávati. Then the Lord of the universe thought of Yoga Nidrá, and He who beareth the conch-shell summoned her, "Go, thou," he said, "forthwith to Hell, and fetch six babes of the Dánavas. One by one shalt thou place them as corpses<sup>7</sup> in Devaki's womb, for such is the destiny of these six. (30) Her seventh child shalt thou withdraw from her womb, and shalt deposit it within that of Rohini. I, the Man of Ages, supremely generous, will become incarnate in that babe as Haladhara. I myself will also become incarnate as Devaki's eighth babe; as it shall be necessary,<sup>8</sup> so will I bring it to pass.

<sup>1</sup> सर्वसहाय may mean either 'All-Helper,' i. e., Vishnu, or 'she who bears' or 'supports everything,' i. e., the Earth. दाज is Persian *داج*.

<sup>2</sup> In वस, the termination of the 3 non-hon. pres. is dropped, as frequently occurs in poetry.

<sup>3</sup> जुडाप्रल, —this word is not given in Bate in this sense.

<sup>4</sup> गमयन्ति = परामर्श, विचार; the word is not given in Bate.

<sup>5</sup> जे is instr. sg. of जे who. It is governed by परि. जे परि means 'how'.

<sup>6</sup> The reading of B., भौमसेन, shows the vulgar spelling of the name in Mithilá. The word is so spelt in the Song of Salhes.

<sup>7</sup> सव्य is altered from सव (Skr. शव, a corpse), so as to rhyme with भवितव्य. The meaning is that these children being killed immediately after birth were practically still-born.

<sup>8</sup> वनत, (3 fut. sg. of √ वन) lit. 'as it shall be done,' hence here 'as it shall be necessary.'

Thou shalt thyself take birth in the abode of Yaśodá, and Vasudeva shall exchange me for thee. Hearing thy wailing, so many of the guards as shall be there, shall awake and tell Kāṁśa, (of the birth). (35) Kāṁśa shall come and lift thee up, and dash thee violently upon a stone. Thou shalt fly away from him to the skies and after saying these words, thy home shall be in Indra's abode. 'Wherefore, O Kāṁśa, didst thou dash 'me down? He hath been born who shall cause thy death. Shame! on this 'pitiless conduct of thine, on the morrow shalt thou gain its fitting 'fruit'." Man'bohd saith, "This should have been told subsequently, and I have said it too early in my tale in narrating the above."

END OF BOOK I.

## BOOK II.

Náráda the saint, the son of Brahmá<sup>2</sup> whose seat is on the lotus, and the friend of Siva, was much beloved of Śrī Bhagavat. He, skilled in strife,<sup>3</sup> having heard all like a parrot,<sup>4</sup> came, and smilingly slandered<sup>5</sup> what had occurred on the border of the milky sea. "O Kāṁśa, he who will be the eighth child of Devakí will be thy fate. (5) Remember, Kāṁśa the heavenly voice; thy day hath approached.<sup>6</sup>" When Kāṁśa heard this he stood up and grasped his sword, and (O Siva, Siva!) the lite of Devakí fell into misfortunes.<sup>7</sup> Saith Kāṁśa, very cruelly<sup>8</sup> "doth any one keep a thorny<sup>9</sup> tree in his own court-yard?" With hands clasped Vasudeva made supplication, "Let her live,<sup>10</sup> but take the child; a son is more of a mother's breath than her life, who in the world doth not

<sup>1</sup> डुर डुर, used as an interjection meaning 'fie, fie.' It is generally used in hunting away a dog. Hence its applicability to Kāṁśa.

<sup>2</sup> Náráda sprang from Brahmá's forehead.

<sup>3</sup> One of his epithets is कलिकारक, 'strife-maker.'

<sup>4</sup> That is to say, he obeyed the order to narrate what had occurred, and did so word by word like a parrot.

<sup>5</sup> ✓ दुस or टुचि दे means 'to back-bite,' 'to slander.' This sense is not given in Bate.

<sup>6</sup> ✓ तुलाप्रल आन, 'to approach,' not in Bate.

गाढ़ = difficulties. The sentence is lit. 'difficulties fell upon D.'s life.'

<sup>7</sup> निरबन्ध, a difficult word to translate here. A man without parents or children cares nothing for his relations, and hence is capable of acting cruelly towards them.

<sup>8</sup> कटगर = thorny, derived from काँट, 'a thorn,' the vowel being shortened in the antepenultimate.

<sup>10</sup> जिब for जिबे see note <sup>4</sup> to P. 2, with reference to the inserted ब, see Gram. § 189, add.

know this; (10) but if thou doubt her (on this account) at the time of the birth of the child, yea, bind her and cast her into prison." Kāṁśa did as Vasudeva recommended, for who can wipe out what is written of his fate? He to whom the Creator was evil-disposed understood (the counsel to be right), set guards (on Devakī) and so was secure. He gave instruction to the governor of the prison, and six infants became subject to death: with regard to the seventh a report spread of a miscarriage, but that child was conveyed to the lap of Rohiṇī.

(15) Then Yoga Nidrā struck them with some of her enchantment, and, like men drunk, the guards fell asleep upon the earth. Remembering the eighth day of the dark half of the month Bhāḍō, at night, the Great Lord came and was born. In his (four) hands he bare the discus, club, lotus, and conch; Devakī's soul was filled with grief<sup>1</sup> as she gazed upon him. She saith to Vasudeva with hands humbly clasped, "Kāṁśa is a tiger, and we are like a lame hind". (To Kṛishṇa she saith) "Give up, I pray,<sup>2</sup> thy four-armed form, if not Nārada will<sup>3</sup> assuredly incite<sup>4</sup> Kāṁśa to some evil deed."<sup>5</sup> (20) The Friend of the poor, the Lord of the lordless gave heed unto her words, and remained with two hands. When the Great Lord took birth, so thick a darkness spread, and so fierce a rain-storm began, that the very points of the compass were forgotten; animals and birds themselves lost all sense of direction. If you were to attempt to sew with a threaded needle, on merely touching it you would be sure to prick yourself<sup>6</sup> and nothing more. The heavens thundered, and the clouds poured forth water, and therefore the Lord of serpents (Śeṣha) spread his hood (over Kṛishṇa to shelter him). (25) Great was the courage of Vasudeva as he succeeded in conveying Hari to Gokula. To whom shall<sup>7</sup> I tell of the joy of

<sup>1</sup> Bate's भंकना, 'to be struck with horror.'

<sup>2</sup> हलु is said to be the Skr. खलु. This would be the regular Prākṛit form of the word, but is not found in literature, the usual forms being कलु (Vara. IX, 6) or खु (Hem. II, 198): खलु, however, itself occurs in Prākṛit (e. g., Bhagavatī, p. 266), so that हलु is quite a possible formation.

<sup>3</sup> गप् is the old form of गन् the sign of the future, see Gram. §§ 133, 120.

<sup>4</sup> √लार lit. 'stir up,' hence, 'incite,' cf. लाड़नि, 'a pottage stirrer.' The word is not in Bate.

<sup>5</sup> उकटी = उपद्रव, not in Bate.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. If, having taken a needle, you were to (try to) pierce anything, and to thread the thread, if you were to touch it with your hand, then it would catch only in your hand (i. e., prick you). वेधिय, गंधिय, and कुविय, are for वेधिरे &c., 2, hon. pres. conj., cf. page 2, note 2. हाथहि is emphatic for हाथ.

<sup>7</sup> गप् is sign of the future; see note 3 above.

that moment! Even so impassable a river as the Yamuná became fordable. Yaśodá slept overpowered by Yoga Nidrā; and as she slept<sup>1</sup> by night the babes were changed. The one,—a girl—, was taken from her and (Devakí) sent her to Kaṁśa and what<sup>2</sup> she said (to him) has been (already) told (by me).<sup>3</sup>

When Kaṁśa heard the story told by Nárada the saint, his soul flew from him (in terror). (30) He called there his maidservant,—very vicious<sup>4</sup> was the witch Putaná. Gazing round upon the countenances of all, he cried 'Slay all the babes ye find, spare not one; seize them, and seize them, and dash them upon the stones, but see and be careful that they fly not from your hands into the skies.<sup>5</sup> If any infant show signs of being very fearless,<sup>6</sup> ye shall certainly<sup>7</sup> twist his throat.'<sup>8</sup> All of them said, "we will do all this,—whatever, my lord, you may desire. Tremble not."<sup>9</sup> (35) His attendants all gave a howl, as Kaṁśa went to the prison, and unbound Devakí and Vasudeva, saying, "Do not ye blame me, but your fate. He who will trouble me hath been born elsewhere;<sup>10</sup> to no purpose, have I cut off your progeny. I am full of shame, and cannot even look ye in face; who is he who can seize and imprison his sister and her spouse? Pardon me, I have been guilty of a great impropriety," saying these words Kaṁśa departed to his sleeping room.

(40) When Yaśodá's sleep broke, she rejoiced like a beggar who hath stolen jewels and wealth, while the bosom of her husband Nanda could not contain its joy, as tears of gladness overflowed his eyes. As soon as it was dawn, there rose cries (of joy) in the town; who can describe the gladness of that hour! The cowherdesses passed over each other's heads oil and vermilion, and here and there put handfuls on each other.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> सुतलिहिं is loc. of सूतलि, fem. of सूतल, past participle of √ सूत.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the टा in जेटा, see note <sup>1</sup>, page 2.

<sup>3</sup> See I, 37.

<sup>4</sup> अगलह, derived from अग्नि, 'fire,' means 'inflammatory,' hence 'vicious.' The word is not given in Bate.

<sup>5</sup> Kaṁśa is warning them after his own experience with Yaśodá's daughter, which, imagining to be Devakí's eighth child he had dashed upon the washerman's stone, and which had escaped from him and flown to the skies, as prophesied by Vishṇu in I, 35. The description of this incident is omitted in the poem.

<sup>6</sup> पकसीठ = डौठ, 'fearless,' not in Bate.

<sup>7</sup> अरवधि, lit. 'having commenced,' is used to mean 'certainly.'

<sup>8</sup> डौठ, 'throat,' not in Bate in this sense.

<sup>9</sup> साहेव is the Ar. صاحب. जनु is a prohibitive particle, used only in the sense of the Imperative. Here the past tense indicative is used exceptionally in the sense of the Imperative for the sake of rhyme.

<sup>10</sup> i. e., Kaṁśa was under the impression that Krishṇa was Yaśodá's child.

<sup>11</sup> चरि = चलि, 'going here and there.' चुर, 'a handful of oil and vermilion.'

There is no lack of anything where the greatness of Hari (is manifest); even the very vermilion covered them up to their knees. (45) some in the court-yard, and some in the outer doorway, in many places did the cow-herds dance the dance of Doms.<sup>1</sup> They sang the *Sohar*,<sup>2</sup> and showed their joy, as dancing they went forward and dancing they returned. After dancing and rejoicing<sup>3</sup> in this manner, each one returned to his own house.

One day Yaśodā was weary, and slept with Hari pressed to her heart. Having learned that Nanda's wife was asleep,<sup>4</sup> Putanā arrived, (50) and gliding about, hastened into the house, seated herself and gave Krishna poisoned milk to drink. Hari drank the milk greedily till his belly was full, and as he did so sucked out of her with it her life-blood.<sup>5</sup> She screamed<sup>6</sup> an inarticulate yell of agony, and fell, howling,<sup>7</sup> like a severed<sup>8</sup> tree. All who were awake saw what they thought was a *tāl* palm with a little pitcher hanging to it.<sup>9</sup> Then having read some charm or other,<sup>10</sup> Nanda kissed Hari, blessed him, and lifted him to his heart.

<sup>1</sup> डोमकह, lit. 'a Dom's waist-cloth' (काह), hence 'after the manner of Doms.' In Bihār, on occasions of births, marriages, &c. it is customary to employ Doms and their women to dance, as a sign of joy. काह is a particular way of tying up the waist-cloth so that movements may not be impeded. डोमकह may be freely translated as 'tucking up their petticoats like Doms.'

<sup>2</sup> सोहर, 'a congratulatory birth-song,' for an example, see Harkh'náth's songs in Maithil Chr., No. 11.

<sup>3</sup> नाच काह, dancing &c. काह, See note <sup>1</sup> above.

<sup>4</sup> सुतला, is almost certainly incorrect for सूतलि. In MS. A., the word has been accidentally destroyed.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. 'with her blood her life.'

<sup>6</sup> ✓ बड़रा, means 'to talk nonsense,' hence, 'to talk loudly and inarticulately.' Bate gives बरडाना, 'to talk in one's sleep, or in delirium.'

<sup>7</sup> बड़राफ़ = Hindī बर्रा कर, 'having screamed.'

<sup>8</sup> कटला, is the oblique form of कटल 'cut,' agreeing with तर which is in the genitive case (postposition omitted) governed by जक.

<sup>9</sup> A लवनी is the small earthen pitcher hung at the top of a *tāl* or toddy palm to collect the juice.

<sup>10</sup> कौदड. Lit. 'something or other.' The affix दड or दैँ is added to interrogative pronouns to give the idea of indefiniteness. In the present poem, it also occurs with के (V. 58, cf. Bid. XIII, 2), कि (IX, 44), कौ (कौदौ, IX, 9), and कोन (IX, 35). दड I derive from the Skr. दडः in इंदडः, 'like this,' कौदडः, 'like what,' &c. दडः can become in Prákrit ०दिसे Lassen, p. 115, cf. Vara. III, 4, Hemachandra, II, 80). In Apabhramśa Prákrit, we find the form केड for कौदडः (H. C. IV, 402) arising through the forms \*कदिड, \*करड (cf. Lassen, p. 455); and the termination

(55) One day it happened that Yaśodā laid him in a corner<sup>1</sup> (under) a waggon, and put him to sleep. Being extremely occupied, she went away somewhere on some business, (and forgot all about him). Thus lay the Great Lord, in such discomfort gazing and prying about the waggon. The Refuge of the refugeless kicked up his feet, and overturned the waggon. Who was there who had strength (sufficient) to prop it up (against him)? All the ropes<sup>2</sup> were broken, and all the component parts<sup>3</sup> of the waggon were knocked to pieces. (60) Hearing the crash the great people (of the place) ran up, unable to tell who could have upset the waggon,<sup>4</sup> but the children said "We can take our oath; he<sup>5</sup> (Hari) has upset it, we have seen it with our own eyes," "O mother, mother"<sup>6</sup> cried Yaśodā, as she picked up her child, "a miracle has happened." Saith Man'bodh "Hari found an opportunity, and displayed an infinitesimal portion of his might."

END OF BOOK II.

BOOK III.

When some days had passed, Hari soon began to be able to use hands and feet.<sup>7</sup> What place was there, where he did not go? How often did he go outside<sup>8</sup> the court-yard of the house. Gleefully used Madam Yaśodā to laugh, as she ever and again caught him up and brought him back from the outer doorway. How often did he attempt to catch snakes (thinking them pieces of rope), how often did he eat lime mistaking<sup>9</sup> it for curds! (5) Cleverly he used to beat people and run away<sup>10</sup> and

of the missing form कदिड, from which केड must have descended, appears to have been preserved in the Maithil दड.

<sup>1</sup> दोग means 'corner,' not in Bate,—a pure Mth. word.

<sup>2</sup> बाँक = टाँक = 'string,' 'rope.'

<sup>3</sup> अकटवकट = खाहीवाही, = 'worthless things,' 'unconsidered trifles'; hence, here, the minor pieces which, put together, go to make up a cart.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'not having said who had overturned the waggon.' के is for के, the sign of the accusative, and not the interrogative pronoun.

<sup>5</sup> दिन = ई, the oblique form used exceptionally, before a transitive verb in the past tense, instead of the nominative.

<sup>6</sup> An exclamation of astonishment, like the familiar *Bāp re Bāp*, 'O Father, Father!'

<sup>7</sup> हथगर, 'able to use his hands.' मोड़गर, 'able to use his feet.'

<sup>8</sup> बह राधि in the text is a misprint for बहराधि.

<sup>9</sup> ✓ वद, 'think, imagine.'

<sup>10</sup> चाल चलव, 'to go.'

thus he became the worry of her life. How often did she snatch fire out of his hand! and how often did he burn<sup>1</sup> (his fingers), when she was not looking!<sup>2</sup> At length she said to him, "you must learn from me.<sup>3</sup> If you break your legs<sup>4</sup> I shall have no one left to me". Saying this she tied him up to a (heavy) mortar, and added, "My son, if you run away now, you won't be able to go fast."<sup>5</sup> Then, feeling quite safe about him (she went away), and Hari seized his opportunity, and, taking the mortar in his arms rolled it away;<sup>6</sup> (10) Rolling<sup>7</sup> and bouncing<sup>8</sup> it goes, to where the two huge trees<sup>9</sup> were. The Lord of the Lotus dexterously tore up the two Arjuna<sup>10</sup> without touching them with his hand. The great trees

<sup>1</sup> पकसाह, lit. 'cooked himself.'

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'without looking.' बौनु is for विनु, 'without,' तकसा is the oblique form of ताकस, verbal noun of √ ताक, 'look.'

<sup>3</sup> हमारहि ताहि is old Mth. for हमरा सँ. हमारहि is oblique of हमर. हमर is the Ap. Pr. possessive pronoun अम्हार (H. C. IV, 434). The termination हि may be the Ap. Pr. locative termination हि, but this is unlikely. It is probably a weakened form of the Ap. Pr. termination of the Genitive of fem. nouns, हे (H. Ch. IV 350, Kramadīswara. 35). It will be observed that हमारहि here is feminine. Compare Bid. LI, 6, where there is a similar fem. obl. form परहि, or, with the genitive affix, परहिक. The masculine form of परहि would be परह which occurs in the old Hindi of Chand (28, 62). गोचार परह चारै सु गौद, 'the herdsman tends the cows of another' (Hoernle, Gd. Gr., p. 206); this, as Hoernle clearly shows, is derived from the Ap. masculine genitive परह or परहे. It is of course unnecessary to do more than point out here the now established fact, that the Bihári oblique form is the direct descendant of the Prákrit genitive; postpositions like ताहि (Skr. तरिते (?)) Hoernle, Gd. Gr., p. 226), or सँ (Pr. सुन्तो), being merely verbal nouns governing the genitive.

<sup>4</sup> टाङ्ग in the text is a misprint for टांग.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. '(I will see) then (how) you run away crawling' जाऊ पराप्र, for पराप्र जाऊ, 'you may run away,' जाऊ being 2. plnr. pres. conjunctive. √ रिङ्ग occurs also in Skr. (रिङ्गति) 'to crawl (like a child)'. In modern Maithilī it is more usual in the form √ रेंग. There is also in the Mágadhī dialect of Bihári, a word रेंगा, 'a boy.'

<sup>6</sup> √ ओढ़नाव, = 'roll away.' Not in Bate.

<sup>7</sup> √ गुड़क = 'roll.' Not in Bate.

<sup>8</sup> √ भिड़क = 'bounce.' Not in Bate.

<sup>9</sup> अकाप्र, Skr. अतिकाय, Prákrit अदकाय, lit. having a vast body'. In Mth. it is used to mean 'huge,' 'vast,' 'dense.' E. g. अकाप्र वन, 'a dense forest.'

<sup>10</sup> The two Arjuna trees (*terminalia alata glabra*), were two sons of Kavera, who were cursed by Nárada to assume the forms of trees until liberated by Krishna. Krishna dexterously uprooted them by hitching the mortar across the two, and giving it a sudden jerk. They then assumed their proper forms.

fell, and the crash<sup>1</sup> made (his power) manifest in the world. Hearing the crash Nanda leaving his cows, ran up, (saying) "let them rather be put in the pound (than that I should stay here). What tree has fallen? There is no storm<sup>2</sup> nor (even) a shower,<sup>3</sup> I am perhaps ruined to-day."<sup>4</sup> (15) Seeing the court-yard empty, her eyes filled with tears, and Yaśodā lost all life and power,<sup>5</sup> "what reward has come to me after watching so much? I do not see either the mortar or the rope." Immediately<sup>6</sup> afterwards she ran up, like a milch cow who has lost<sup>7</sup> her calf. She untied<sup>8</sup> Hari's bonds, and pressing him to her heart, displayed the utmost affection and trust in him. She covered him with the corner of her garment, and carried him into the house, where<sup>9</sup> her eyes poured forth water like rain-clouds. (20) She kissed his face, and gave him suck, and rejoiced with all her friends.

Saith Man'bodh, of my own knowledge, have I described the meditations of Bāla Govinda.

#### END OF BOOK III.

#### BOOK IV.

One day Nanda Jī's troubles of mind increased, as he stood before the Lady Yaśodā: for he feared that some calamity would befall his country of Gokula, so he summoned all his neighbours and sat silent.<sup>10</sup> "Night and day on all sides is there fear of wolves,<sup>11</sup> and through them

<sup>1</sup> अघात for आघात.

<sup>2</sup> विचारि, 'a storm.' Not in Bate.

<sup>3</sup> भाँट, 'a shower.' Not in Bate.

<sup>4</sup> Lit.—'To-day there are twelve roads (into) my castle,' a common Maithil expression. A castle with several gates is easily captured.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. 'lost her heart and hand.'

<sup>6</sup> लगले is the loc. sing of लागल, 'the act of joining,' the verb-noun of √ लाग. Hence it is in this form commonly used adverbially, 'on the joining,' i. e., 'immediately.'

<sup>7</sup> हरेने for हरेले, instr. of हराएल, verb. noun of √ हरा(य), 'to lose.' Lit. 'On account of losing her calf.' In modern Maithili this change of ल to न (as in लेने जाएल for लेले जाएल) is considered vulgar. There is a village in Madhubani called लखनौर, which is called by the common people नखनौर.

<sup>8</sup> √ फी is the common word in Maithili meaning to 'unfasten,' 'untie.'

<sup>9</sup> तह, 'there.'

<sup>10</sup> मुक, adj. 'silent,' not in Bate.

<sup>11</sup> Other legends make the wolves specially created by Krishna in order to compel his foster-father to leave Gokula.

the people of the village are losing all their wealth<sup>1</sup>. Do ye all meet and consult together in a *panch*, for attacks are<sup>2</sup> being continually made upon us. (5) It is now no longer proper that we should dwell here. Arise<sup>3</sup> and settle near Vṛindāvana. There one sees the mountain Govardhana,<sup>4</sup> even gazing on it is right for cowherds<sup>5</sup> (much more living near it). Next day all arose together<sup>6</sup> like Gypsies<sup>7</sup> they departed in a moment. This (new) city became more beautiful than that one, and it rose (glorious) as Ayodhyá.<sup>8</sup>

So Hari became seven years of age and never ceased sporting.<sup>9</sup> (10) Sometimes<sup>10</sup> he danceth, and sometimes singeth songs. An age used to pass in even making him eat.<sup>11</sup>

One day Nanda called the two brothers Hari and Haladhara to himself, and said "Bráhmans study books, and Kshattriyas archery, but cowherds<sup>12</sup> learn cattle-tending from their boyhood."<sup>13</sup> They whom Indra

<sup>1</sup> क, in हतखीक, is added for the sake of rhyme.

<sup>2</sup> Note the forms लुगइकि, होइकि, (हो० in text is a misprint for हो०), which are common contractions for लुगैयकि, and होइयकि. These forms have not been noted in the grammar: other instances will be found (फिरइकि, रहइकि) in Bid. LXXVI, 8; but Bid. only uses these in the feminine. This, however, is not the case in Manbodh, or in the modern language, e. g. होइकि above is masculine. In common writing at the present day, these forms are continually written without the final इ, thus, लुगइक, होइक, which is due to the extremely feeble way in which a final इ is pronounced. See Gram. § 7.

<sup>3</sup> √ उपट, (not in Bate), = 'be rooted up,' hence, 'to arise;' compare Parable of the Prodigal Son in Grammar, हम उपटि कै अपना बापक लुग जाणव, 'I will arise and go to my father.' It is derived from the Skr. √ उत्यट (\*उत्यटति) 'to be rooted up.' In Skr., this verb is only used in the causal form (उत्याटयति) 'he roots up.' √ पट, however, forms पटति

<sup>4</sup> Which means 'cattle-increasing.'

<sup>5</sup> वृक, here means उचित, 'proper.' ग्वारा is oblique of ग्वार, 'a Goálá;' हि, in ताकहि, is emphatic.

<sup>6</sup> सपटि means 'together.'

<sup>7</sup> खो is a kind of wandering tribe of hunters. See the word in the Vocabulary to my Mth. Chrestomathy.

<sup>8</sup> The city of Harichandra was Ayodhyá.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. 'was there any time at which he had no time for sport?'

<sup>10</sup> The obl. form कड of कखो is rare.

<sup>11</sup> Lit., '(If) he will eat, a whole kalpa (lit. the destruction at the end of a kalpa) passes away.' The meaning is that he could not be enticed away from play even to his meals.

<sup>12</sup> In the text अहीर = Skr. अमीर.

<sup>13</sup> नैइहि, obl. of नैइ a boy. The usual form of the word is नेना. In Mth.

(the Lord of the Gods), Brahmá and Siva serve, to them did Nanda make over the care of tending cattle. Hari and Haladhar were both delighted, and taking their calves went to Vṛindávana. (15) Heavenly damsels became incarnate (as cowherdesses) in Gokula, who though they had fortune and many relations cared nothing for them.<sup>1</sup> Only Kṛishṇa pleases them all; the homes of the mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, only make them angry. No one attends to the remonstrances of any person, all their hearts<sup>2</sup> were directed to Kṛishṇa only.

One day when Kṛishṇa was with his companions he came to a pool in the Yamuná, and when he saw it he considered to himself, "this is where the snake Káli is invincible."<sup>3</sup> (20) Now, no beast or bird ever drank the water of that pool, knowing that it was like<sup>4</sup> poison. The trees and herbs on the bank were all burnt up, but the flame of the fire (which burned them) was (a flame) of poison.<sup>5</sup> "To-day (thought Kṛishṇa), will I settle this affair and therefore I should not sit idle. Let me haste and enter the water." Saying this he ascended the *kadamb*<sup>6</sup> tree and tightened his waist cloth, and closing his two eyes, Murári leaped. He smacked<sup>7</sup> his arms against his body as a challenge, and hearing the sound thereof, the snake issued forth. (25) In mighty wrath he hastened out, and whirling round kept encircling (Kṛishṇa) for an hour.<sup>8</sup> Rising

after a long vowel, a nasal alone is considered as equivalent to the compound of *anunásika* and the 3rd consonant of any class. Examples are *वेङ्ग* or *वेङ्ग* 'a frog;' *भाण* or *भाङ्ग*, 'a vessel;' *नेना* or *नेदा* 'a boy;' *खाम* or *खाँव*, a mango.' Compare in the case of aspirates, *कान्ह* or *काँध*, 'a shoulder;' *बान्ह* or *बाँध*, 'a tying;' *तेन्हर* or *तेँहर*, 'thither.'

The derivation of *नेना* or *नेदा*, 'a boy,' is doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* 'though they had wealth and relations, they were satiated with them.' *बड़े* for *बड़* occurs also in l. 29, and also in (B.) 2, 1. I am unable to account for the form. In 9, 16, when the line is repeated, the form is *बड़ी*. *अच्छि गरल्लि* in the text should be *अच्छि गरल्लि*. The *✓ अच्छिगर* means 'be satiated;' not in Bate.

<sup>2</sup> *मनड न कहि सेँ* in the text should be divided *मन डनकहि सेँ*. *✓ अट* means literally 'be stopped,' hence, as here, 'be attracted.'

<sup>3</sup> *दुरवार = दुर्निवार*, 'that which cannot be warded off.'

<sup>4</sup> *वत* in *बिखवत* is the Skr. *वत्* 'like.'

<sup>5</sup> Here in *बिखरिह*, *हि* is the termination of the general oblique form.

<sup>6</sup> This was the only tree existing on the banks of the pool. It had been preserved from destruction by the accidental fall of a drop of ambrosia upon it from Garuda's beak.

<sup>7</sup> *बाँधि बजारव* is the smacking of the arms against the chest, which wrestlers indulge in before the combat. *दाप* is the Skr. *दप*; Mg. Pr. *दपे*. *✓ बजार* is not in Bate.

<sup>8</sup> *I. e.*, his length was so great, that it took an hour to do it.

high as a mountain, the snake hissed, (while there stood Kṛishṇa) alone without family or retainers. (The snake) bound up<sup>1</sup> (Kṛishṇa's) body and accomplished his object. He performed wondrous actions, and seized Kṛishṇa with his teeth. (As they sank, so vast was their size that) the (waters in the) pool of the Yamuná (rose, and it) became filled to the brim.<sup>2</sup> In the water nothing but serpent<sup>3</sup> could be seen. For a space Kṛishṇa became greatly<sup>4</sup> distressed, and the king of serpents displayed great insolence. (30) Seeing this his companions ran, and collected<sup>5</sup> a crowd in the village. Nanda, Yaśodá, and Balaráma ran, not a crow's son<sup>6</sup> remained in the village. Full of anxiety they arrived at a run, and Yaśodá threw herself down and rolled upon the earth, while, with fixed eyes, Nanda gazed upon his son, breathless and voiceless like a picture. One cowerdless, weighing the matter in her mind, and remembering one or two instances of Kṛishṇa's might, said. (35) "He who beareth the conch-shell in his hand, is clever in (preserving) his life" and not the least speck of the beauty of her face was dimmed.<sup>7</sup> Another said, "the day without the sun, the night without the moon, and Vraja without Hari,—these three are all alike. He who returns to Vraja without Dámodara,<sup>8</sup> shame, shame be upon his father and his mother. Let us all throw ourselves<sup>9</sup> into the pool of the Yamuná. It were happier for us that the serpent ate us than this (that we should desert Hari)."<sup>10</sup> Of what was to be done,<sup>10</sup> no one knew anything, and for an instant the bank of the river<sup>11</sup> became filled with cries.<sup>12</sup> (40) Haladhara's soul became filled with anguish, and seeing this, Hari's eyes became blood-shot through rage. He remembered<sup>13</sup> his might, and acted like himself.<sup>14</sup> He violently opened

<sup>1</sup> गे here, and गे कड in l. 30, are irregular indecl. participles of √ जा, 'go.' The form is used only after the past tense of another verb, and beyond emphasizing the meaning of that other verb, has no other force. √ साध, *lit.* 'accomplish.'

<sup>2</sup> चापचाप, 'filled to the brim.' Not in Bate.

<sup>3</sup> सापद्दि साप, *lit.*, 'serpent on serpent.' सापद्दि is an old locative.

<sup>4</sup> बड़े, this word occurs more than once. It occurs in 4.15, and 2, 1 (text note †)

<sup>5</sup> गे कड, see note <sup>1</sup>, above.

<sup>6</sup> A common idiom for saying that not a soul remained.

<sup>7</sup> मल्लानि, fem. of मल्लान (Skr. खान).

<sup>8</sup> *I. e.* Kṛishṇa.

<sup>9</sup> *Lit.* 'fall.'

<sup>10</sup> कर प्रक in the text should be करप्रक, gen. sing. of करि the verbal noun of √ कर.

<sup>11</sup> कडरा, 'the high bluff of a river.'

<sup>12</sup> कडरा, see note <sup>7</sup> page 7.

<sup>13</sup> चेंताचोनि, 'memory.' Not in Bate.

<sup>14</sup> वानौ, means, 'custom,' 'habit.' The sentence is literally 'took his own habit.'

his bonds and fetters, and a terribly unequal<sup>1</sup> battle took place in the water.<sup>2</sup> He was a man, but of what avail<sup>3</sup> was his valour? There were a hundred serpents there, how many could he seize? (Yet) conquering he stood upon the middle<sup>4</sup> snake, and fixed his feet as firmly as a thunderbolt. (45) Nanda and his family saw this with joy, and for a short space they (saw) a *nách gratis*.<sup>5</sup> As (Kṛishṇa) danced (upon the snakes) he so pounded them that from every hood the blood flowed (in torrents). The mass of blood flowed away at once, and the Yamuna ceased to be that river and became the Saraswatī.<sup>6</sup> The serpent's wife humbly speaks a word, "O, thou who bearest the conch-shell in thine hand, grant me my husband as a gift. It is forbidden to slay<sup>7</sup> one who hath taken refuge with thee. In his ignorance,<sup>8</sup> a great sin hath been (committed by my husband). (50) How great is the difference<sup>9</sup> between the mighty Lord of great power and pride, and a miserable evil-minded serpent." Hearing this Hari became gracious, and Kálí Nága began to address him. "Pardon, pardon, Lord of Lakshmi, my sin. Fully<sup>10</sup> have I committed a fault. Seize not me who have taken refuge with thee. I have now no poison. Give me an order and I will perform it. In fear of Garuḍa I live in this place. I go nowhere, and bear great sorrows." (Kṛishṇa then said to him), (55) "when Garuḍa shall see (the marks of) my feet (upon thy head) he shall forget his enmity, and count thee as his friend. Now no longer canst thou live<sup>11</sup> here, with thy family<sup>12</sup> go thou to the Ocean." After saluting (Kṛishṇa) thereupon all the snakes of that pool, as many (in fact) as were in the Yamuná, departed. With his family he went to the Ocean, and then that pool became pleasant.

<sup>1</sup> विरुद्ध जुद्ध is an unequally matched battle, as opposed to न्याय जुद्ध, in which the parties are equally matched.

<sup>2</sup> जलरुद्धि, loc. of जल.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'how much valour could he perform.'

<sup>4</sup> मङ्गलरुद्धि is oblique of माङ्गल.

<sup>5</sup> विनु कौड़िक, lit. 'without cowries,' hence 'free of expense,' 'gratis.'

<sup>6</sup> बूटलि, lit. 'escaped'. The water of the Saraswatī is red.

<sup>7</sup> बधवै is long form of बध, 'slaughter.'

<sup>8</sup> जनने\* for जनले, see note 7 page 10. जनले is the instr. (governed by विनु) of जानल, the verbal noun of √ जान, 'know.'

<sup>9</sup> Lit. 'where is the great Lord, and where the snake,' cf. the Skr. use of the particle क.

<sup>10</sup> भरि पोख, 'fully,' पोख literally = पौरख.

<sup>11</sup> निबाह, a means of livelihood, 'profession.'

<sup>12</sup> धित्य = परिवार, 'family.'

Nanda and Yaśodā considered in their minds that (this escape of Kṛishṇa) was as if he had been born (again) that day.<sup>1</sup>

(60) He who shall read or hear (the tale of) the subduing of Kālī, will count a hundred Yamas<sup>2</sup> as but a straw. All his life he will rejoice with a wealth and relations,<sup>3</sup> and after final death will dwell in Vaikuṅṭha.<sup>4</sup> Saith Man'bodh, "all became full of joy, and departed singing and dancing."

END OF BOOK IV.

### BOOK V.

One day Hari and Haladhara, the two brothers, went with the children to a grove of *tāl* palms. The fragrance of the *tāls* came to them, and the mouths of all became dripping<sup>5</sup> with water. Some (tried) staves<sup>6</sup> and some (tried) clods, but the *tāl* fruit fell not,—the only thing that fell was the saliva<sup>7</sup> from their mouths. Seeing this the lotus-eyed one laughed, and Haladhara seized and shook one of the trees.

(5) Before<sup>8</sup> this the demon Dhenuka had settled to come there, and under the form of an ass was keeping guard over the *tāl* grove. Hearing (the boys cry) "Catch, Catch," he became exceeding wroth, and came up braying and kicking.<sup>9</sup> Coming near he aimed<sup>10</sup> a terrible kick, and like a demon<sup>11</sup> attacked Haladhara. Haladhara seized him by the hind-legs, and whirling him violently round, struck him again and again against the *tāl* tree. From Haladhara did that wicked being obtain the excellent fruit (of salvation), and became assimilated<sup>12</sup> with his deified progenitors. (10) Kṛishṇa himself seized two or three (of the demon's fellow-asses), and, having done so, used them as missiles for knocking down the *tāl* fruit. Then all ate the *tāl* fruits together, and each brought a load home to his own court-yard.

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.* They had considered him as good as dead, and had come to life again.

<sup>2</sup> Yama, the god of death.

<sup>3</sup> धन जन, see note to l. 15.

<sup>4</sup> The चिं in वैकुण्ठचिं is the sign of the loc.

<sup>5</sup> ✓ दा = ✓ चु = 'drip.' Not in Bate.

<sup>6</sup> भूटदा is a kind of staff used for throwing into a trap for knocking down the fruit. Not in Bate.

<sup>7</sup> सेप = 'saliva.' Not in Bate.

<sup>8</sup> पहिनचिं = पहिलचिं, the loc. of पहिल, 'first.'

<sup>9</sup> धनकौ, 'an animal's hind legs.' Not in Bate.

<sup>10</sup> ✓ हल, 'strike with violence.' Not in Bate.

<sup>11</sup> बलाघ, = 'a demon': lit. 'a misfortune.'

<sup>12</sup> ✓ मिभरा, 'be mixed.' Not in Bate.

rushed as doth the demon of eclipse when he seeth the sun. Hari (merely) held out one arm before himself, and that (arm) he thrust<sup>1</sup> down the great<sup>2</sup> mountain cavern.<sup>3</sup> By the might of Kṛishṇa that arm swelled, (10) so that the Asura burst down his middle, and for a hundred rods<sup>4</sup> around, the earth was overspread with blood. (In each half), was one eye, one ear, and one leg. He fell into two exact halves, as this virtuous poet relateth. As Kṛishṇa had touched a dead Asura (he became unclean), and so took some Ganges water to purify himself.

On the back of a cloud was Nārada then riding, and (seeing this) he began to say with modesty, "This is he whom the Asuras fear, and of whom Indra is in terror.<sup>5</sup> They are unable to digest what they eat from this fear. (15) So great an Asura as this he has killed, laughing the while. Now all the desires of the gods have been carried out. Great happiness has been my share, and more will I obtain. The day after tomorrow will I come to (see) the fight with Kaṁśa." Saying this Nārada Muni sowed<sup>6</sup> the seed (of enmity), and at the same time prepared<sup>7</sup> the way for Akrúra.

Akrúra did not stay in Mathurá to eat, and arrived at Gokula as the sun was setting. From a distance he saw Nanda's doorway, and close by a crowd<sup>8</sup> of Gowálas. Amongst them he saw the Well-spring of Happiness, like a full moon surrounded by stars. His golden diadem shone brightly<sup>9</sup>, his garments were yellow, and his teeth like the pearls found in an elephant's forehead. Not a fresh lotus, nor an *Apará-jitá* flower, nor the blossom of the linseed<sup>10</sup> was equal to him in grace. Close to his diadem were peacock's feathers, whose eyes would put to shame<sup>11</sup> an autumn lotus. From his two ears hung earrings in shape like the *Makara*, and they completed his beauty as happens in the case

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.*, he caused to lie on the ground of the great mountain cavern.

<sup>2</sup> बरि, for बड़ि, fem. of बड़ 'great.'

<sup>3</sup> दरि, 'a cavern.'

<sup>4</sup> A धुर is a square measure of land.

<sup>5</sup> डर, here, means not 'fear,' but 'an object of fear.' ✓ डरा is active, and means 'fear.' The causal form is ✓ डराव.

<sup>6</sup> ✓ बव 'sow.' तिल, *lit.* 'sesamum,' here 'the seed of enmity.'

<sup>7</sup> डौल, 'shape,' 'manner,' 'form,' here, 'preparation.'

<sup>8</sup> वराम = बराम.

<sup>9</sup> जगमग, compare 6, 1.

<sup>10</sup> अतिषी, = तीषी with pleonastic initial अ. Cf. अलोप in 5, 35. Or possibly it is a corrupt form of the Skr. अतषी.

<sup>11</sup> *Lit.*, 'make black.'

One day there was an excellent game in Vraja, called *Tēlavá tēlavā*.<sup>1</sup> The conditions of losing and winning in this game were that the losers were to carry the winners on their shoulders. Hearing this, the demon Pralamba came violently,<sup>2</sup> and deceitfully played the game with vigour. (15) With (apparent) difficulty<sup>3</sup> he lifted (Haladhara on to his shoulders), and went off with him for a distance of ten *kathās*. Then he increased in size, and became very great.<sup>4</sup> Haladhara struck him, and called out,<sup>5</sup> "Kṛishṇa, Kṛishṇa he is carrying me off."<sup>6</sup> Hari replied, "O Haladhara, keep up your courage, how can an old man ever be deceived?<sup>7</sup> Who is there such that he can carry you, Sir,<sup>8</sup> off? In a moment or two, your Honour will make (this demon) happy." Then Haladhara understood his own might, and slew<sup>9</sup> Pralamba with a single blow of his fist. (20) Seeing this, all the cowherds ran up, and in loud tones<sup>10</sup> praised Balarāma.

A short time after this, the season for the worship of Indra arrived. Then Kṛishṇa asked all the elders, "Why are you all of foolish mind?" When Nanda told him that it was the worship of Indra, the Spring of Happiness broke all (their counsels). "Cast from your hearts the worship of Surapati. That is for those who cultivate fields."<sup>11</sup> (25) What doth the caste of cowherds in worshipping the god. With love and faith they should worship the excellent hill (of Govardhana). When a mountain is wroth he causeth devastation, and, by means of<sup>12</sup> tigers and lions, he causeth wounds." Twice (or thrice) did Kṛishṇa say these words persistently,<sup>13</sup> and hearing his words they gave up the worship of Indra.<sup>14</sup> Uniting together they prepared food<sup>15</sup> of various kinds, and

<sup>1</sup> The game according to the *Bhāgavata* was guessing the names of flowers.

<sup>2</sup> घनम् द्वा, 'forcibly.' Not in Bate.

<sup>3</sup> He was of course only a boy, like the others, in appearance.

<sup>4</sup> बद्धेह = बद्ध, = cf. वैह for खो in 1, 29.

<sup>5</sup> ✓ मोहार, 'call out.' The sentence is literally, 'struck, and having called out, began (to strike).'

<sup>6</sup> हरने = हरणे, instr. of हरल, 'the act of carrying off.'

<sup>7</sup> Kṛishṇa mockingly alludes to the fact that Balarāma was his elder brother.

<sup>8</sup> प्रेहा, is an old form of प्रहा, 'your honour.'

<sup>9</sup> ✓ जुम्भ is lit. 'fight.' Here, it means 'conquer.'

<sup>10</sup> गलदल, = कोलाहल, 'a confused noise. Not in Bate.

<sup>11</sup> Lit. to whom there is cultivation. खेती बाडि, is the usual word in Mth. for cultivation.

<sup>12</sup> धरि, here used as a preposition, 'by means of.'

<sup>13</sup> Lit., 'having become thirsty' the phrase has idiomatically the meaning given in the text. ●

<sup>14</sup> Lit., the worship of Indra remained (unaccomplished), a frequent use of the

✓ रह.

<sup>15</sup> योजि is 'food offered to a deity.'

went to worship the mountain of Govardhana.<sup>1</sup> Then Kṛishna took an incarnate form (as the god of the mountain) and laughing descended<sup>2</sup> from it. (30) He ate all the offerings which he could get,—and having finished his meal blessed them saying “*Subhamastu.*” Giving them a blessing, he disappeared, and with (the boy) Kṛishna they all returned to their court-yards. When Surapati (Indra) heard of the interruption to his sacrifice, he rose with his limbs blazing with fire. “Hath a human being the presumption<sup>3</sup> to interrupt even my business?” Then he called his clouds and told them all to go to Gokula. (35) “Hail, Lightning, and Ceaseless Rain, cut<sup>4</sup> ye off the creation of cowherds from the earth.” Samvartaka, the king of clouds, made obeisance, and hastened proudly away. An army of fifty-six times ten million clouds<sup>5</sup> departed, and the fire of thunder<sup>6</sup> burst forth. Whirling round and round the clouds surrounded Gokula, as a falcon swoops down<sup>7</sup> on and covers a quail. How shall I describe the overshadowing of that rainy-season? It was not less than (the crash at the) general destruction of the universe.

(40) Cowherdresses, and cowherds, she buffaloes, calves, and cows, fainted<sup>8</sup> from the cold. From the hail, and the pitiless strokes of the lightning, many turned round and fell dead on the spot. Crying, “save me, Kṛishna. I can find no refuge for my feet,” they approached him. He, at whose name all difficulties<sup>9</sup> disappear, himself stood there. The earth became struck with drops of vermilion from the damsels' hair, and their lovely veils became torn. (45) When Kṛishna saw Rádhá and the others coming to him (in this state) his eyes became filled with tears. He threw off his human form, and tore up the mountain of Govardhana. When Hari seized the excellent mountain and held it up as an umbrella, all Gokula became relieved from terror. “Let no one remain (outside,” cried he) “from fear that the mountain will fall; let all come<sup>10</sup> near it.”

<sup>1</sup> पूजल is direct for obl. पुजला, or पूजे.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. ‘his feet flowed down from the mountain.’

<sup>3</sup> मोखी = Pers. شوخی.

<sup>4</sup> अलोप = लोप, with pleonastic initial अ. The word is a common one in Mth.

<sup>5</sup> मेघो, for मेघवा, the long form of मेघ, ‘a cloud.’

<sup>6</sup> ठनका ठनक, ‘thunder.’ ठनका is an old obl. form of ठनक, like मारा in मारामारि, or like हमार the obl. of हमार.

<sup>7</sup> Lit., ‘having swooped covers’.

<sup>8</sup> √ टिड्वा, ‘to become senseless from cold.’ The word is not used in Mth., for any other kind of fainting. Not in Bate. Cf. S. 10.

<sup>9</sup> गद्, ‘a difficulty.’

<sup>10</sup> आनि is here indecl. part. of √ आ, ‘come.’

Saying this, he remained straining himself<sup>1</sup> for seven days with his arms uplifted. (50) Cowherdesses, and cowherds, she buffaloes, calves, and cows, all joyfully went beneath the excellent mountain. The darkness ceased,<sup>2</sup> and the heavenly bodies rose, yet no one knew that the rain had come to an end.<sup>3</sup> For seven days the wind of the storm continued, not a tree or leaf escaped. On the eighth day the clouds disappeared,<sup>4</sup> and after finishing their meal,<sup>5</sup> they all issued forth. Hari laid the hill down where it was before<sup>6</sup> and from that day he was called Giridhara. (55) They all began to praise him saying, "It looks<sup>7</sup> as if some god had become incarnate, (what with the affairs of) Putaná, the trees, and Káli Nága. In so few days, these great marvels have occurred. Now we have one point of special doubt, when we consider Kṛishṇa's birth to be superhuman. 'Who is he? The incarnation of what divinity?'" Doubting thus were all the cowherds. No one reached the conclusion of his doubts, (as before they could do so) Kṛishṇa threw his charm over them, (and prevented their thinking him a god). (60) He who hears attentively the tale of Govardhana, crosseth the ocean of existence, and goeth to the abode of Hari. All his difficulties immediately vanish, and, saith Man'both, he getteth<sup>8</sup> eternal happiness.

END OF BOOK V.

#### BOOK VI.

It was an autumn moon, and a clear night, and seeing them Hari became inflamed<sup>9</sup> with love. • The Lady Rádhá, and Padminí also, came together bringing flowers.<sup>10</sup> In Vṛindávana they had the *Rása* dance, and there they stayed day and night. Between each pair of cowherdesses was there a Murári, and between each pair of Kṛishṇas, was there a damsel. (5) In this manner was formed the circle of the *Rása*, and some there are who say that in that night a whole aeon passed. Hari delighted greatly in the pleasures of this dance, and (therefore) the Asuras inter-

<sup>1</sup> जीव जातव (or जीतव) 'to strain one's breath,' 'to act violently.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note on √ रक्ष in line 27.

<sup>3</sup> अन्ति, 'end,' 'cessation.'

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'went down into the earth.'

<sup>5</sup> आहार, = आहार.

<sup>6</sup> ठामर्हि old. loc. of ठाम.

<sup>7</sup> √ लाम, means frequently 'appear,' 'seem,' used impersonally.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'panders eternal happiness.'

<sup>9</sup> मानि, indecl. part. of √ मान, 'be intoxicated.'

<sup>10</sup> Read मङ्गल फल का लाण्डि.

rupted it. A bull with his whole body covered with cowdung and urine<sup>1</sup> came along harassing<sup>2</sup> the cows on his way by his violence. With closed eyes he runneth about in ten directions, his shoulders and hump high as a mountain. Such a bull no one could oppose;<sup>3</sup> when they saw him every one was seized with trembling. (10) With a roar as of a lion he threatened Hari, and began to throw up earth behind him. He shook<sup>4</sup> his horns, with closed eyes, but Krishna caught him by the horn and struck him. Seizing him, Hari struck him with all his force and exhausted him, and hit him with his knee exactly on<sup>5</sup> the belly. He tore out his left horn, and with it hit him, and felled him to the ground. The dead bull became a blessing, (for by his death) the earth began to be relieved of its burden.

(15) Nārada the saint has only this duty, to engender<sup>6</sup> strife, and to encourage the enemies' side. One day he went to Kāṃsa's court-yard, and told him by degrees all (that had happened). How the guards had become intoxicated and gone to sleep, and Vasudeva had exchanged the infants. (He told him) all that Hari had done from the day of his birth,—the subduing of Kālī, and the upholding of Govardhana. To all (the Asuras) he said, "Make some device, for your enemy is waxing stronger day by day. (20) It clearly appears<sup>7</sup> that some day he will destroy<sup>8</sup> you; that boy will become the destroyer of your house." King Kāṃsa began to say "From long ago I have had this fear.<sup>9</sup> Ho, my Heuchman, thou art my brother, haste and call<sup>10</sup> Keśī. He alone<sup>11</sup> honoureth my cherishing, above all doth my hope increase in him." Thereupon Keśī arrived and boasted<sup>12</sup> of his might; saying, (25) "Tomorrow will<sup>13</sup> I destroy the cowsheds (of Vraja)," he departed. Then

<sup>1</sup> गौत, = गोमूत्र. Not in Bate.

<sup>2</sup> Read सतवितदि, which is irregular old loc. of सतवेत्, pres. part. of √ सताव, 'harass,' 'oppress.' The Bhojpūri pres. part. would be सताचिन्, loc. सतवितदि.

<sup>3</sup> दापि (sc. सके)

<sup>4</sup> √ भड्क, 'shake.'

<sup>5</sup> Lit. 'looking at,' a common idiom in Maithili.

<sup>6</sup> Oblique of लग्नाप्रव, in sense of genitive, see note <sup>4</sup>, page 2.

<sup>7</sup> भक्तभक्त, 'clearly.' Not in Bate. √ स्मृ is here used in a neuter impersonal sense.

<sup>8</sup> √ हो is here, irregularly, used in a causal sense.

<sup>9</sup> दुग्दुग् = डर, 'fear.' Not in Bate.

<sup>10</sup> देसि (a Bhojpūri form), 2 imperat. sing. of √ दे.

<sup>11</sup> डिल, Lit. 'form,' hence, 'person.' = Hindi डौल.

<sup>12</sup> √ बड्ढरा, here = 'boast.'

<sup>13</sup> ॐ sign of future, see note <sup>3</sup>, page 5.

Kaṃśá called Akrúra, and explained the whole affair from beginning to end. "All the Yádavas will I drive away<sup>1</sup> except thee. The two children will I kill and take a fine<sup>2</sup> from Nanda. I will confiscate<sup>3</sup> all his cows and she-buffaloes, and plunder all Vraja of all the wealth I can find in it. Then will I take my revenge, and slay the evil-minded Ugrasena, and Vasudeva. (30) With your permission, will I enjoy my kingdom. (Therefore) do thou to-day perform the task I wish (thee to undertake). I will behave<sup>4</sup> to thee as if thou wert my brother, and at dawn will divide the land and give thee half. I purpose to proclaim on all sides, a 'Sacrifice of the Bow,' hasten to invite them, and return to me. Ráma and Kṛishṇa the sons of Vasudeva esteem no one, on account of the strength of their own arms. I have two wrestlers, Chánura and Musṭhi, who will look upon them as mere straws, and slay them on the instant. (35) I have a famous Elephant named Kvalaya Píḍa, which if it choose can destroy<sup>5</sup> the chariot of the Sun. They are but men, and how much prowess can they show. They are young, and in<sup>6</sup> an instant will die. I have heard that when Indra sent his clouds, Kṛishṇa upheld the mountain, that he eats buffalo curds, milk, *ghí*, and *khír*, and that he is prospering<sup>7</sup> every day. Mount thy chariot and set off at once, (and mind that) what is pleasing to me is that thou should'st bring mine enemy here." (40) When the assembly arose, only<sup>8</sup> a few remained behind, and Akrúra was delayed as<sup>9</sup> it was too late to start. (So) for that day Dánaapati (Akrúra) remained there, and agreed<sup>10</sup> to all that Kaṃśa said. He began to perform so (wicked an) action, because, on account of his faith he knew somewhat of the future. When he agreed, Akrúra laughed, and became full of joy at the prospect of gazing upon Kṛishṇa. (He sang) "Blessed, blessed, am I, blessed is my lot; blessed is my tongue, and blessed my love (to Kṛishṇa). (45) He who became incarnate to protect<sup>11</sup> the Vedas, whose work it is to support the earth. He who became incarnate

<sup>1</sup> ✓ खेद = ✓ भगव. Kṛishṇa, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader, was a Yádava.

<sup>2</sup> डेड़ि = दण्ड.

<sup>3</sup> सरकार लुगाएव, 'to declare to be Government property,' 'to confiscate.'

<sup>4</sup> परिपाठि, 'behaviour.'

<sup>5</sup> ✓ मोड़, *Lit.* 'twist.' Not in Bate.

<sup>6</sup> मध, = Skr. मध्ये, 'in.'

<sup>7</sup> बढ़नुक, *lit.* 'one who is to prosper,' hence here, 'one who prospers.'

<sup>8</sup> वन, *lit.* 'like.' Compare the Hindi बोड़ा सा.

<sup>9</sup> लेल, *lit.*, 'for,' hence, 'on account of.'

<sup>10</sup> अङ्गिरि लेव, 'to agree' = लीकार करव = अङ्गिकार करव (v. 43).

<sup>11</sup> उधार = रक्षा.

and rent the pillar,<sup>1</sup> with him shall I hold converse. He who taking the form of a dwarf deceived Bali, with him shall I hold converse. He whom<sup>2</sup> the Kshatriya race fear, he who caused to fall<sup>3</sup> the pride of Rávana." Saith Man'bodh, "If I were to describe the joy of Akrúra, twelve years would pass by (in doing so)."

END OF BOOK VI.

BOOK VII.

One day there arose a cry<sup>4</sup> in Gokula, "a creature in the form of a horse hath come with open<sup>5</sup> mouth." Quickly, quickly, he licked his lips with his tongue, and crashing cut the earth with his hoof.<sup>6</sup> As many forms (as an Asura can take), he assumed, and caught hold<sup>7</sup> of several cowherds by the leg.

He cried, "You may pray to Rudra, but I will eat the Súdra,"<sup>8</sup> and yet, in spite of this the horse did not leap while the goat did.<sup>9</sup> (5) All the cowherds cried out, "Save us, Krishna, preserve those who have come to thee for refuge." With long strides<sup>10</sup> Krishna ran to the front, and Keśi began to challenge him. Opening<sup>11</sup> a mouth so wide as to show his very heart,<sup>12</sup> his teeth appeared like spadefuls<sup>13</sup> of white (earth). He

<sup>1</sup> Prahláda.

<sup>2</sup> Paraśu Ráma.

<sup>3</sup> ✓ दाह, 'caused to fall.'

<sup>4</sup> दौष = दौरा = कोलाहल. There is a Hindí verb दौषाना, 'to scream.'

<sup>5</sup> बौष = 'open.' Not in Bate.

<sup>6</sup> खरे is old instrumental for खुरे.

<sup>7</sup> ✓ भौक, 'catch hold of.' Not in Bate.

<sup>8</sup> This phrase is a proverb. It refers to a legend about a Bráhmaṇ who rested for the night in a place full of ghosts. When they came to attack him he began to do *pújá* to Rudra (Siva), thus saving himself, but not his Súdra servant who was with him. The ghosts cried out to him 'You may pray to Rudra (and thus save yourself) but you will not save your servant from being devoured by us.' Here the Asura is represented as saying to Krishna, 'You may save yourself, but you cannot save your devotees.'

<sup>9</sup> Another proverb. A horse, of course, leaps better than a goat, and when he is beaten by the latter, there is something wrong. Here the meaning is that Krishna, who corresponds to the horse, remained doing nothing, while the Asura (i. e., the goat) went about doing all this destruction.

<sup>10</sup> ✓ दरवर, 'stride,' 'take long steps.' Not in Bate.

<sup>11</sup> ✓ बाव or ✓ बाव 'open.' cf. बौष in line 1.

<sup>12</sup> छांत, 'heart,' 'entrails.'

<sup>13</sup> कोदरि कट, 'a fragment cut by a mattock.' The word is frequently used for the fragments of white clouds seen in the sky, when the latter is clearing after a storm.

of S'ukra or Brihaspati.<sup>1</sup> (25) The necklace over his breast was a lovely Vajjayanti, there is no such other in existence. If I had a thousand mouths, I might tell of his beauty: If one saw him (but once, ever afterwards) one would think that he continued gazing on him.<sup>2</sup> On seeing him, Akrúra ran up from a distance, and, as he expressed his affection, fell at his feet. Hari pressed him to his bosom with his arms, and smilingly the Lord of Vraja inquired if it was well with him. Haladhara arose and took him to his bosom, and, recognizing him as his devotee, did honour to him. (30) Enquiries after health and happiness especially<sup>3</sup> were not omitted, and then Akrúra made known Kaṁśa's<sup>4</sup> invitation. He who beareth the conch-shell in his hand had arranged<sup>5</sup> all this for the sake of the slaughter of Kaṁśa, and accepted the invitation. Saith he, "Kaṁśa is destined to be slaughtered by me. That will now be within three days."

When the women of Vraja heard of the departure of Kṛishṇa, they all sat down heart-broken. Their hair was unsnooded, and their faces uncovered, and all commenced to make lamentation. (35) "Even in anger he never speaketh a harsh word. He beareth all that we say to him. Yet that Hari he is carrying away from us, his heart is hard as if it had been rubbed with chaff.<sup>6</sup> It appeareth<sup>7</sup> that there is no other so hard-hearted as he, how, then, was he given the name Akrúra (tender-hearted). We have heard that there are there (in Mathurá) peerless damsels, whose very feet are as beautiful as our faces. Like you and we there are many,<sup>8</sup> hence, what idea<sup>9</sup> is there of his returning." (40) Some in their woe, abandoned their ornaments, others moistened (with their tears) their couches of lotus leaves.<sup>10</sup> The flower-garlands which they themselves had woven, on hearing of the departure of Hari, (became dishevelled and) appeared like serpents. Some, broken-hearted, sat mo-

<sup>1</sup> Two planets, Venus and Jupiter, which are supposed to have rings, which, says the poet, complete their beauty, just as the earrings completed Kṛishṇa's.

<sup>2</sup> *I. e.*, This memory would never be effaced.

<sup>3</sup> Read अवसेख न. Concerning the use of रहल, see note <sup>14</sup>, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> क्रित is here used as a sign of the genitive. अविनष्ट = अभिनय.

<sup>5</sup> ब्योत = उपाय. Bate gives ब्योत 'shape,' 'fashion.'

<sup>6</sup> भुसा = भूसा. Articles are rubbed with chaff to give them a hard polished appearance.

<sup>7</sup> फूर = फूटे. √ फूट is often used to mean 'appear' impersonally.

<sup>8</sup> This line is an excellent example of the feminine in Mth.

<sup>9</sup> कोटि, 'an idea' in Mth. Not in Bate in this sense.

<sup>10</sup> *I. e.*, They made cool beds for themselves to allay their fever, but even these they watered with their tears.

tionless,<sup>1</sup> and others said “(let us make) arrangements<sup>2</sup> that he may stay here”. Some stood (waiting) in astrologers’ courtyards, saying, “If you order me I will tear off my ornaments<sup>3</sup> from my person. I will remain all my life as your menial,<sup>4</sup> if, on his asking you, you will tell (Nanda) that it is an unlucky day.”<sup>5</sup> Others said “why does king Nanda agree (to his departure), verily he is a fool,<sup>6</sup> and knoweth nothing.” There was a demand for twenty-two hundred poets<sup>7</sup> (to sing in honour of his departure), and the cowherds came up with curds and milk and clarified butter. King Nanda was their *Jēṭh raiyat*, and not one inferior (pot of) curds<sup>8</sup> did they bring. (50) Kṛishṇa (being now engaged on a serious enterprise) gave up all his former love for these things, and made no provision for his journey.<sup>9</sup> At the time of starting he said nothing as to whether he would remain there (at Mathurá) or return. (The cowherdresses said, “We will not believe that he has returned) until we see him with our eyes,<sup>10</sup> ‘what is behind one’s eyes is behind the house.’”<sup>11</sup> Saying this they stood on the (highest point of a) pile of dried cowdung (watching him) till<sup>12</sup> their Lord had gone more than a *kos*. From one heap they mounted another (as they followed him with their eyes), for how could she who was consumed<sup>13</sup> with the pangs of separation remain motionless? (On account of the tears falling from their eyes and the trampling) the pile became simply a mass of cowdung<sup>14</sup> and their ap-

<sup>1</sup> सच्च = ‘motionless.’ Not in Bato.

<sup>2</sup> परिपच्च, ‘arrangements,’ = वन्दोवस. Not in Bato.

<sup>3</sup> A woman divests herself of all ornaments when her husband dies. Here the women offer to the astrologer to separate themselves from Kṛishṇa’s embraces for ever, if that will make him stay near them.

<sup>4</sup> सुदिनि fem. of सूद्र a Súdra: commonly used to mean a menial servant.

<sup>5</sup> भद्रवा, any one of six unlucky asterisms, viz., Śravaṇá, Dhanishṭhá, Śatabhishá, Púrvabhádrapadá, Úttarabhádrapadá, Revatí. Not in Bato.

<sup>6</sup> गोवर गनेस, *lit.* ‘a cowdung Gaucésa,’ means ‘a helpless fool.’

<sup>7</sup> भार = भाट, ‘a panegyrist.’

<sup>8</sup> Note that in spite of the grammarians दधि, is feminine.—So also in the दधि लीला of Súr Dás.

<sup>9</sup> समदा वारि, ‘viaticum.’

<sup>10</sup> डौढि = दृष्टि.

<sup>11</sup> A proverb, of which the usual version is आंखि लेखेँ पीढि पङ्खार, that is to say, what a man cannot see is as good as absent.

<sup>12</sup> ता = तावद, ‘tell.’

<sup>13</sup> ✓ डढ़, ‘burn.’

<sup>14</sup> A *gowála’s* dung-heap is proverbially neat. Cf. the Prov. गोचारक गोवर दुरदिस चिकन, ‘a *gowála’s* dung-heap is smooth on both sides.’

pearance became changed, and became one of tears.<sup>1</sup> (55) Some even went outside the village (to watch him), and others turned pale<sup>2</sup> and went crazy. The horses were very swift, and went like the wind; (soon) they could no longer see the chariots, and it became late in the day. Then it appeared<sup>3</sup> to the hearts of all, as if a precious jewel had fallen from the hand (of each). Saying, "Every damsel of Mathurá who shall see Hari, will rejoice and consider her life's desire fulfilled", (they departed), lamenting, and calling to mind his virtues, (for) without Hari the whole town appeared empty.

(60) Saith Man'bodh, "What sort of day was that?" "May such an one as it be for my enemies.

END OF BOOK VII.

BOOK VIII.

The chariot halted on the banks of the Yamuná, and Akrúra descended and went to bathe. As he dived he saw (an apparition of) Hari and Haladhara in the water, together with Śesha (the serpent of eternity) and was struck with awe.<sup>4</sup> When he made as though he would speak, Hari understood it, and restrained his own voice. He saw Hari and Ráma in the pool of the Yamuná, (yet, when he rose to the surface), he saw them as they were (on the bank). (5) Then Akrúra uttered praises, which are described at length<sup>5</sup> in the (Sanskrit) Haribamśa.

Very quickly they crossed the Yamuná, and Akrúra made up his mind firmly (that Kṛishṇa was indeed God). After going<sup>6</sup> a little way the Lord (descended) and went on foot, and Akrúra urged<sup>7</sup> the chariot ahead. Joyfully the two brothers went along, and after some distance they saw the washerman's *ghát*. "O washerman beloved of the king,

<sup>1</sup> This half line, no one, whom I have met, can translate, nor can any trustworthy emendation be suggested. The translation given, suggests that *आरख* should be read *आ रख*, in which case *रख* would = the Persian *رخ*, which in Mth. means 'general appearance,' and is pronounced *रख*, not *रख*. The translation is, however, an unsatisfactory one.

<sup>2</sup> *Lit.*, 'yellow.' This line is another good example of the Mth. feminine.

<sup>3</sup> Past tense of *√ भास*, 'appear,' the penultimate being shortened for the sake of rhyme.

<sup>4</sup> *Lit.* 'considered it wondrous.'

<sup>5</sup> *फैल*, *Lit.*, 'that (which) he said is spread out in the Haribamśa.'

<sup>6</sup> *गए* see note <sup>1</sup>, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *√ हल*, literally 'strike,' here 'urge.'

give, O friend, a gift of a garment." (10) When the washerman heard this, he arose in anger,<sup>1</sup> and called out to his wife to thrust a torch in (the boys') faces. When Kṛishṇa heard this, (darting on them) like a loosened falcon, he beat the washerman, and plundered the *ghát*. The washerwoman left the place in tears, and as she went along the road rubbed off the vermilion from her head (in token of her widowhood). Hari selected<sup>2</sup> yellow garments, and gave Haladhar dark-coloured ones. The people of the village when they saw the plunder<sup>3</sup> of the washerman's *ghát* laughed, (and said to each other) 'They are playing their old pranks still.'<sup>4</sup>

(15) Hari had a great affection for flowers, and saw the house of a garland-maker: He went thither and asked for a garland, and blessed was (the fortune) of the gardener then. Guṇaka the gardener was full of holy virtues, and being possessed of the power of seeing the future, acted accordingly. On seeing Kṛishṇa he gave him flowers, nor asked who he was, and his descendants exist now to the present day.

The two brothers put on the garlands, and gave him this boon, and then entered (Mathurá) the city of the king of men. (20) Kubjá (the hunchback), having anointed her body stood in the way, and when she saw Hari, her body became filled with love. Cried she, "Haste thou, to my house, and fulfil<sup>5</sup> the desire of my life." Kṛishṇa being in the presence of his elder brother was ashamed,<sup>6</sup> and said something by way of excuse.<sup>7</sup> Then going aside he said unto her, "Give<sup>8</sup> me sandal wood; when I return I will come to thy house." Her love overflowed,<sup>9</sup> nor could<sup>10</sup> she say anything. So she gave him sandal, and considered in her heart, (saying to herself), (25) "I am very lean, and ugly, and vile, nevertheless the Lord did not despise me, nor was he displeased<sup>11</sup> with me." Kṛishṇa understood her thoughts and made her straight, and Kubjá being freed (from her infirmity) became (beautiful) as Lakshmi.

<sup>1</sup> ✓ टिड्ढा, 'be enraged,' *lit.* 'shiver' or 'faint with cold.' See note <sup>8</sup>, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> ✓ विक्, 'select.'

<sup>3</sup> Here लुटि is in its proper meaning of a verbal noun.

<sup>4</sup> *Lit.*, 'That practice (उपलखन) has remained (वसल) till now (प्रतड प्रति)'

<sup>5</sup> देह = दह, the 2nd Imperat. of ✓ दे.

<sup>6</sup> It is not etiquette to carry on intrigues before an elder brother.

<sup>7</sup> उकुति, 'an excuse.'

<sup>8</sup> See note <sup>5</sup> above.

<sup>9</sup> *Lit.*, 'filled.'

<sup>10</sup> ✓ पाइ 'be able,' see remarks *s. v.* in the Vocabulary to my Maithil Chrestomathy.

<sup>11</sup> ✓ हल, here means 'be displeased with,' *Cf.* note <sup>7</sup>, p. 25.

Hari had told her (to supply him with sandal) sufficient for two persons,<sup>1</sup> and Kāṁśa's desire was all that was left in the vessel.<sup>2</sup> Then the Hero of the house of Yadu having anointed<sup>3</sup> his whole body with the sandal, went about the city, seeing (the sights). He saw Kāṁśa's armoury, and said to himself, "Let me take steps of hostility<sup>4</sup> against him." (30) He asked the keeper politely where the bow was of which the sacrifice was to take place. By means of his power and cleverness, on his asking, he (managed to be allowed to) lift up the bow, which was fated not to be the object of sacrifice, in his hand. With extreme ease he strung the string, and like the inner<sup>5</sup> filament of a lotus he snapped it. The crash filled the whole of Mathurā, yet when they heard it, no one understood<sup>6</sup> what had happened. The two brothers did not halt there, but started<sup>7</sup> off immediately, and the keeper went to Kāṁśa and told him what had happened. (35) From the arrival of Akrūra, he understood (that Kṛishṇa also had come), but on the breaking of the bow, he saw the fact clearly.<sup>8</sup>

All the cowherds who had come from Gokula (in attendance on Kṛishṇa) stopped at Akrūra's doorway. Who can tell the feasting<sup>9</sup> in honour of Hari? They had food of all the six flavours, and of the thirty-six kinds. Let us praise the joy of the wife of Akrūra, although she was very modest,<sup>10</sup> still she wished also to look at (Kṛishṇa).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bangālī व्यक्ति. माफिक is the Arabic موافق.

<sup>2</sup> A very difficult passage. It is literally, 'and the soul of Kāṁśa was left in the vessel.' Kubjā was the maid-servant in charge of Kāṁśa's sandal-wood, and she gave all she had (which was just sufficient for two persons) to Kṛishṇa. The Paṇḍits explain that the vessel being empty, only the desire (चन्सु) of Kāṁśa remained in it, i. e., that there was no sandal-wood left for him. The use of चन्सु to mean 'desire' is peculiar.

<sup>3</sup> चरचित = लिप्त.

<sup>4</sup> कुफार, 'the preliminaries of a fight.'

<sup>5</sup> बिस, the white inner stalk of a lotus.

<sup>6</sup> फुरल = फुल्ल, cf. note <sup>7</sup>, p. 23. Here the lit. translation is '(its true meaning) appeared to no one.'

<sup>7</sup> ✓ छिटक, 'start off quickly.'

<sup>8</sup> भक भक, 'clearly.'

<sup>9</sup> पञ्जनागि, 'the feasting in honour of a guest.'

<sup>10</sup> घोषट is the act of sweeping the veil across the face, which a woman does before a strange man. A bold woman only does this slightly (छेाट घोषट), but a modest one covers her whole face (बड़ घोषट). There is a well-known riddle खान के देवं तोहरा नहिं, (a wife asks her husband, 'what is that which) I give to another and not to you?') The answer is घोषट.

Having got certain news of the arrival of Hari, Kaṁṣa sent for Chánura and Mushtika; (40) and said to them, "Ye are my wrestlers, up to this day have I cherished you. I will act to you as your own brother, and in the morning will I divide the land and give ye half." When the two wrestlers heard this they rejoiced,<sup>1</sup> for they were men whose play (at wrestling) was famous in the world. Said they, "If they come before us, not one of the two shall be allowed to go<sup>2</sup> away alone." Then Kaṁṣa called his elephant-driver, and told him the whole tale from beginning to end. (45) "Bring," said he, "Kūvalaya Pīḍa at dawn, and warily place him by the doorway (to the place of sacrifice). Understand how thou must carry out the business. Act so that Kṛishna may not be able to approach." Next morning there was a cry of indignation in the city, for the honest men thought that the fight (between such wrestlers and Kṛishna) would not be fair, and condemned<sup>3</sup> it.

The poet Man'bodh in his heart<sup>4</sup> seeth this, that it is<sup>5</sup> proper that I should now describe the arena.

#### END OF BOOK VIII.

#### BOOK IX.

The wrestling-floor extended over a whole league (in all directions), and (at the idea of) seeing the wrestling,<sup>6</sup> the minds of even the old men became excited. (They cried) "Let me also join in the sports, let me also try a fall. There is delay (about their coming); here, catch hold of my cloth."<sup>7</sup> In their various proper places hundreds of thousands of *lejims*<sup>8</sup> were deposited, and excellent heaps of wrestler's earth<sup>9</sup> piled

<sup>1</sup> ✓ मनुषा, 'be glad.'

<sup>2</sup> जाण् obl. verb. noun governed by पाञ्चोत्, making a permissive compound.

<sup>3</sup> ✓ नकार, *Lit.*, 'say no,' hence, 'disapprove.'

<sup>4</sup> हिदयां, obl. of हिदय.

<sup>5</sup> वृत्त is here impersonal.

<sup>6</sup> सरौं, 'the act of wrestling;' cf. सरौं, 'a gymnast's exercise,' in Rámáyan; not in Bate.

<sup>7</sup> नुष्ठा, 'clothes generally,' not in Bate.

<sup>8</sup> A लेजिम is a bar hung with iron rings, which gymnasts hold in their two hands above their heads. The exercise is supposed to strengthen the shoulders. Not in Bate.

<sup>9</sup> कोठवार is the earth of an old granary (कोठी) which wrestlers rub upon their bodies.

up. Here and there the place was filled with pits<sup>1</sup> which had been dug, and there were Indian clubs of solid wood.<sup>2</sup> (5) The arena was<sup>3</sup> extremely vast, on all sides were many<sup>4</sup> palaces high as mountains.<sup>5</sup> There were two or three hundred two-storied stands. Here and there<sup>6</sup> there were bands<sup>7</sup> and *nāch* girls dancing. According (to the rank of) those who were of chief and polite families,<sup>8</sup> so were stands allotted to them.<sup>9</sup> Kaṁṣa's own grand-stand was a whole league high, and it would have been very difficult to ascend into it without a staircase. Why then did Kaṁṣa prepare so high a stand? Can any one escape from the hand of death<sup>10</sup>? (10) While the assembly of the people was still going on, there rose a cry<sup>11</sup> of "He's come, he's come." In the door-way gleamed the golden diadem (of Kṛishṇa), together with Nanda and the other Gowālās. The elephant-driver struck his elephant and urged it on, and for a space Kṛishṇa played excellently<sup>12</sup> with it, and then seized the elephant's tusk, and tore it out

<sup>1</sup> करिगृह is *lit.* 'a weaver's loom.' This is built over a pit, and hence the word is used to mean any kind of pit. गृह means place.'

<sup>2</sup> गुदगर, 'possessing a गूद.' गूद (or, गुदा) is properly a kernel, or the soft inside of anything. Thus the गूद of a shell-fish is the fish itself, the shell being called खुँदचा. Thus in the fable of 'the kite and the crow,' occurs the passage 'जैह डोंका धरती पर खमल, टूक टूक भे गेल। आओर कौआ थोकर गुदा खाए गेल। थोरवा काल भे चिलहोरि नीचा उतरलि तँ खुँदचा बाड़ि किच्छु नहिँ पौलक।' 'The cockle fell to the earth and was immediately smashed to pieces. Thereupon the crow ate up the inside. Shortly afterwards the kite came down, but could find nothing but the broken pieces of the shell.'

<sup>3</sup> In modern Mth. भेल never means 'was,' but only 'became.'

<sup>4</sup> खण्ड, 'a piece,' here is used as a sign of the plural.

<sup>5</sup> पदण्ड is said by the Paṇḍits to = पहाड़, 'a mountain.' It is necessary, however, to receive this interpretation with some caution, for the word is not used in modern Mth. in this sense nor is its derivation clear. Also खण्ड पदण्ड is used in modern Mth., to signify 'pieces,' the word पदण्ड being apparently only a reduplication of a खण्ड.

<sup>6</sup> कड, '*lit.*' 'somewhere.'

<sup>7</sup> बाजन is Bhojpūri plural of बाजा a musical instrument.

<sup>8</sup> नील commonly means 'modest,' 'polite,' in Mth.

<sup>9</sup> *Lit.*, 'so (there was an order) of making stands for them.'

<sup>10</sup> *I. e.*, Kaṁṣa foolishly thought that he could provide for his own safety by doing so.

<sup>11</sup> Pers. شور.

<sup>12</sup> खुँलि, *lit.* 'openly.' Used frequently idiomatically to mean 'very well.' The idea is that a man tied up cannot do anything well.

of its socket with his hand. With this tusk the Lord of Vraja then slew it. When Kuvālaya Piṇḍa fell like a mountain<sup>1</sup> on the earth, and Kaṁṣā saw it, his pride fell down.<sup>2</sup> (15) Taking the excellent elephant's tusk as an excellent weapon in his hand, Hari went forward accompanied by Haladhara. Heavenly damsels became incarnate in Gokula. Though they had fortune and many relations, yet cared they nothing for them.<sup>3</sup> Only gazing (on Kṛishṇa), made they known their love to him, and their hearts desired<sup>4</sup> only Kaṁṣā's death. "If he lives" (said they), "all will lose their happiness, but if this scoundrel<sup>5</sup> dies, it is well for all of us." With the city wives stood Devakī, her eyes, like clouds, filling with rain. (20) As she saw the face of her son her breasts filled, and milk which they could no longer contain<sup>6</sup> gushed forth from them (in her affection). With Akṛūra stood (his brother) Vasudeva (saying to himself), "at last I shall see the countenance of my child." Thrusting several<sup>7</sup> people aside Kṛishṇa advanced and proclaimed thus in the assembly. "Chānura hath exceeding might, and I am tender: it is greatly unfair that I should wrestle<sup>8</sup> with him." The people of the assembly heard this<sup>9</sup> and were filled with shame, but out of fear of Kaṁṣā no one spoke. (25) Then He who beareth the conch-shell in his hand, again spake, considering in his heart, but his words were lost (on the people). "To-day this unfair practice<sup>9</sup> will cease for ever. I am not a common<sup>10</sup> wrestler<sup>11</sup> of my house. I cannot bear this longer,<sup>12</sup> let him who comes, come now."<sup>13</sup> Kṛishṇa slapped (his arms), and rose with a roar, and the people began to guess<sup>14</sup> about (the chances of) victory and defeat. One foot he set (before him) straightened, (and the

<sup>1</sup> भौर or भौर is the high mound round a tank.

<sup>2</sup> √ भर, 'drop,' usually reserved for fruit dropping from a tree.

<sup>3</sup> See note <sup>1</sup> p. 12. Read as before अहिगरलि.

<sup>4</sup> An unusual meaning of √ मनाव.

<sup>5</sup> मुढ़चा is an abusive term. It means *lit.* 'one who has lost his head.' Hence 'a capless fellow,' used only in abuse.

<sup>6</sup> *Lit.* 'The act of being contained did not take place.'

<sup>7</sup> *Lit.* 'four.'

<sup>8</sup> *Lit.* a wrestling (between) him and me is greatly unfair.'

<sup>9</sup> परिक = अभ्यास.

<sup>10</sup> A common use of 'ग्रहन, 'such.'

<sup>11</sup> खेला, here 'one who sports,' 'a wrestler.'

<sup>12</sup> *Lit.*, 'as long as there is no time, so long do I bear it.'

<sup>13</sup> आव is the usual Mth. form of the Hindi अब.

<sup>14</sup> अटकर, 'a guess,' i. e., अटकर सौं मालाच, 'he walked by guess,' of a man going along on a dark night.

other) behind him, and twisting his left knee, he set it before him.<sup>1</sup> (30) With violent challenges he planted his hands, for greatly skilled in wrestling was the lord of Vraja. (Chánura), who had wrestled<sup>2</sup> much, came up, saying "Wait!<sup>3</sup> Let<sup>4</sup> me pound thee." He rubbed earth on his great stout arms, (and appeared) in no way smaller than Kumbhakarṇa. He himself was deceitful and mighty, and his caste was very vile; so for a space there was a great boxing<sup>5</sup> match. Putting their heads down close together,<sup>6</sup> Kṛishṇa put forth his hand, and several times clasped him only round the neck. (35) Strong-armed (Kṛishṇa) pressed him down with one arm.<sup>7</sup> Who was it that taught him that trick<sup>8</sup> there? Adopting that trick Kṛishṇa warded him off, and knowing himself to be powerless<sup>9</sup> (against Chánura after performing it), instantly<sup>10</sup> released himself. So also when Kṛishṇa seized him Chánura in like manner reserved<sup>11</sup> (a counter trick). And seeing that, the hearts of good men became glad.<sup>12</sup> In this way,<sup>13</sup> the wrestling lasted for a long time.<sup>14</sup> And every now and then they would walk round<sup>15</sup> each other, and clap their own hands (in defiance). At length in the arena<sup>16</sup> Kṛishṇa gave up tricks to the Naf,<sup>17</sup> and swooping on him, struck him

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.*, knelt down on his left knee.

<sup>2</sup> **सरो**, see note to v. 1.

<sup>3</sup> **अरो**, an interjection meaning "Wait!" The **✓ अड़** means 'wait.' **अरो** is probably Bhojpúri, and means *lit.* 'Let me wait.'

<sup>4</sup> **करो**, Bhojpúri, 1 sing. pres. conj.

<sup>5</sup> **मुट्टा** in **मुट्टामुट्टि** is an oblique form. The compound means 'a boxing on a boxing,' 'a mutual boxing,' like **मार मारि** in note,<sup>6</sup> p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Lit.*, 'making their heads approach,' a posture in wrestling.

<sup>7</sup> **प्रक हत्तौ गोत**, is the special name of a trick at wrestling, consisting in pressing down (**✓ गोत**) the opponent with one arm.

<sup>8</sup> **दाओ**, the technical term for a trick at wrestling. **आत = आतय**, 'then.'

<sup>9</sup> An unusual meaning of **असक्व**.

<sup>10</sup> **बद्ध दे** 'immediately.' Cf. *Mth. Chr. Sal.* 19, **बक दे उदल**.

<sup>11</sup> **✓ जोगाव**, = 'preserve,' = **जुगाय**; hence, 'reserve.' Read **आओ जोगाव**.

<sup>12</sup> **✓ जुड़ा = H. ✓ जुरा**. They were glad because they saw that the two were equal.

<sup>13</sup> **इं** instr. governed by **परि**. It corresponds to the Vedic **इन**, 'by this,' which was lost in later Sanskrit, but has been preserved in *Mth.*

<sup>14</sup> **काल** 'time' is here feminine.

<sup>15</sup> **भाउरि**, 'a circling,' cf. **चक भाउर** in *Mth. Chr. Sal.* 7.

<sup>16</sup> **रङ्गि**, for **रङ्गे**, loc. of **रङ्ग**.

<sup>17</sup> **Nafs** are a tribe of gypsies who are famous for their wrestling powers. Hence the word is used for any great wrestler. The meaning is that Kṛishṇa left all such

instantaneously, and felled him to the ground. (40) Blood flowed in torrents from his mouth and nose, and the earth for a *bighá* round him became thereby a morass. Chánura the wrestler became crushed to pieces,<sup>1</sup> and died, what life can there be to him whom Hari hath touched in anger? Just as<sup>2</sup> Hari had done<sup>3</sup> to Chánura, so also did Haladhara slay Mushtika. Toshala the wrestler, seeing this, became wroth, and rose clapping his hands as a mighty challenge. When he had slain Toshala Hari approached Kaṁśa, and (like) what bird of the air did he become (in that he was able to ascend the lofty stand)? (45) Upon the stand,<sup>4</sup> in real verity,<sup>5</sup> he hurled him down, and without letting him go dashed him down to the ground.<sup>6</sup> He thrust on him an infinitesimal portion of his weight<sup>7</sup> (in his character) of the universe, and Kaṁśa immediately<sup>8</sup> gave up his breath. (Pretending) to think that Kaṁśa was annoyed in his heart (at the treatment he had received) Kṛishṇa seized him by the hair,<sup>9</sup> and dragged him some distance. On seeing this Kaṁśa's brother, named Sudáman ran up challenging him, but, swooping down between them Haladhara seized him, and laughingly treated him in the same way.<sup>10</sup> (50) When the five men had been killed, (although) other (demons present) were spared, the arena became as (horrible as) a burial-ground.

Then Kaṁśa's mother, wife, and younger brother's wife came up, and in piteous grief rolled<sup>11</sup> upon the ground. Into Hari's ears<sup>12</sup> came the cries of the dying,<sup>13</sup> and even his eyes filled with tears. (He consoled

petty devices as tricks to Chánura, and forthwith killed him by sheer display of force.

<sup>1</sup> हल = चूर्ण, 'ground to powder.'

<sup>2</sup> जे परि = जे परि, cf. ऐ परि in v. 38. Read परि हरि, and not परिहरि.

<sup>3</sup> वनल is here used for वनाच्छल.

<sup>4</sup> मचदि is here the general obl. form of माँच.

<sup>5</sup> Obl. of सचमच, 'real truth,' a reduplication of सच.

<sup>6</sup> हेट = नीचा, 'below.' Cf. Bangálí हेट मुख, in my notes on the Rangpur dialect, see J. A. S. B., No. 3 for 1877, p. 199, l. 15.

<sup>7</sup> भर = भार.

<sup>8</sup> फाँदि, 'immediately;' apparently the indecl. part. of a √ फाँच, which I have not met elsewhere.

<sup>9</sup> कच = केस.

<sup>10</sup> ओछे परि is the correlative of ऐ परि. There is no form ओँ corresponding to ऐ.

<sup>11</sup> कत, 'how much,' hence 'exceedingly.'

<sup>12</sup> कोक, for कोख, = कोप.

<sup>13</sup> मर लोक, a common expression for 'a person at the point of death.'

them), giving them advice and hope, and went about quietly and ashamed.<sup>1</sup> (Then Kṛishṇa said to Nanda) "No one knows what may happen. My father, do thou return now speedily before me (to Gokula). (55) While I am absent, watch, I pray thee, my mother (Yaśodá) that she waste not away." With these words Hari gave him leave to go, and gave him ten million jewels out of Kaṁśa's store<sup>2</sup>. Going a little forward Hari and Ráma, made salutation to the feet of their father and mother (Vasudeva and Devakí), saying "For so long was it impossible to honour you, I pray ye to pardon my fault. It was difficult even to save my life, so that I might be preserved from Kaṁśa's (60) hand." Vasudeva remembered the former portents<sup>3</sup> (which had occurred at Kṛishṇa's birth), and with Devakí fell at his feet. Understanding (who Kṛishṇa was) Vasudeva sang greatly of his virtues, and then Kṛishṇa again cast his illusion over him, (and caused him to again become ignorant of his supernatural origin). All the members of the house of Yadu who were there made to him fit salutation, and the tree of Vasudeva's faith bore fruit, for the eternal Essence had (humbly) fallen at his feet. Then Kṛishṇa sent for Ugrasena and with modesty had his bonds cut, saying, "Let not the Yádavas feel grieved, although they are under Yayáti's curse. The fourteen worlds move at his commands, whose servants I and Haladhara are." He then waved chowries<sup>4</sup> over the king's throne, and set the umbrella of state over Ugrasena's head.

The friend of the miserable, the Lord of the lordless, the one giver of happiness, the holy lord of Vraja, these names are all called Kṛishṇa's sport, and may holy Ráma put difficulties far off. Saith Man'bodh, I have told the tale of Kaṁśa's slaughter. What happened afterwards, that remains to be said.

END OF BOOK IX.

BOOK X.

There have arrived<sup>5</sup> the wives of Kaṁśa, the daughters of Jarásandha. In many ways they display their state of widowhood coming

<sup>1</sup> हरिहिं is here the instrumental used as Nom. before the past tense of a transitive verb. सद्, see note <sup>1</sup> p. 24. अप्रतिभ (Skr. अप्रतिभा), 'without brilliancy,' hence, 'ashamed.'

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'kept by Kaṁśa.'

<sup>3</sup> Lit., 'qualities.'

<sup>4</sup> चौर दराप्रव, is the usual phrase for waving a fly-flapper.

<sup>5</sup> अस्ति is the Skr. 'there is,' परापति is fem. of परापत = प्राप्, used in Mth., to mean 'arrived.'

running to their father's palace. In piteous plight, how much had they to tell! and hearing their story he could no longer contain himself. (Said the widows), "The son of Nanda hath made me a widow.<sup>1</sup> A thing which ought not to have been possible by the strength of any one.<sup>2</sup> (5) The moon may fall (from the sky), the earth may dry up, Mount Meru itself may desert its site, and go elsewhere. All this may rather be done, yea, can<sup>3</sup> be done, but not that a gowálá, a (common) stove-bearer should kill a mighty warrior. We will not drink water, until we take (vengeance on) the enemy of our husband." Jarásandha comforted them, collected his camps and roughly counted<sup>4</sup> their numbers. (From) Sorath, Bhorath, Garh'pál, Anga, Banga, and Nepal; from Betiá, Tirhut, and other countries, his majesty summoned all the kings. They could not be contained in all his forts, there was no room even in the whole land of Magadh.<sup>5</sup> The army waxed in size for ten or twenty days, and then all issued in the direction of Mathurá. The sight of the sun was obscured by the dust, and it is lucky that the back<sup>6</sup> of the mundane tortoise did not break in (with the weight). There was not a drop of water or (a grain of) food to be found in the moon or on the earth. The ocean itself took refuge in (the hell called) Tala.

(15) At eventime there rose a hubbub from the army, on hearing which His Majesty got a headache<sup>7</sup>. So then old and reverend ushers, with wands in their hands went about calling in all directions, 'silence' 'silence.' The camp stopped, and surrounded the fort (of Mathurá) as a falcon swoops upon a quail. To Hari the gate-keeper said respectfully<sup>8</sup> "there is a sound of drums near<sup>9</sup> the city. Who can tell the size of the army? It is as if the whole universe were densely collected<sup>10</sup> together." (20) When they saw this their faces became

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.*, 'taken the vermilion from my hair,'—a sign of widowhood.

<sup>2</sup> *Lit.*, 'which one would not think (proper) for the being done by the strength of any one.' होमप्र is obl. form of the verb. noun of √ हो, 'be.' The म is an euphonic addition as in देमै, खेमै, see Mth. Gr. §. 189, 3, add. ... बून = 'strength,' 'power.'

<sup>3</sup> होमप्र पारव, 'to be able to be done.'

<sup>4</sup> See note to 9, 28.

<sup>5</sup> Jarásandha's kingdom.

<sup>6</sup> The paṇḍits translate अमठ, by 'back,' but they are doubtful as to the exact meaning of the word.

<sup>7</sup> *Lit.*, 'pain in his mind.'

<sup>8</sup> अरज = Ar. عرض.

<sup>9</sup> नगेरा, 'a camel-drum.'

<sup>10</sup> Cf. coll. Mth., मेघ उमडि आप्रल, 'the clouds are dense.'

dry,<sup>1</sup> and in their mouths the lips<sup>2</sup> of the Yádavas were parched. Only one was joyful, the holy Lord of Vraja, (as he thought) "To-day will I raise the burden of the earth." When the others considered that Hari was joyful in his heart, all knew certainly that there would be victory. Every one took up his weapons, and the Yádavas all became ready, and assembled. Ugrasena, Uddhava, Akrúra, and Varmásura whose deeds were famous in the world. (25) Akrúra became an extremely excellent hero, imposing in his chariot, he shone like Arjuna. All began to talk of the battle, and in union with their bodies, their heroism awoke. Dáruka<sup>3</sup> brought and equipped the great chariot, and each side began to play its drums. Hari went outside with all the chariots, as the Bráhmans all blessed them. With a laugh Haladhara advanced and took the betel.<sup>4</sup> In the battle-field, who ever was such as he. (30) "To my knowledge, this (Jarásandha) was exceeding wicked, let us consider how to deal with him."<sup>5</sup> (Jarásandha) who had done many evil deeds joined in battle with him who was devoted to wine,<sup>6</sup> and Haláyudha went in front of the excellent battle. Equal with equal began the fight, in order that nothing might be done contrary to fair play.<sup>7</sup> Jarásandha joined combat with Haladhara, for who else could stand before him. The king took his club, and fought with it, while Haladhara raised his pestle. (35) Knowing that success would be fruitless, an oracle proclaimed from the sky, "Come now, spare him, spare him Haladhara. I have arranged a method of killing him." The king<sup>8</sup> hearing this portent began to run and this favourable oracle became unfavourable to him. Leaving the battle-field the king fled,<sup>9</sup> and Haladhara threw aside his pestle. The victory was given to the strong, and defeat

<sup>1</sup> बफदर is a kind of ring-worm, which, when it drops, leaves a dry place behind, at the place which it had attacked. The translation is, literally, 'the ring-worm dropped from the faces of all,' that is to say, 'the faces of all became dry with fear.'

<sup>2</sup> फुफरी is 'parching' or 'cracking of the lips.'

<sup>3</sup> Kṛishṇa's charioteer.

<sup>4</sup> नै, see note to <sup>1</sup>, p. 13. When a forlorn hope is wanted, those who volunteer, signify their willingness by stepping forward, out of the ranks, and picking up a betel roll deposited for the purpose. Cf. Chand, Revátata 16.

<sup>5</sup> Lit., 'how it will be done.'

<sup>6</sup> This half line is very difficult. The above is the best meaning I can make out of it, but it is not much. It appears to be literally, 'he, having done bad qualities, joined with him who had the quality of wine.' Haladhara was by tradition a great drinker as well as a great hero.

<sup>7</sup> Lit., 'virtue.'

<sup>8</sup> Lit., 'the enjoyer of the earth.'

<sup>9</sup> ✓ परा = 'ran away,' cf. Bangáli पलाइवे.

to the wicked, and all the men of Anga, Banga and Tailanga were scattered. (40) On that day Hari showed unlimited prowess<sup>1</sup> like a hundred Arjunas and two hundred Bhimas, and the enemy fought as much as it desired with him, as a moth leaps and falls into a fire. It cannot even be counted how many men Hari slew, in order to raise the burden of the earth. Some of the generals fled towards their home, and those who remained behind were killed. The Yádavas remained thick as clouds in the month of Bhádō, and none of them were scattered having Hari for their support.<sup>2</sup> (45) They showered arrows like a rain (so heavy) that the enemy thought that creation was coming to an end (in a flood). Every king, who joined combat with the Yádavas, immediately found himself close to the gates of death.<sup>3</sup> So the army returned, and the portion which was left behind was washed away in a stream of blood,<sup>4</sup> in which the floating shields were like the tortoises, and the turbans, snakes. Kṛishṇa let a few of them escape, so that he might grant (the world) a benefit, as he would again (be able to) collect (and carry away) the burden of the earth. (50) Those who had been<sup>5</sup> so stout (and valiant) and now so small, did not, out of shame, return to their fortress. The brave enemies<sup>6</sup> of the earth again collected, and again shamelessly arrived (against Mathurá). For their reward they all got arrows (sharp as) scorpions, and again they returned to the place whence they had ridden. Again they began to fight, and again were beaten, nor did there remain to them a comrade, or joy, or love. Again they mounted and came, and again were defeated, and thus the war was repeated fifteen times.

(55) Saith Man'bodh, "The Lord of Magadha returned, and the troops who came with him all died."

END OF BOOK X.

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.*, 'made an unlimited battle.'

<sup>2</sup> श्रेय, 'a support.'

<sup>3</sup> धरम = यम.

<sup>4</sup> लिधुर विधुर, 'blood and the like.'

<sup>5</sup> अकलाह, old form of इलाह. Cf. the old Bangálí form आकिलाम for हिलाम.

<sup>6</sup> *Lit.*, 'death.'

## PART III.

*Index to Man'bodh's Haribans.*

## INTRODUCTION.

The form of the index explains itself. The only point to be made clear is the alphabetical order, which differs somewhat from that hitherto in use. Neither the *anunásika* nor the distinction into short and long vowels is allowed to affect the order of words. Or, to put the matter another way: each of the sets अ, अँ, आ, आँ — इ, ई, इँ, ईँ — उ, उँ, ऊ, ऊँ, &c., so far as alphabetical order is concerned constitutes one letter only. Accordingly, I first give all words containing the sound *a*, irrespective of that sound being short, long, or nasalized, and simply arrange them according to their consonants; next come all words containing the sound *i*, similarly arranged; next, in similar order, those containing the sound *u*, and so forth.

This principle of disregarding quantity and nasalization secures a distinct and important practical (as well as scientific) advantage, which could not be obtained by any other arrangement; for it results in bringing into more or less close juxtaposition pairs, or sets, of words of identical origin and meaning: as आँगन, and अँगना, 'a courtyard.' √ सुत 'sleep', and √ सुताव, 'cause to sleep', √ मर 'die', and √ मार, 'kill'. The advantage gained from this is obvious, when we consider that Bihári roots containing a long vowel, shorten that vowel whenever it falls in the antepenultimate and is followed by a consonant, and that hence in the case of such roots many forms will be found occurring derived from the same root, and only differing in the quantity of the antepenultimate vowel.

This system of alphabetical arrangement for Gauḍian languages is put forward tentatively, and criticism on its practical and scientific advantages and disadvantages is solicited.

## ॥ अ ॥ ॥ आ ॥

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|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| √ आ, pres. 3 sg. आउ, II, 41: आव, V, 42: आओ, II, 46: 3 pl. आवधि, X, 54: imperat. 2 pl. आवह, VI, 32: 3 sg. आवओ, IX, 27: fut. 1 sg. आओव, 1, 32: VII, 16, 50: VIII, 23: 3 sg. आओन, VIII, 43: past. 1 sg. आउलऊँ, I, 17: 3 sg. आउल, IV, 25, 40: V, 5, 6, | 14: VI, 7, 24: VIII, 36: IX, 10, 31, 52: X, 9, 23: fem. आउलि, V, 45: VI, 2: IX, 51: 3 pl. ऐलाह, II, 25: ऐलाह, II, 2: VII, 46: X, 55: past part. आउल, X, 19: periphrast. pres. 3 sg. आवरहि, IX, 27: verb. nouns obl. आवप्र, VIII, 46: instr. sg. आउलहि, |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- VIII, 35: indecl. part. आण, I, 33: obl. आगाँ, IX, 29: (?) loc. आगेँ, IV, 1.
- (cf. √ आन) आनि, II, 5, 16, 49: V, 48: VIII, 45.
- आओर, fem. आउरि, VII, 55: see और.
- आकाण, III, 10.
- आकट, II, 59.
- आकरुड़, VIII, 38: IX, 21: आकरुड़, VI, 26: VII, 18, 27, 37: VIII, 7, 36: आकरुर, VI, 43: X, 24, 25: gen. आकरुड़क, VI, 49: VIII, 35: आकरुड़ऊ, VII, 17.
- आकलेच, VIII, 32.
- आकास, I, 36: gen. आकासक, II, 5: X, 35.
- आकुल, fem. आकुलि, II, 56.
- √ आकुला, past 3 sg. आकुलाण्ल, IV, 40.
- आखाड़, IX, 1.
- आँखि, IV, 23, 40: V, 45: VI, 8, 11: VII, 23, 51: IX, 52.
- आगत, IV, 49, 53: VII, 5: fem. आगति, I, 18.
- आँगन, III, 15: V, 11, 31: VI, 16: obl. आँगना, II, 7, 45: VII, 43: आगनऊँ, III, 2.
- आँगना, see आँगन.
- आगम, I, 3.
- आगमन, gen. sg. आगमनक, VIII, 39.
- आगर, IX, 7.
- आगर, VIII, 29: आमार, II, 35.
- आगलह, fem. आगलहि, II, 30.
- आगि, III, 6: IV, 21: V, 32: X, 41.
- आंगिकार, VI, 43:
- √ आंगिर, indecl. part. आंगिरि, VI, 41.
- आमिल, obl. adj. आमिलहि, IV, 7.
- आग, I, 9, 12, 69: VI, 42: VII, 6, 8: VIII, 7: IX, 15, 22, 57: X, 31, 33: obl. आगाँ, IX, 29: (?) loc. आगेँ, IV, 1.
- √ आगुआ, indecl. part. आगुआण, IX, 54.
- आगे, II, 62.
- √ आगोर, indecl. part. आगोरि, III, 16.
- आयिम, IX, 70.
- आघान, III, 12.
- आङ्गम, VII, 28, 29.
- आङ्ग, V, 32: X, 9, 39.
- आचल, V, 28, 46: VIII, 6.
- √ अह, pres. 1 pl. हिय, IX, 66: 2 pl. हिय, V, 22: 3 sg. अहि, I, 2, 3, 15, 37: IV, 19, 49: V, 18: VI, 34, 35, 45: VII, 38, 39: X, 19: अहण, VIII, 18: 3 pl. हियि, IV, 35, 59: VII, 32, 51: past 3 sg. हल, II, 53: IV, 57: VI, 6, 48: VII, 5, 60: VIII, 16, 17: IX, 58, 59, 62: X, 11, 30: fem. हलि, VII, 33: 3 pl. अहलार, X, 50.
- आज, I, 17: III, 14: IV, 22, 59: VI, 30: VIII, 18: IX, 26: X, 21: gen. (with emph. हि or ? obl.) अजुकहि, VIII, 40.
- आजगुत, II, 62: IV, 27: V, 56: VIII, 2.
- आजङ्ग, VIII, 31.
- आञ्जल, III, 19.
- आञ्जलि, I, 10.
- √ अट, past 3 sg. अटल, IV, 17: IX, 20: X, 11.
- √ अटक, past 3 sg. अटकल, VIII, 34, 36: X, 17: past part. (forming passive) अटकल, VIII, 1.
- अटकाओ, VI, 40.
- अटकर, IX, 28: X, 8.
- आढम, I, 32: II, 4: V, 53.

- अङ्ग, IX, 36.  
 ✓ अङ्गरा, indecl. part. अङ्गराप्, II, 52.  
 अङ्गरा, IV, 39.  
 अति, II, 7 : IV, 40, 50 : V, 44 : VII, 56 : VIII, 25, 32 : IX, 5, 23, 33, 50 : X, 25.  
 अतिशी, VII, 22.  
 अथाह, I, 3.  
 आदर, VII, 29.  
 अदल, II, 27.  
 आदि, V, 45 : VI, 26 : VIII, 44 : IX, 11.  
 अदिग्य, II, 22.  
 आध, VI, 31 : VII, 11 : VIII, 41.  
 अधिक, VIII, 15 : IX, 31.  
 अधलाह, fem. अधलाहि, VII, 48 : VIII, 25.  
 ✓ आन, pres. conj. 3 sg. आन, VI, 39 : imperat. 2 pl. आनह, I, 28 : indecl. part. (cf. ✓ आ) आनि, III, 3.  
 आन, IX, 50 : X, 29, 33.  
 अनङ्ग, X, 53.  
 अनतप्, X, 5.  
 अनतहि, II, 37.  
 अनाथ, gen. अनाथक, I, 18 : II, 20 : IX, 68.  
 आनन, III, 20.  
 आनन्द, II, 41 : V, 23 : VII, 20.  
 अनल, V, 37.  
 ✓ अनार, indecl. part. अनारप्, IX, 64.  
 अनुचर, II, 35 : IV, 18 : VI, 22 : IX, 66 : fem. अनुचरि, II, 30.  
 अनुचिन, II, 39 : IX, 23.  
 अनुताप, IX, 65.  
 अनूप, VII, 38.  
 अनुमत, I, 26 : VI, 39.  
 ✓ अनुमान, indecl. part. अनुमानि, IV, 34 : X, 22.  
 अनुमान, X, 30.  
 अनुराग, IV, 51 : VI, 44 : VIII, 30.  
 अनुलेपन, VIII, 20.  
 अनुसार, VII, 13.  
 अन्त, IV, 61 : V, 59 : VI, 26 : VIII, 44 : loc. अन्तदि, IX, 21.  
 अन्तरहित, I, 22 : V, 31.  
 अन्न, X, 14.  
 अन्स, I, 24.  
 अन्हार, II, 21.  
 अन्यायिक, IX, 26.  
 अपनदि, nom. अपनदि, I, 32 : V, 18 : VII, 41 : X, 27 : अपने, V, 43 : gen. dir. अपन, II, 47, 63 : IV, 41 : V, 19 : VI, 24 : VII, 8, 29 : IX, 8 : X, 23 : अपन, X, 27 : obl. अपन (?), III, 21 : IV, 11 : अपना, II, 9.  
 आपन्न, X, 14.  
 अपराजित, VII, 22.  
 अपराध, IV, 49, 52 : IX, 53.  
 अपर्तिभ, IX, 53.  
 अव, IV, 5, 22, 53, 56 : V, 42 : VII, 15, 32, 36, 39 : IX, 2, 54 : X, 36. आव, IX, 27.  
 ✓ अवगाह, indecl. part. अवगाहि, VIII, 25.  
 अवजा, VIII, 26.  
 ✓ अवतर, pres. 3 sg. अवतरप्, V, 55 : fut. 1 sg. अवतरव, I, 20 : past 3 sg. अवतरल, V, 29 : fem. अवतरलि, IV, 15 : IX, 16 : verb. noun. अवतरव, VI, 45.  
 अवतार, I, 24, 31 : V, 29, 58. [58.  
 ✓ अवधार, indecl. part. अवधारि, IV, अवसर, I, 12 : II, 63 : VI, 24.  
 अवसेखन, VII, 30.  
 अविनप्, VII, 30.

- अविनि, X, 51.  
 अवेरिक, VI, 40: VII, 56.  
 अमरन, VII, 40, 43.  
 अभिमत, VI, 30.  
 अमठ, X, 13.  
 अमर, I, 15, 26.  
 अमरावति, I, 26.  
 अमानुष, V, 57.  
 अमोघ, X, 35.  
 अरज, X, 18. [I, 24.  
 अरजुन, III, 11: X, 25, 40: अर्जुन,  
 भारत, II, 52.  
 अरय, VII, 58: VIII, 21. [33.  
 ✓ अरवध, indecl. part. अरवधि, II,  
 अरि, X, 41, 45.  
 अरिष्ट, VI, 14.  
 आरे, VI, 22.  
 अरौ, IX, 31.  
 अलगधि, I, 36.  
 अलप, IV, 50: VI, 36.  
 ✓ अलसा, indecl. part. अलसाप्र, II, 48.  
 अलोप, V, 35.  
 अष्टमौ, II, 16.  
 ✓ अक्ष, Skr. pres. 3 sg. अक्षि, X, 1.  
 अक्षय, IX, 36.  
 अक्षवार, VII, 13.  
 अक्षम, VIII, 47.  
 अक्षरन, II, 58.  
 आसिख, II, 54: X, 28.  
 अक्षौम, X, 40.  
 अक्षुर, VI, 6: VII, 10, 12, 15: अक्षुर,  
 I, 15: gen. अक्षुरक, VII, 14.  
 अक्षुति, VIII, 5.  
 अक्ष, VIII, 29.  
 अक्षनि, I, 25.  
 अक्ष, IV, 3.  
 अक्षौ, acc. sg. अक्षौ, V, 18.  
 आक्षर, V, 53.  
 ✓ अक्षिगर, past 3 sg. fem. अक्षिगरलि,  
 IV, 15: IX, 16.  
 अक्षीर, IV, 12.  
 आक्ष, VIII, 9.  
 ✓ अक्ष, fut. 1 sg. अक्षे, I, 14: 3 sg.  
 अक्षे, I, 3, 4: अक्षे, I, 36: II, 4:  
 IX, 59: pres. part. obl. अक्षे, II,  
 42: VII, 46.

## ॥ इ ॥ ॥ ई ॥

- ई, subst. nom. or dir. adj. ई, I, 26,  
 38: II, 28: VII, 57: VIII, 29:  
 IX, 59: X, 6: subst. nom. ईरि,  
 IV, 19: ईर, V, 56: X, 30: ईरिनि  
 VII, 39: ईरि, II, 61: subst. acc.  
 ई, I, 22, 36: II, 6, 36, 39, 62:  
 III, 8: IV, 51: V, 49: VI, 25,  
 VII, 17, 31, 52, 59: VIII, 10,  
 11, 26, 42: IX, 56, 58: ईर, II,  
 7, 34: VI, 5: VIII, 48: subst.  
 obl. ईरि, IV, 38: adj. obl. ईरि,  
 I, 17: IV, 5, 54, 56: V, 43, 57:  
 VII, 14: instr. sg. ई, VI, 5: VII,  
 46: IX, 38: X, 54: gen. sg. dir.  
 ईकर, IX, 69: ईकर, I, 38: IV,  
 22: VII, 39.  
 ईवार, II, 1: VIII, 9.  
 ईदर, I, 36: V, 21, 23, 34: VI, 37:  
 VII, 14: ईदर, I, 24: gen. ईदरक,  
 V, 27.  
 ईदु, X, 14.  
 ईदर, I, 27.

## ॥ उ ॥ ॥ उ ॥

- उक, VIII, 10.  
 उकदौ, II, 19.  
 उकुति, VIII, 22.  
 उखरि, III, 8, 9 : ऊखरि, III, 16.  
 ✓ उग, indecl. part. उगि, IV, 8 : V, 51.  
 उगसेन, VI, 29 : IX, 64, 67 : X, 24.  
 उच, VI, 8 : उंच, IX, 9.  
 उचित, I, 38 : IV, 5.  
 ✓ उहल, indecl. part. उहलि, X, 41.  
 उजर, VII, 7.  
 ✓ उठ, pres. 3 sg. उठ, V, 37 : X, 15 : past 3 sg. उठल, VI, 40 : VIII, 10 : IX, 28, 43 : indecl. part. उठि, V, 32 : VII, 29.  
 ✓ उठाव, indecl. part. उठाव, I, 35 : V, 15 : VI, 37 : VIII, 31 : उठार, X, 34.  
 ✓ उड़, past 3 sg. उड़ल, II, 29 : indecl. part. उड़ि, I, 36 : II, 32.  
 उड़, VII, 20.  
 उतपात, IV, 2 : V, 26 : gen. उतपातक, V, 52.  
 ✓ उतर, indecl. part. उतरि, VIII, 1 : obl. verb. noun, उतर, VI, 14.  
 ✓ उतार, fut. 1 sg. उतारव, X, 21 : obl. verb. noun, उतार, X, 42.  
 उदार, I, 31.  
 उद्व, X, 24.  
 उधार, VI, 45.  
 ✓ उनट, past 3 sg. उनटल, II, 58.  
 ✓ उनटाव, past 3 sg. उनटावोल, II, 60, 61.  
 उपकार, VI, 14 : X, 49.  
 उपगत, V, 21.  
 ✓ उपज, past 3 sg. उपजल, II, 17.  
 ✓ उपट, past 3 sg. उपटल, IV, 7 : indecl. part. उपटि, IV, 5, 7.  
 उपद्रव, IV, 4.  
 उपर, III, 3 : VIII, 4 : IX, 45.  
 उपलखन, VIII, 14.  
 उपा, IV, 22 : VI, 19 : X, 36.  
 ✓ उपार, past 3 sg. उपारल, III, 11 : उपाड़ल, IX, 13 : indecl. part. उपारि, V, 46 : VI, 13.  
 ✓ उवह, pres. 3 sg. उवह, V, 13.  
 ✓ उमूड़, indecl. part. उमूड़ि, V, 36 : X, 19.  
 उर, II, 41.  
 उईबाड, V, 49.

## ॥ उ ॥ ॥ ए ॥

- एक, II, 48, 55, 63 : III, 1 : IV, 1, 11, 18, 25, 29, 34, 36, 39, 45 : V, 1, 12, 18, 21, 29 : VI, 2, 16, 20, 23, 36 : VII, 1, 8, 53 : IX, 12, 29, 33, 35, 46, 68 : 10, 21, 43 : एक, VI, 4 : with emph. ओ, एकओ, VII, 48 : with emph. औ, एकौ, VIII, 43 : obl. adj. एकहि, V, 19 : nom. distributive, 'one each,' एकहौक, VI, 4 : or (?) gen. pl. एकहँक, V, 11 : gen. sg. एकक, VII, 11.  
 एकटक, IV, 33.  
 एकसर, IV, 26.  
 एखन, I, 3.  
 एत, V, 56 : IX, 58 : एत, V, 33 : obl. एतड, VIII, 14.  
 एतव, VI, 15.  
 एतक, III, 16.  
 एंहा, see चहाँ.  
 एहन, II, 21, 57 : IV, 46 : V, 18 : VI, 42 : VII, 25, 38 : IX, 26 : X, 29.

## ॥ ओ ॥ १ ओ ॥

- ओ, subst. nom. ओह, IV, 8: ओहि, IV, 58: ओहे, VI, 23: ओह, I, 29: dir. adj., ओ, IV, 58: IX, 36: subst. obl. sg. ओहि, V, 13: ओहे, IX, 49: ओ, VI, 15: (with emph. ओ) ओहओ, I, 31: ओहो, IX, 37: adj. obl. ओहि, I, 29: IV, 6, 8, 57: V, 54: VI, 3, 24: VIII, 16: IX, 62: X, 40: ओ, VI, 41: ओ, VI, 20: VIII, 16: gen. sg. ओकर, VIII, 18: ओकर, IX, 47: subst. nom. pl. उनि, VIII, 35: obl. pl. उनि, IX, 23: उन, X, 36: उनकरि, IV, 17: gen. pl. उनकर, VI, 23.
- ✓ ओचार, indecl. part. ओचारि, II, 43. ओठ, VII, 2. [III, 9.]  
 ✓ ओदनाव, past 3 sg. ओदनाओल, ओत, IX, 35. ओतवे, V, 13. ओतहि, II, 56: VI, 3, 41: VII, 50. ओतउ, I, 8: ओतउ, VIII, 16. ओति, V, 51. ओते, VII, 38. ओदर, VI, 12. ओरख, VII, 54. ओहन, VI, 9: fem. ओहनि, II, 26: obl. ओहना, II, 57: loc. ओहने, I, 8.

## ॥ औ ॥ ॥ औ ॥

औ, IV, 37, 10, 9.

और, X, 10, see आओर.

## ॥ क ॥

- काँ, sgn. of acc. I, 34: II, 49: V, 7, 18: VI, 2.  
 काँ, sgn. of dat. I, 19, 29: II, 4, 40: III, 5, 15: IV, 6, 16, 40: VI, 15: VII, 51, 60: VIII, 13, 15: IX, 42: X, 1.  
 कंग, I, 34, 35, 37: II, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 18, 31, 35, 39: VI, 21, 26: VII, 16, 30, 32: VIII, 34, 40, 44: IX, 9, 44, 70: gen. कंगक, II, 29: VI, 16, 41: VII, 31: VIII, 27, 29: IX, 14, 17, 24, 46, 48, 51, 56, 59: X, 1.  
 कखन, IX, 54.  
 कागपुत्र, IV, 31.  
 कच, IX, 47.  
 कङ, II, 45: IV, 23.  
 काङ, II, 47.
- काङ, X, 48.  
 काज, V, 33: VI, 30, 42, 45: VII, 15: gen. काजक, II, 56.  
 ✓ कट, past part. obl. कटला, II, 52. कट, VII, 7.  
 ✓ काट, pres. 3 sg. काट, VII, 2: see ✓ कटाव.  
 ✓ कटाव, past 3 sg. कटाओल, IX, 64: see ✓ काट.  
 कटक, X, 8, 11, 17.  
 कटगर, II, 7.  
 कटु, VII, 35.  
 कटोर, loc. sg. कटोरहि, VIII, 27.  
 काठ, gen. काठक, IX, 4.  
 कठा, V, 15.  
 कठिन, V, 15: IX, 59.  
 कटोर, VII, 36.  
 कड़, II, 60.

- कडरा, IV, 39.  
 ✓ काट्, indecl. part. काटि, VII, 43.  
 कत, IV, 43: V, 39: VI, 36: IX, 51: X, 3.  
 कतप्र, VIII, 30.  
 कतञ्ज, II, 31, 56: IV, 54: V, 17, 52: IX, 9: X, 11.  
 कतृचल, IX, 69.  
 कते, IV, 50.  
 कतोप्रक, III, 1: V, 21: X, 43.  
 कथा, I, 39.  
 कथि लप्र, see की.  
 कथुञ्जक, see किङ्.  
 कद्गुन, X, 31.  
 कद्म, gen. कद्मक, IV, 23.  
 कदाचित्, I, 4.  
 कान, I, 22: VII, 24: IX, 52.  
 ✓ कान, pres. 3 pl. कानथि, IV, 32: pres. part. fem. कानदत्, VIII, 12.  
 कानक, VII, 21: IX, 11.  
 कन्द, V, 23: VII, 20.  
 कानन, I, 11, 16.  
 कन्या, II, 28.  
 कान्द, VI, 8: IX, 34.  
 कन्हौर, VI, 8.  
 ✓ काँप, pres. 3 sg. काँप, I, 13: indecl. past. काँपि, VI, 9.  
 कवड, VII, 35.  
 कवि, I, 1: VII, 24: VIII, 48.  
 कमठ, gen. कमठक, X, 13.  
 कमल, I, 5: str. from कमला, III, 11: कमलाह, V, 4: कमलासन, I, 12: II, 1.  
 ✓ कर, pres. 1 sg. करिच, I, 5, 17: IV, 22, 53: 1 pl. करिच, II, 61: 2 pl. कर, V, 25: 3 sg. करप्र, X, 16: कर, II, 15: कर, IV, 26: V, 5, 20, 26: VII, 23, 40: 3 pl. करथि II, 8: pres. conj. 1 sg. करेँ, IX, 31: करिच, VIII, 29: 3 pl. करथु IV, 43: imperat. 1 sg. कर, X, 30: 2 sg. कर, VI, 35: 2 pl. करद, V, 35: VI, 30, 39: VIII, 9: 3 pl. करथु, IX, 69: mild impefat. 2 pl. करिच, VI, 19: IX, 2, 65: fut. 1 sg. करव, I, 33: VI, 31, 32, 46, 47: VIII, 41: X, 7: 2 pl. करव, II, 39: VIII, 46: IX, 58: 3 sg. करत, V, 18: VI, 36: past 1 sg. कैल, IV, 52: 3 sg. कप्रल, II, 11: IV, 24: VI, 17: कैल, VII, 8, 17, 31: VIII, 40: IX, 57, 62: X, 18: कैल, II, 37: III, 20: IV, 41: V, 10, 47: VI, 18, 25: VII, 29: VIII, 5, 19: IX, 3, 9, 49, 56: X, 40: कैलक, IV, 27: VII, 3: 3. pl. कप्रलयन्दि, VI, 6: कैलयन्दि, IV, 19: VII, 49: VIII, 3, 29: perf. 1 sg. कैलचहि, I, 2: verb. nouns, obl. करप्र, V, 55: VII, 34: X, 26, 45: करवाँ, VI, 42: gen. करप्रक, IV, 39: indecl. part. करि, VII, 40: कप्र, I, 30: IV, 21, 55: VIII, 21, 31: X, 3, 35: कै, II, 34: IV, 46, 57, 60: V, 14, 20, 30, 33, 36, 53: VI, 10, 43: VIII, 2, 7, 26, 30: IX, 29, 30, 31, 43, 51: X, 31, 52: (as auxiliary affix to form conj. part. of another verb,) (कै, कडँ, or कड) कै, II, 50: X, 41: कडँ, III, 5: IV, 44: V, 6: VIII, 2, 16: IX, 14: X, 54: कड, II, 12: IV, 30: V, 10, 61: VI, 3: IX, 49: adv. part. करित्ति, IV, 46, 62.  
 कर, II, 8, 17, 18: VII, 8, 57: VIII, 31: X, 13.  
 कार, gen. कारक, VIII, 13.  
 कारागार, II, 35.

- करम, gen. करमक, II, 11.  
 ✓ करख, indecl. part. करखि, II, 51.  
 करि, करिगद, IX, 4: करिवर, VI, 34:  
 IX, 15. [कदनामप्र, I, 19.  
 कदना, I, 19: VII, 40: IX, 51: X, 3:  
 कदर, VII, 37.  
 काल, II, 4, 10: IV, 57, 61: V, 39:  
 VI, 34: VIII, 16: IX, 38: X,  
 51: gen. कालक, II, 13: IX, 9.  
 कलद, II, 2: VI, 15.  
 कालि, I, 38, see कालि.  
 काली, IV, 19, 51, 60: V, 56: VI, 18.  
 कालि, VI, 25, see कालि.  
 कट, V, 61.  
 ✓ कह, pres. 1 pl. कहिय, VII, 35:  
 3 sg. कहप्र, II, 61: IV, 48: VIII,  
 10: कहयो, VI, 5: कह, II, 18:  
 IV, 34: V, 17: VII, 42, 45:  
 pres. conj. 1 sg. कहिय, VII, 26:  
 2 pl. कहिय, VII, 43: mild imper.  
 2 pl. कहिय, IV, 53: fut.  
 1 sg. कहवमप्र, II, 26: 2 sg. कहव,  
 VII, 44: कहत, I, 34: past 1 sg.  
 कहल, I, 39: IX, 70: 3 sg. कहल,  
 I, 8: II, 34, 35: V, 27: VII,  
 30: VIII, 27, 34: IX, 25: कहलक,  
 VIII, 21, 43: 3 pl. कहलन्हि, I,  
 28: III, 7, 8: V, 23, 30, 34: VI,  
 16, 19: VII, 32, 50: VIII, 5, 22,  
 23, 40, 45: IX, 22: verb. nouns  
 dir. कहल, II, 20: VI, 41: obl.  
 कहवाँ, I, 12: IX, 70: कहप्र, I, 14:  
 II, 42: IV, 51: VI, 21: VII,  
 13: VIII, 24, 37: X, 3, 19:  
 gen. कहप्रक, VIII, 3: indecl. part.  
 कहि, I, 36: II, 13, 28, 36, 39,  
 60, 62: III, 8: V, 42, 49: VI,  
 25: VII, 17, 52, 59: IX, 56:  
 adv. part. कहिनैदि, IX, 31.  
 कहिनौ, II, 28: VI, 46, 47.  
 कड, कड, sgn. of indecl. part. II, 12,  
 &c. see ✓ कर.  
 कड (in some places), IX, 6.  
 कड, sgn. of acc. X, 36.  
 काड, see कथो.  
 कडखन, IV, 9, 10.  
 कौ, subst. nom. or dir. adj. कौ, III,  
 14, 16: VII, 53: IX, 41, 54:  
 subst. acc. V, 25: dat. कथि लप्र,  
 I, 37: instr. किप्र (why?) VII, 45:  
 acc. indef. कौदड, II, 54: कौदौ,  
 IX, 9: adj. किदड, IX, 44.  
 किरैक, V, 22.  
 किदु, I, 7, 12, 20, 39: II, 15, 29:  
 IV, 39, 51: V, 42: VI, 42: VII,  
 14, 45, 49, 50: VIII, 3, 7, 8, 22,  
 24, 33, 48: IX, 20, 24, 47, 57,  
 60: X, 32: gen. कयुडक, II, 44.  
 किसलप्र, VIII, 32.  
 कुण्डल, VII, 24.  
 ✓ कुद, past 3 sg. कुदल, IV, 23, see  
 ✓ कुद.  
 ✓ कुद, pres. 3 sg. कुदै, VII, 4: कुद,  
 VII, 4: see ✓ कुद.  
 कुफार, VIII, 29.  
 कुवर, fem. कुवरि, VIII, 25.  
 कुवलप्र, VI, 35: VIII, 45: IX, 14.  
 कुवजा, VIII, 20, 26.  
 कुमडल, X, 37.  
 कुमार, I, 24, 25: fem. कुमारि, X, 1:  
 कुमरि, I, 1.  
 कुमरि, see कुमार.  
 कुम्भकरन, IX, 32.  
 कुल, IV, 26: IX, 65: कुल, IX, 7.  
 कुसल, IV, 35: VII, 28, 30.  
 कुसुम, VII, 22: gen. कुसुमक, VII,  
 41: VIII, 15.  
 कुसौ, IX, 2.

- छव्य, I, 2: II, 16: IV, 16, 29: V, 16, 22, 27, 31, 42, 59: VI, 11, 33: VII, 5, 6, 12, 49: VIII, 11, 26: IX, 12, 22, 36, 37, 39, 61, 69: nom. (with emph. <sup>ऊँ</sup>, or (?)) case of agent before transitive verb in past tense) छव्य<sup>ऊँ</sup>, V, 10: gen. छव्यक, IV, 34: V, 45, 57: VI, 4: VII, 9.
- के, nom. subst. or der. adj. के, I, 16: II, 9, 11, 38, 42: V, 18: VIII, 37: IX, 27: X, 19, 29, 33: के, II, 60: केद<sup>ऊँ</sup>, V, 58: gen. sg. dir. ककर, II, 58: V, 58.
- केँ, (sgn. of acc.) I, 25: IV, 60: VI, 22: VII, 36: IX, 64: के, (sgn. of dat.) IV, 2: केँ, I, 30: II, 25: V, 34: VI, 19: VIII, 34: X, 20.
- केशो, nom. sg. केशो, II, 7: IX, 9: केश, II, 45, 47: III, 7: IV, 17, 20: V, 48, 51: VI, 5, 9: VII, 40, 42, 43, 45, 55: IX, 24: केशचो II, 45: ककर<sup>ऊँ</sup>, VII, 25: acc. sg. ककर<sup>ऊँ</sup>, VI, 30: obl. काड, I, 7: dat. ककर<sup>ऊँ</sup> IV, 39: VIII, 33: gen. काडक, IV, 17.
- केवल, IV, 16.
- केसि, VI, 22: केसी, VI, 24, 25: VII, 6.
- कहन, VII, 60.
- कै, (How many?) II, 45: III, 2, 4, 6: IV, 43: V, 41: VI, 11: VII, 39: IX, 4, 34.
- कै (sgn. of acc.) IV, 20.
- कोक, IX, 52.
- कोट, X, 11, 17, 50.
- कोटि, V, 37: VII, 39: IX, 56.
- कोठवार, gen. कोठवारक, IX, 3.
- कोदरि, VII, 7.
- कोन, nom. sg. subst. कोन<sup>ऊँ</sup>, V, 59: कोन<sup>ऊँ</sup>, VI, 9: obl. subst. कोन, I, 3: obl. adj. कोन, III, 2: VII, 39: nom. subst. कोनै, VII, 37: see also के.
- ✓ कोप, indecl. part. कोपि, IX, 41.
- कोप, loc. कोप<sup>ऊँ</sup>, VII, 35.
- कोपित, V, 26.
- कोर, II, 14.
- कोस, VII, 52.
- ✓ कोदा(व), pres. 3pl. कोदाधि, IV, 16.
- कौड़ि<sup>क</sup> gen. कौड़िक, IV, 45.
- कौनै, see कोन.
- कौमल, III, 5: VIII, 31.
- क्रित, VII, 24, 30: X, 24: क्रितारघ, VII, 58: VIII, 21.

## ॥ ख ॥

- ✓ खा, pres. 3 sg. खा<sup>ऊ</sup>, IV, 38: 3 pl. खाधि, III, 4: VII, 14: fut. 3 pl. खैतादखन्दि, IV, 10: past 3 sg. खा<sup>ऊ</sup>ल, V, 11: VII, 18: 3 pl. खैलन्दि, V, 30: indecl. part. खा<sup>ऊ</sup>, VI, 38.
- खगपति, IV, 55.
- खानि, II, 44.
- खट खट, VII, 2.
- खड्ग, II, 6.
- ✓ खण्ड, past 3 sg. खण्डल, V, 23.
- खण्ड, IX, 5.
- ✓ खन, past 3 sg. खनल, IX, 4.
- खन, IV, 9, 10.
- खान्द, VI, 46.
- खर, V, 5.
- खरव, VI, 47.
- खल, V, 9: gen. खलक, X, 39.

- खलमति, IV, 50.  
 खाली, IX, 34.  
 ✓ खस, pres. 3 sg. खसे, V, 3: खसु,  
 II, 52: fut. 3 sg. खसत, V, 48:  
 past 3 sg. खसल, III, 12, 14: VII,  
 57: indecl. part. खासि, X, 5.  
 ✓ खसा(व), past 3 pl. खसौलन्हि, VI,  
 13: IX, 45.  
 खिरि, VI, 38.  
 ✓ खिसिचा, indecl. part. खिसिचाप्र,  
 IX, 47.  
 खूर, instr. खूरे, VII, 2.  
 ✓ खूल, indecl. part. खूलि, IX, 12.  
 खेड़ि, V, 12: खेड़ि, V, 14: gen.  
 खेड़िक, IV, 9.  
 खेतौवाड़ी, V, 24.  
 ✓ खेद, fut. 1 sg. खेदव, VI, 27.  
 खेद, II, 37.  
 ✓ खेला, mild imperat. खेलाइच, IX,  
 2: past 3 sg. खेलाप्रल, V, 14:  
 VIII, 42: IX, 31.  
 खेला, IX, 26. [12.  
 ✓ खेला(व), past 3 pl. खेलाँलन्हि, IX,  
 ✓ खो, pres. 3 sg. खोच, fut. 3 sg.  
 खोप्रत, VI, 20.  
 खोर, fem. खोरि, II, 18.

## ॥ ग ॥

- ✓ गा(व), pres. 3 sg. गाव, II, 46: 3  
 pl. गावधि, IV, 10: past 3 sg.  
 गाबोल, IX, 61.  
 गप्र (sign of fut.), II, 19, 26: see  
 गै. (indecl. part. of ✓ जा), see  
 जा.  
 गाप्र, III, 13, 17: V, 40, 50: VI,  
 7, 28.  
 गगन, II, 24.  
 गङ्गा, VII, 12.  
 गाह, V, 4.  
 गज, VII, 21: IX, 13.  
 गाड़, II, 6: IV, 44: V, 43: IX, 8.  
 गढ़पाल, X, 9.  
 ✓ गाँध, pres. conj. 2 pl. गाँधिच, II,  
 23: past part. गाँधल, VII, 41.  
 गात, IV, 27: gen. गातक, VII, 22.  
 गदा, II, 17: X, 34.  
 ✓ गन, pres. 3 sg. गनप्र, VI, 33:  
 fut. 3 sg. गनत, IV, 60: VI, 34:  
 past part. with emph. चो, गनलो,  
 X, 42.  
 गन, II, 61: V, 1: VI, 48: VII,  
 20: X, 44, 46.  
 गनिका, IX, 6.  
 गनेस, VII, 45.  
 गाम, IV, 30, 31: VIII, 14, 19:  
 gen. sg. गामक, VII, 55.  
 गमन, VII, 33, 41.  
 गमथनि, I, 23.  
 ✓ गर, past 3 sg. fem. गरलि, IV,  
 15: IX, 16.  
 गर, III, 1.  
 ✓ गरज, indecl. part. गरजि, II, 24,  
 गरज, X, 18.  
 गरद, X, 15.  
 गरदनि, IX, 34.  
 गरव, VI, 48.  
 गरभ, II, 14: see गर्भे.  
 गरुड़, gen. गरुड़क, IV, 54.  
 गर्भे, I, 29: see गरभ.  
 गल, V, 20. [47.  
 ✓ गह, indecl. part. गहि, IX, 13,  
 गह, IX, 4.  
 गौत, IV, 10, 62.  
 गिरि, I, 1, 16: IV, 6: V, 50, 54:  
 VII, 9: गिरिधर, V, 54: गिरिवर,  
 V, 25, 47.

- ✓ गुडक, past part. गुडकल, III, 10.  
 गुदगर, IX, 4.  
 गुन, VIII, 32: IX, 60, 61: गून,  
 VII, 59: gen. गूनक, VIII, 17.  
 गुरु, gen. गुरुक, VII, 24.  
 गंधान, III, 21.  
 गेह, I, 11: VIII, 15, 21, 23.  
 गे, (sign. of fut.) VI, 25: see गप्र.  
 (indecl. part. of ✓ जा), see ✓  
 जा.  
 गोधार, V, 58: VII, 19, 47: VIII,  
 36: IX, 11: fem. गोधारि, II, 43,  
 45: see ग्वार.  
 गोकुल, II, 25: IV, 2, 15: V, 34,  
 47: VII, 1, 18: VIII, 36: IX,  
 16.  
 गोठ, I, 28: IV, 43: V, 15: VI, 9:  
 VII, 3, 7, 12, 15, 45: IX, 63:  
 गोठ, I, 2: V, 41: fem. गोठि, VII,  
 39, 53.  
 गोटेक, VII, 3.  
 गोड़गर, III, 1.  
 गोन, IX, 35.  
 गोप, V, 25, 35, 40, 50: VII, 3, 5:  
 gen. गोपक, V, 20: fem. गोपो, V,  
 40, 50: gen. गोपिक, VI, 4: गोपवधू,  
 IV, 34. [54.  
 गोवर, VII, 45: गोवर, VI, 7: VII,  
 गोवर्द्धन, V, 28, 46: VI, 18: गोवर्द्धन  
 IV, 6: V, 60. [21.  
 गोविंद, VII, 33: gen. गोविन्दक, III,  
 गोरदा, VII, 52, 53, 54.  
 गोहारि, IV, 30: V, 16.  
 गौत, VI, 7.  
 ग्वार, X, 6: obl. ग्वारा, IV, 6: see  
 गोधार.

## ॥ घ ॥

- ✓ घट, past 3 sg. घटल, IX, 20.  
 घट, VIII, 8, 11, 14.  
 ✓ घाट, indecl. part. घाटि, IX, 32.  
 घाट, VIII, 12.  
 घ, V, 39.  
 घ, IV, 25, 29, 39, 45: V, 18:  
 VI, 36: IX, 12, 33.  
 घात, V, 26.  
 घन, II, 24: V, 38: VII, 7: X, 55.  
 घर, II, 39, 45, 47, 50: IV, 16: VI,  
 20: X, 43: gen. घरक, IX, 26.  
 घालक, VI, 20.  
 ✓ घहरा, indecl. part. घहराप्र, IX,  
 28.  
 ✓ घिसिका, indecl. part. घिसिआप्र,  
 IX, 47.  
 ✓ घुम, or घूम, indecl. part. घुमि, IV,  
 25: घूमि, IV, 25: V, 38, 41.  
 ✓ घुमा(व), pres. 3 sg. घुमाप्र, V, 8.  
 ✓ घेर, indecl. part. घेरि, IV, 25:  
 V, 38: X, 17.  
 घोघट, VIII, 38.  
 घोड़, VII, 4.  
 घ्नित, VI, 38: VII, 47.

## ॥ च ॥

- चकर, II, 17.  
 ✓ चाट, pres. 3 sg. चाट, VII, 2.  
 ✓ चट, past. 3 sg. fem. चटलि, VII,  
 53: indecl. part. चटि, IV, 23:  
 VI, 39: VII, 52: X, 54: verb.  
 noun, चटव, IX, 8.  
 चतुरभुज, II, 19.  
 चतुर्दिश, VI, 32.  
 चानन, VIII, 23, 24: see चन्दन.  
 चानुर, VI, 34: VIII, 39: IX, 23,  
 41, 42.  
 चन्द, VII, 20.

- चन्दन, VIII, 28: see चानन.  
 चापचाप, IV, 28.  
 ✓ चर, indecl. part. चरि, II, 43:  
 VII, 53: see ✓ चल.  
 चरचित, VIII, 28.  
 चरन, I, 1: II, 58: IV, 55: V, 42:  
 VII, 11.  
 चरवाहि, IV, 12, 13.  
 चारि, IX, 22.  
 ✓ चल, pres. 1 sg. चलिच, IV, 54:  
 3 sg. चल, IX, 66: 3 pl. चलधि,  
 III, 5: imperat. 2 sg. चले, IX,  
 54: mild imperat. चलिच, VIII,  
 21: past 3 sg. चलल, IV, 46,  
 57: V, 36, 37: VII, 36, 47:  
 VIII, 7: IX, 15, 40: X, 38: 3  
 pl. चललाह, VIII, 8: IX, 53:  
 indecl. part. चलि, II, 56: चल,  
 VI, 24: verb. noun gen. चलप्रक,  
 VII, 17, 50: see ✓ चर.  
 चाल, III, 5.  
 ✓ चला(व), indecl. part. चलाप्र, V,  
 7.  
 चालि, I, 38.  
 ✓ चार, pres. 3 sg. (forming dese-  
 derative compound) चारिच, VIII,  
 38: fut. 2. pl. चारव, II,  
 34.  
 चउँदिसि, X, 16: see चौदिस.  
 चिकुर, VII, 34.  
 चित्त, VIII, 24.  
 चिच, IV, 33.  
 चून, III, 4.  
 चूनरि, V, 44.  
 चुप चुप, X, 16.  
 ✓ चुमा(व), past. 3 sg. चुमौल, II,  
 54.  
 ✓ चुम्ब, indecl. part. चुम्बि, III, 20.  
 चर, II, 43.  
 चंताचोन, fem. चंताचोनि, IV, 41.  
 चेप, V, 3.  
 चीट, V, 41, 44.  
 चोपदार, X, 16.  
 चौदह, IX, 66.  
 चौदिस, IV, 3: IX, 5: see चउँदिसि.  
 चौर, IX, 67.

## ॥ क ॥

- कथो, I, 28: II, 13: VIII, 37: obl.  
 कथोल, I, 29.  
 ✓ काड़, indecl. part. काड़ि, II, 19:  
 V, 24, 46: VI, 27: VII, 49:  
 IX, 39, 45: काड़, IX, 36: cf. ✓  
 कौड़.  
 कनिच, VIII, 37.  
 कच, V, 47: IX, 67.  
 कचौ, VI, 48.  
 कनिप्र, IV, 12.  
 कन, IV, 7.  
 कान, IV, 42.  
 कप्यन, V, 37.  
 कवि, IV, 35: VII, 24.  
 ✓ कम, mild imperat. कमिच, X, 36:  
 cf. ✓ केम.  
 कमा, II, 39: IX, 58.  
 ✓ कल, past. 3 sg. कलल, VI, 47.  
 कल, (deceit), V, 14: IX, 33: (was)  
 see ✓ थक.  
 ✓ क्लिक, past 3 sg. क्लिकल, VIII,  
 31.  
 ✓ कौन, pres. 3 sg. कौनु, III, 6.  
 कौर: कौरसमुद्र, II, 3: I, 10.  
 ✓ कु, conj. pres. 2 pl. कुविथा, II,  
 23: past 3 sg. कुदल, III, 11: IX,  
 41: obl. past part. (forming pass.  
 with ✓ जा) कुदला, VII, 12.

✓ कुट, ✓ कूट, pres. 3 sg. कुट, V, 43: कूट, V, 61: fut. 3 sg. कुटन, IX, 26: past. 3 sg. कुटल, X, 13: fem. कुटलि, IV, 47: indecl. part. कुटि, VIII, 26: कूटि, VIII, 11. वेद, II, 37.

✓ क्म, mild imperat. केमिथ, IV, 52: cf. ✓ क्म. केम, VII, 30. कोट, I, 2: X, 50. ✓ कोड, past. 3 pl. कोडलन्दि, X, 49: cf. ✓ काड.

## ॥ ज ॥

✓ जा, pres. 2 pl. जाड, III, 8: 3 sg. जाड, II, 46: III, 10: IV, 37: V, 1, 16, 17, 28, 50, 60: VI, 19, 38: VIII, 1: IX, 54: X, 42, 52: 3 pl. जाधि, III, 2, 4: pres. conj. 3 sg. जाड, II, 32: imperat. 2 pl. जाह, I, 28: IV, 56: 3 pl. जाधि, X, 5: past 3 sg. गेल, II, 14, 35, 44, 55, 59: IV, 7, 18: V, 32, 44, 51: VI, 9, 17: VII, 1, 10, 46, 54: VIII, 20: IX, 10, 40: X, 32, 47: गेल (always at end of line), I, 7, 10, 26: II, 39, 74: III, 1: IV, 8, 14, 21, 47, 58, 62: V, 15, 21, 31, 53: VI, 5: VII, 12, 54, 56: IX, 44, 46, 60: X, 37, 43: fem. गेलि, II, 48, 55: गेलि, I, 6: II, 28, 56: III, 19: VII, 55: 3 pl. गेलाह, VI, 1: VII, 52: VIII, 1: X, 50: indecl. part. जाड, I, 34: IV, 38: V, 9, 34: VI, 16: VIII, 8, 16, 31, 34: IX, 22, 57: गड, VIII, 7: गै, IV, 27, 30: V, 8, 35: X, 29: verb. noun obl. जाड, VIII, 43.

जक, II, 2, 52: VIII, 32: जकाँ, VII, 56: VIII, 11: IX, 14.

जखन, II, 40: III, 1: V, 21, 32, 45, 47: VI, 37: VII, 58: VIII, 3.

जग, I, 27: II, 9.

✓ जाग, fut. 3 sg. जागत, I, 34: past part. जागल, II, 53.

जाग, VI, 32: VIII, 30.

जगत, III, 12: VIII, 42: X, 24.

जगमग, VI, 1: VII, 21.

जगह, X, 11.

जजाति, gen. जजातिक, IX, 65.

जंजाल, III, 5.

जाड, gen. जाडक, V, 40.

जत, I, 15: II, 34: IV, 57: V, 30:

VI, 28: VII, 5, 35: VIII, 36:

IX, 62: X, 42: जतड, X, 11:

जतड, VII, 33: जतै, I, 23.

✓ जाँत, indecl. part. जाति, V, 49.

जतड, III, 10: जतै, III, 2: जतहिँ, X, 52. [V, 33.

जाति, V, 25: IX, 33: gen. जातिक, जथोचित, IX, 62.

जादव, VI, 27: X, 20, 23, 44, 46.

जदि, II, 10. [जदुवीर, VIII, 28.

जदुकुल, IX, 65: जदुवन्वी, IX, 62:

जन, I, 7: II, 60: IV, 15: V, 10:

IX, 16, 24, 50: gen. जनक, IV, 61.

✓ जान, pres. 3 sg. जान, II, 9: 3

pl. जानधि, VI, 42: mild imperat.

जानिथ, VIII, 46: indecl. part.

जानि, I, 18, 27: II, 16, 49: IV,

20, 34: VIII, 45: IX, 36, 54:

X, 22, 35: verb. noun instr.

जनने for जनले, IV, 49.

- ✓ जना(व), pres. 3 sg. जनाव, IX, 17: past 3 sg. जनाञ्छोल, II, 63: IV, 29: VI, 26: VIII, 44: fem. जनाञ्छोलि, III, 18: indecl. part. जनाप्, VII, 27: IX, 64.
- जननि, IX, 57.
- ✓ जनम, past 3 sg. जनमल, II, 16, 37: IV, 59: perf. 3 sg. जनमल च्छि, I, 15, 37.
- जनम, I, 2, 21, 23, 33: II, 21: V, 57: VI, 18: VII, 44, 58: VIII, 21: gen. जनमक, II, 10.
- जनि, (adv.) II, 53: IV, 7, 8, 33, 59: V, 38: VII, 8, 20: X, 17, 19, 40, 41: see also जे, जनु.
- जनु, negative, II, 31, 34: IX, 65: adv. = जनि, X, 45, 48.
- ✓ जप, fut. 2 plur. जपवद्, VII, 4.
- जाव, X, 7: जावत, VII, 51: IX, जवन, VII, 56. [55.]
- जम, IV, 60.
- जमला, III, 11.
- जमुना, II, 26: IV, 18, 20, 28, 38, 47, 57: VIII, 1, 6: gen. sg. जम्मड, VIII, 4.
- ✓ जर, indecl. part. जरि, IV, 21.
- जरासिन्धु, X, 1, 8, 33.
- जल, IV, 22: VII, 12: VIII, 2: loc. sg. जलदि, IV, 42: जलधर, III, 19: VII, 22: IX, 19: जलनिधि, X, 14.
- जसोदा, IV, 1.
- जसोमति, I, 33: II, 27, 48, 55, 62: III, 5, 15, 17: IV, 32: जसोमति, II, 40: IV, 31, 59.
- जहं, IX, 32.
- ✓ जि, ✓ जौ, pres. part. जिवद्, VIII, 43: IX, 18: obl. verb. noun जिवप्, II, 8.
- जिच्च, IV, 1.
- जिउ, V, 49: see जिव.
- ✓ जित, ✓ जौत, indecl. part. जिति, IV, 44: जौति, VII, 46.
- जित, V, 13.
- जौति, V, 13: IX, 29.
- जिव, II, 4, 6, 9: IX, 41: gen. जिवक, III, 5: see जिउ.
- जौवन, IV, 61.
- जौह, VII, 2,
- जुग, VI, 5.
- जुगुति, III, 11.
- ✓ जुडा, pres. 3 sg. जुडाव, IX, 37: past. 3 sg. जुडाप्, I, 22.
- ✓ जुभ, past. 3 sg. जुभल, I, 15: V, 19: see ✓ जुभा, ✓ भुभ.
- ✓ जुभा, indecl. part. जुभाप्, X, 34: see ✓ जुभ, ✓ भुभ.
- जुय, VI, 2.
- जुड, IV, 42: VII, 16: जुदि, VIII, 47: जुध, X, 31, 54: जुधि, X, 40: जूधि, X, 32: gen. जूधिक X, 26.
- जुधिष्ठिर, I, 25.
- ✓ जूम, indecl. part. जूमि IV, 25: जे, subst. nom. or der. adj., जे, I, 23, 34: II, 3, 4, 9, 29, 33, 37: IV, 37, 60: V, 13, 60: VI, 39, 40: VII, 33, 60: IX, 7: X, 4, 10, 46, 47, 50, 52: जेटा, II, 28: subst. acc. जे, VI, 18: VII, 14: X, 3: subst. obl. sing. जादि, IV, 13: IX, 41: जकरा, (dat.), V, 24: जे, I, 1: adj. obl. जेदि, II, 21: VI, 17: inst. sg. जे, I, 23: VI, 17: जे, IX, 42: gen. sg. जकर, VII, 38: VIII, 30: IX, 66: nom. pl. जे, II, 53: जनि, VI, 47: gen. pl. जनिक, VI, 45: जनिकर, V, 43: VI, 46.

- जं, conj., VI, 37: IX, 59: ज, X, 32.  
 जंठ, VIII, 22: जंठरैश्चि, VII, 48.  
 जंघन, I, 32: III, 17: V, 55: VII, 3: VIII, 46: IX, 7: X, 30.  
 जं, X, 39.  
 जंश्चो, IX, 65.  
 जं, IV, 55: VIII, 43.  
 जोदसि, gen. जोदसिक, VII, 43.  
 जोग, II, 27: जोग, I, 27: II, 15.  
 ✓ जोगाव, pres. 3 sg. जोगाव, IX, 37.  
 जोजन, IX, 1, 8.  
 जोड़, X, 32: instr. जोड़दि, X, 32.  
 जोति, V, 51: VII, 21.  
 ✓ जोर, indecl. part. जोरि, II, 8, 18: VIII, 32.

## ॥ झ ॥

- झक झक, VI, 20: VIII, 35.  
 ✓ झाँख, indecl. part. झाँखण, VII, 59.  
 झङ्ग, II, 17.  
 झट, V, 61: VII, 2: झटपट, IX, 39.  
 झटहा, V, 3, 10.  
 ✓ झड़क, past 3 sg. झड़कल, VI, 11.  
 झड़ी, II, 22.  
 झाँट, III, 14.  
 झाँप, pres. 3 sg. झाँप, I, 13: V, 38: VII, 34: indecl. part. झाँपि, 3, 19.  
 ✓ झपट, past 3 pl. झपटलश्चि, X, 17: indecl. part. झपटि, IX, 39, 49.  
 झपट, V, 38.  
 ✓ झर, past 3 sg. झरल, IX, 14: X, 20.  
 ✓ झलक, past 3 pl. झलकलश्चि, IX, 11.  
 ✓ झौक, pres. 3 sg. झौक, VII, 3.  
 ✓ झुझ, obl. verb. noun झुझण, X, 53: see ✓ जुझ, ✓ जुझा.

## ॥ ट ॥

- ✓ टक, indecl. part. टक, II, 57.  
 टक, IV, 33.  
 टाँक, II, 59.  
 टाँग, III, 7.  
 टंग, VII, 3.  
 ✓ टिडुशा, indecl. part. टिडुशाण, V, 40: VIII, 10.  
 ✓ टुट, past 3 sg. टुटल, II, 40, 59.  
 ✓ टुसु, indecl. part. टुसि, II, 3.  
 ✓ टेक, indecl. part. टेकि, II, 58.  
 टेलव टेलद, V, 12.

## ॥ ठ ॥

- ✓ ठक, past 3 sg. ठकल, V, 17.  
 ✓ ठाड़, pres. 3 sg. ठाड़, II, 6: V, 43: IX, 21: indecl. part. ठाड़ि, IV, 1: VII, 43, 52: VIII, 20: IX, 19.  
 ठाड़, IV, 44: IX, 8.

- ठनक, V, 37 : obl. ठनका, V, 37. ठमाठ, IX, 3.  
 ठाम, II, 45 : III, 2 : IV, 5, 6, 54, ✓ ठहरा, indecl. part. ठहराप्र, IX, 28.  
 56 : V, 54 : VI, 13 : VIII, 4 : IX, ✓ ठडन, IX, 29 : ठडन, II, 44 : VI,  
 4, 62 : X, 5 : loc. ठामहि, V, 41, 12.  
 54 : VIII, 4 : ठामहि, V, 43 : ठाँठ, II, 33.

## ॥ ड ॥

- ✓ डाट, indecl. part. डाटि, VI, 10. डीठि, VII, 51.  
 ✓ डाँड, indecl. part. डाँडि, VI, 27. डिल, VI, 23.  
 ✓ डद, past 3 sg. fem. डदलि, VII, ✓ डुव, pres. part. डुवप्रत, VII, 18 :  
 53. [IX, 24. indecl. part. डुवि, VIII, 2.  
 डर, I, 5 : IV, 54 : V, 48 : VII, 14 : डामकह, II, 45.  
 ✓ डर, verb. noun डरव, VI, 48. डेरि, III, 16.  
 ✓ डरा, pres. 3 pl. डराथि, VII, 14. डौल, VII, 17.

## ॥ ढ ॥

- ✓ ढर, past 3 sg. ढरल, V, 29 : IX, ढाल, X, 48.  
 20. ✓ ढाह, past part. ढाहल, VI, 48.  
 ✓ ढरा(व), indecl. part. ढराप्र, IX, ढेरौ, IX, 3.  
 67.

## ॥ त ॥

- तै, VII, 43. ✓ तज, indecl. part. तजि, X, 5,  
 ता, VII, 52 : see ताव. 38 : see ✓ तेज.  
 ✓ ताक, pres. 3 sg. ताक, IV, 33 : तत, I, 15 : X, 42 : ततहि, X, 52 :  
 verb. noun (with emph. चो.) ततड, I, 7 : ततकाल, IV, 57 : VI,  
 तकलो, VIII, 38 : obl. तकला, III, 34.  
 6 : dat. ताकहि, IV, 6. [12. तान, IX, 54, 57 : X, 2.  
 ✓ तकाव, indecl. part. तकाप्र, VI, तन, I, 13.  
 तखन, I, 26, 27 : II, 21, 35, 49 : IV, तनप्र, II, 9 : IV, 33 : VI, 33 : IX,  
 41, 58 : V, 11, 15, 19, 22, 29, 21.  
 34, 46, 59 : VI, 26, 29 : VII, 12, तनिक, V, 61.  
 30, 57 : VIII, 3, 5, 44 : IX, 25, तव, V, 23.  
 61, 64 : gen. तखनुक, II, 26, 42. ताव, IX, 27 : X, 7 : see ता.  
 ताम, II, 23. ✓ तर, indecl. part. तरि, V, 60.

- तर, (1) II, 44: V, 50: see तल.  
 तर, (2) V, 1, 5.  
 तार, V, 3, 8, 11: gen. तारक, II, 53: V, 2, 10.  
 तरह, VII, 3: gen. तरहक, II, 47.  
 तर, I, 11: II, 7, 52, 53: III, 12, 14: IV, 23: gen. तरक, III, 13.  
 तरहर, IV, 21: V, 52, 56.  
 तल, X, 14: see तर.  
 ताल, IX, 28, 38, 43.  
 तह, (1), III, 19: see तहँ, (1).  
 तह, (2), IV, 38: VI, 23: see तहँ, (2), ताहि.  
 तहँ, (1), IX, 19: see तह, (1).  
 तहँ, (2), V, 39: see तह, (2), ताहि.  
 ✓ तहँ, II, 30: IV, 43.  
 ताहि, III, 7: see तह, (2), तहँ, (3).  
 तौनि, V, 10: VII, 32: IX, 6: तौनू, IV, 36.  
 तिमिर, V, 51.  
 तौर, (bank) I, 10: II, 3: (arrow) IV, 12: तिर, VIII, 1: gen. sg. तौरक, IV, 21.  
 तिरडति, X, 10.  
 तिल, VII, 17: तिलचो, IV, 35.  
 तुरत, I, 28: see तुरित, तौरित.  
 तुरित, IV, 47: see तुरत, तौरित.  
 तुल, VII, 22.  
 ✓ तुला, past. 3 sg. तुलाफल, II, 5: fem. तुलाफलि, II, 49.  
 ✓ तेज, pres. 3 sg. तेज, VII, 40: past. 3 pl. तेजलन्हि, VIII, 12: indecl. past. तेजि, III, 13: see तेज.  
 तेज, II, 43.  
 तेहन, I, 32: VII, 15, 60: VIII, 46: IX, 7.  
 तेथार, X, 23.  
 तैलइ, X, 39.  
 वेणल, IX, 43, 44.  
 ✓ वेार, mild imperat. तौरिख, III, 7: indecl. part. तौरि, VIII, 32.  
 ✓ तौरित, VI, 22, 39: VIII, 6, 21: IX, 54: see तुरत, तुरित.  
 वेँ, II, 23: VII, 26: VIII, 4: see तौँ.  
 वेँह, nom. तौँह, I, 33: तौँह I, 28, 33: IV, 56: VIII, 9: तौँहँ, VIII, 40: तौँहि, I, 36: VI, 22: तौँ, VI, 35, 49: तौँ, III, 8: acc. तौँहँ, I, 33, 35: तुथ, VI, 27: वेहि, I, 37: gen. sg. dir. तौर, II, 37. तौहर, II, 4, 5: वेहर, IV, 56: तुथ, VI, 30: VIII, 23: fem. तौहरि, VII, 39: तौर, I, 38.  
 तौँ, III, 7: VII, 44: see तौँ.  
 चान, IX, 59.  
 चाहि, (Skr.) V, 42: VII, 5.  
 चिन, IV, 21, 60: VI, 34.  
 चिभुवन, I, 1.  
 चिञ, V, 27.

### ॥ य ॥

- ✓ थका, indecl. part. थकाफ, VI, 12. 12: VII, 51: थौक, I, 4: VII, 3, 25: 3 pl. थिकार, V, 58.  
 ✓ थन्ह, past. 3 sg. थन्हल, VIII, 3.  
 ✓ थर, indecl. part. थर थर, I, 13. थघ, X, 44.  
 थह, fem. थहि, II, 26. थार, VI, 40.  
 ✓ थिक, pres. 3 sg. थिक, II, 9: V,

## ॥ द ॥

- दाया, IX, 35, 36.  
 दांत, IV, 27 : VII, 7 : see दन्त.  
 दधि, VI, 38 : see दधि.  
 दान, IV, 48 : VI, 41 : VIII, 1, 5, 6, 9.  
 दानव, I, 28.  
 दन्त, IX, 13, 15 : see दांत.  
 ✓ दाप, indecl. part. दापि, VI, 9.  
 दाप, IV, 24, 50 : IX, 30, 43 : see दरप, दर्थे.  
 ✓ दवाव, indecl. part. दवाप्र, IX, 22.  
 दमन, IV, 60 : VI, 18.  
 दामोदर, IV, 37.  
 दरद, X, 15.  
 ✓ दरवर, indecl. part. दरवरि, VII, 6.  
 दरसन, VI, 43 : X, 13.  
 दरप, VII, 6 : IX, 48 : see दाप, दर्थे.  
 दरि, VII, 9.  
 दासक, X, 27.  
 दासन, V, 41.  
 दर्थे, IV, 29 : see दाप, दरप.  
 दल, V, 37 : VII, 40.  
 दस, V, 15 : X, 12.  
 दसन, VII, 21.  
 ✓ दह, past. 3 sg. दहल, II, 34.  
 दह, (1) VIII, 4.  
 दह, (2) obl. दहो, VI, 8.  
 दधि, VII, 47, 48 : दही, III, 4 : see दधि.  
 दड, II, 54 : V, 58 : IX, 35, 44 :  
 दौं, IX, 9.  
 दहो, see दह, (2).  
 दिग्ग, II, 22.  
 दिन, I, 20 : II, 5, 48, 55 : IV, 1, 7, 11, 18, 36 : V, 1, 12, 21, 49, 53, 54, 56 : VI, 3, 16, 19, 20, 35, 38, 41 : VII, 1, 32 : VIII, 40 : IX, 58 : X, 12, 40 : abl. दिनऊं VI, 19 : दिनकर, VII, 8 : X, 13.  
 दौन, gen. sg. दौनक, II, 20 : IX, 68.  
 दिवस, III, 1 : V, 21, 49, 52 : VI, 18 : VII, 60.  
 दिव्य, VIII, 17.  
 दिव, VI, 8 : X, 43 : दीस, X, 12.  
 दुआर, VII, 19 : दुआरि, II, 45 :  
 दुआरी, X, 46 : see दोआर, द्वार.  
 दुद, II, 20 : III, 10 : IV, 34 : V, 10, 27 : VI, 4 : VII, 11 : VIII, 27 : IX, 6 : X, 1, 40.  
 दुख, IV, 29, 54.  
 दुग्दुग्, VI, 21.  
 दुध, II, 50, 51 : VI, 38 : VII, 47 : IX, 20.  
 दुन्दुभि, X, 27.  
 दुवर, I, 13 : fem. दुवरि, VIII, 25 : IX, 55.  
 दुर, (interj.) I, 38.  
 दुर, VII, 19 : दुरि, VIII, 7, 8 : IX, 47, 57 : दूर, VII, 27 : दूरि, IX, 69.  
 दुरवार, IV, 19.  
 दुर्ग, II, 26.  
 दुर्मति, VI, 29.  
 दुष्ट, X, 30 : fem. दुष्टि, IX, 33.  
 दुड, I, 13 : IV, 11, 14, 23 : V, 1 : VI, 27 : VII, 24, 28 : VIII, 8, 34.  
 दुडू, X, 2 : दुडू, VIII, 42.  
 ✓ दे, pres. 1 sg. दिच, VII, 43 : 3 sg. देच, II, 43 : VIII, 18 : IX, 34 : pres. 3 pl. देचि, IX, 36 : imperat. 2 sg. द, VIII, 10 : देचि, VI, 22 : 2 pl. दिच्यो, I, 18 : II, 8 : दिच, IV, 48 : V, 24 : fut. 1 sg. देव,

- II, 34: VI, 31: VIII, 41: 1 pl.  
 देव, II, 34: 2 pl. देव, I, 29, देव I,  
 30: II, 36: 3 sg. देन, II, 19, 37:  
 देन, V, 33: past 3 sg. देल, II,  
 24, 58: III, 13: IV, 44: V, 46,  
 54: VI, 37, 48: VII, 49: IX,  
 39, 56: X, 38: देल, I, 19: II,  
 3, 13: VIII, 13, 26, 32: IX, 29,  
 46, 53: X, 8, 28: fem. देलि, II,  
 28: 3 pl. देलन्हि, II, 43, 50: in-  
 decl. part. दफ, IX, 36, 43, 46:  
 देफ, VIII, 19: दे, II, 19, 54: V,  
 14, 31, 61: VIII, 24, 32: दे कड,  
 II, 12.
- ✓ देख, pres. 1 देखि, III, 16: conj.  
 pres. 1 pl. देखिच, VII, 51: 3 sg.  
 देखदक, VII, 26: fut. 2 pl. देखव,  
 II, 32: IX, 55: 3 sg. देखत, IV,  
 55: fem. देखति, VII, 58: past  
 3 sg. देखल, I, II: VII, 19: VIII,  
 2: देखल, VII, 19, 20: VIII,  
 4: 3 pl. देखलन्हि, VIII, 8, 15, 29,  
 देखलचन्हि, II, 53: indecl. part.  
 देखि, II, 17: III, 15: IV, 19,  
 30, 40, 45: V, 4, 20, 45: VI, 1:  
 VII, 8, 27: VIII, 14, 18, 20, 35:  
 IX, 14, 21, 37, 43, 48: X, 20:  
 देखि, VI, 9: IX, 1, 20: pres.  
 part देखदन, VIII, 28: adv. part.  
 देखितहि, II, 61: VII, 26.
- ✓ देखाव, past. 3 sg. देखीलक, VII, 7:  
 indecl. part. देखाफ, IX, 48: obl.  
 verb. noun. देखावफ, VII, 6.  
 देव, I, 9: V, 25, 55: gen. sg. देवक,  
 VII, 15: देवलोक, I, 8.  
 देवकि, II, 36: IX, 19: देवकि, I, 21,  
 29, 30: II, 4, 6, 17, 18: IX,  
 60.  
 देस, VI, 31: VIII, 41: X, 10.  
 देस, VIII, 20, 21, 23.  
 दो, IX, 6.  
 दोचार, VIII, 36: see दुचार, द्वार.  
 दोख, II, 36: IV, 52.  
 दोग, II, 55.  
 दो मचला, IX, 6.  
 दोसर, VII, 25, 37: X, 29: दोसर,  
 X, 33.  
 दौ, IX, 9: see दड.  
 ✓ दौड़, pres. 3 sg. दौड़, VI, 8:  
 past 3 sg.  
 दौड़ल, III, 13: IV, 24, 31: V, 20:  
 VII, 8: IX, 48: indecl. part.  
 दौड़ि, VII, 6.  
 द्रवित, X, 37.  
 द्विड, X, 22.  
 द्विष्टि, VIII, 17.  
 दुम, IX, 63.  
 द्वार, III, 3: VIII, 45: IX, 11:  
 द्वारमान, X, 18: see दुचार, दोचार.

## ॥ ध ॥

- धन, II, 40: IV, 15, 61: VI, 28:  
 IX, 16.  
 धन, VI, 44: VIII, 16: see धन्य.  
 धनदौ, V, 6, 8.  
 धन, VIII, 30.  
 धनुष, VIII, 31, 35: धनुषा, VI, 32.  
 धन्य, VI, 44: X, 13: see धन.  
 धम, V, 14.  
 ✓ धर, pres. sg. धरिच, I, 5: 3 pl.  
 धरधि, IX, 37: conj. pres. 3 pl.

- धरद्यु, IV, 43: fut. 1 sg. धरव, VI, 45: 2 pl. धरव, I, 20: धरव-  
षण्डि, VIII, 45: past. 3 sg. धैल,  
VII, 37: धैल, III, 20: IV, 41:  
V, 4, 10, 47: VI, 18: VII, 29:  
IX, 3, 49: धैलक, IV, 27: VII,  
3: imperat. 2 sg. धर, V, 6:  
mild imperat. धरिच्च, II, 10: IV,  
53: IX, 2: indecl. part. धरि, I,  
10: II, 38: III, 3: V, 8, 26:  
VI, 12: VIII, 18: धर, IX,  
36: धरु, II, 32: VI, 11, 47:  
VII, 28: धे, I, 6: V, 10, 54:  
VII, 1: obl. verb. noun, धरु, III,  
4: past part. धैल, IX, 56. [19.  
धर, III, 19: V, 54: VII, 22: IX,  
धरनि, I, 14, 19: IV, 32: VII, 10:  
धरनी, I, 6, 9, 12, 20: VI, 45:  
gen. sg. धरनिक, I, 7.
- धरम, X, 32, 46: see धम.  
✓ धराव, indecl. part. धराउ, IX, 67.  
धर्म, I, 25: see धरम.  
✓ धाव, past 3 sg. धाखोल, II, 60:  
IV, 30: indecl. part. धाउ, II, 50:  
III, 17: IV, 22, 32: VII, 27:  
X, 2.  
धीर, X, 25.  
धुर, VII, 10.  
धैवान, I, 10: III, 21.  
धनु, III, 17.  
धेनुक, V, 5.  
धैरज, I, 19, 20: IX, 63: X, 3, 8.  
धोवि, VIII, 8, 11: धोवि, VIII, 10:  
धोविघट, VIII, 11, 14: fem.  
धोविनि, VIII, 10: धोविनि, VIII,  
12.  
ध्रिग, IV, 37.  
ध्रिति, VI, 15.

## ॥ न ॥

- न, II, 36, 38, 41: III, 11, 14: IV,  
17, 20, 33, 35, 54, 56: V, 3: VI,  
9, 32: VII, 4, 22: VIII, 24, 25:  
IX, 27, 45: X, 3, 7, 11, 14, 53.  
नफ़न, I, 13: II, 41: III, 15, 19:  
IX, 17, 19.  
नाक, IX, 40.  
✓ नकार, pres. 3 sg. नकार, VIII,  
47.  
नकुल, I, 25.  
नाग, IV, 51: V, 56: fem. नागिनि,  
IV, 48.  
नगर, VII, 59: VIII, 28, 47: gen.  
sg. नगरक, X, 18: fem. st. f.,  
नगरी, IV, 8: see नय.  
नागर, fem. नागरि, IV, 15: IX, 16.  
नगेरा, X, 18.  
नय, II, 42: see नगर.  
✓ नाच, pres. 3 sg. नाच, II, 45:  
3 pl. नाचथि, IV, 10: adv. part.  
नचित्ति, II, 46.  
नाच, II, 47: IV, 46: नाँच, IX, 6.  
नट, IX, 39.  
✓ नडाव, indecl. part. नडाउ, X, 38.  
नाथ, I, 18: II, 20: III, 11: IV,  
18: VII, 28: IX, 13, 30, 68.  
नाद, II, 52: VI, 10.  
नाना, V, 28.  
ननद, IV, 16.  
नन्द, II, 49, 54: III, 13: IV, 11,  
13, 31, 33, 45, 59: V, 23: VI,  
27: VII, 19, 45, 48: IX, 11, 56:

- नद, IV, 1: gen. sg. नन्दक.  
 नव, VII, 22: IX, 17.  
 नाम, I, 17: V, 12, 36, 43, 54: VII, 37; IX, 48, 69.  
 नमर, IV, 48.  
 नर, IX, 22.  
 नारद, II, 2, 19, 29: VI, 15: VII, 13, 17.  
 नरपति, X, 38.  
 नरम, IX, 23.  
 नारि, II, 30: VI, 4: VII, 33: X, 1.  
 नरस, X, 10: gen. sg. नरसक, VIII, 19.  
 नलिन, VII, 23, 40.  
 नद्या, indecl. part. नद्याष्ट, VIII, 1.  
 नदि, VII, 18: नदिं, 1, 2, 4, 7: II, 9, 32, 44, 60: III, 2, 16: IV, 5, 9, 17, 22, 26, 28, 31, 39: V, 39, 42, 51, 52, 59: VI, 33: VII, 14, 25, 34, 35, 37, 45, 48, 49, 50, 56: VIII, 18, 33, 34, 43, 46: IX, 20, 24, 26, 32, 54, 55: X, 11, 13, 14, 44, 50. See नै.  
 नादि, III, 7.  
 निक, IV, 8: IX, 3: नौक, I, 4: VII, 25.  
 निकट, II, 57: VII, 23: X, 18.  
 निज, II, 30, 35, 62: VI, 33.  
 नितप्र, V, 61.  
 निन्द, I, 27: II, 15: निंद, II, 27, 40.  
 निपुन, IX, 30.  
 निवह, V, 13.  
 ✓ निवाह, indecl. part. निवाहि, II, 25.  
 ✓ निवाह, IV, 56: see निरवाह.  
 निराकुल, V, 47.  
 ✓ निरख, indecl. part. निरखि, IX, 17.  
 निरदप्र, I, 38.  
 निरनप्र, VIII, 39.  
 निरन्तर, V, 35.  
 निरवन्दु, II, 7.  
 निरवाह, I, 3: see निवाह.  
 निरलज, X, 51.  
 निमङ्ग, II, 12: III, 9.  
 निधि, IV, 3: VI, 5.  
 न्या, IX, 2.  
 नै, X, 42: नै, X, 32: see न, नदिं, नै.  
 नैद, abl. sg. नैदधि, IV, 12.  
 नेपाल, X, 9.  
 नैर, V, 40, 50: नैर, III, 17.  
 नैह, VIII, 20: IX, 17.  
 नै, X, 4: see नै.  
 नैर, I, 13: II, 41: IX, 52.  
 ✓ नैरा, past 3 sg. नैराप्रल, III, 15: fem. नैराप्रलि, V, 45.  
 ✓ न्योत, indecl. part. न्योति, VI, 32.  
 न्योत, VII, 31.  
 न्यौज, V, 28.  
 द्वित्य, IV, 45, 62.  
 द्विप, V, 36: X, 8, 46.  
 द्विपति, VI, 21: X, 15, 34.

## ॥ प ॥

- पप्र, (but), VIII, 22: see पै.  
 ✓ पाक, past 3 pl. पकलाह, III, 6.  
 पाक, IX, 40.  
 पकसेठ, II, 33.  
 पांखि, VII, 23.  
 पाग, X, 48.

- पगु, V, 29.  
 ✓ पच, pres. 3 pl. पचरन्, VII, 14.  
 पाँच, IX, 50.  
 पच्छी, II, 22 : IV, 20 : IX, 44.  
 पहाँ, पाहाँ, see पाहु.  
 ✓ पङ्गा, IX, 23, 38 : loc. पङ्गड, IX, 30.  
 पङ्गाड, indecl. part. पङ्गाडि, IX, 39, 45.  
 पाहु, VI, 10 : IX, 29 : obl. पहाँ, I, 39 : पाहाँ, I, 9.  
 पाहुचार, VII, 51.  
 पाँज, III, 9.  
 पञ्च, IV, 4.  
 पट, IX, 39.  
 ✓ पाट, indecl. part. पाटि, V, 39 : VII, 10.  
 ✓ पटक, fut. 2 pl. पटकव, II, 32 : 3 sg. पटकत, I, 35 : past 2 pl. पटकलह, I, 37.  
 पटम्बर, VIII, 13.  
 पटाव, indecl. part. पटाग्र, VI, 37.  
 ✓ पड़, see ✓ पर.  
 ✓ पड़, fut. 3 sg. पड़त, IV, 60 : indecl. part. पड़ि, II, 54.  
 पात, II, 14 : V, 52.  
 पताल, I, 28.  
 पति, II, 24 : IV, 13, 52 : V, 24, 32, VI, 41 : VIII, 1, 5, 6 : X, 43, 55.  
 पथर, I, 35 : see पाथर.  
 पाथर, II, 32 : V, 35, 41 : see पथर.  
 पद, I, 5 : IX, 57.  
 पदुमिनि, VI, 2.  
 पान, (drinking), X, 7 : (betel), X, 29.  
 पानि, I, 18, 27 : IV, 20, 28, 35, 48 : VII, 31 : IX, 25 : X, 7.  
 ✓ पनिहा, verb. noun. obl. पनिहाग्र, V, 2.  
 पन्द्रह, X, 54.  
 पवन, I, 24 : VII, 56 : IX, 44.  
 पयोधर, III, 20 : IX, 20.  
 ✓ पर, पड़, pres. 3 sg. परिच, IV, 38 : पच, II, 6 : pl. परथि, X, 5 : imperat. 3 sg. परौ, past 3 sg. पड़ल, X, 41 : परल, II, 22 : IX, 14, 63 : X, 20 : pl. परलाच, VIII, 22 : परलचन्दि, VII, 27 : indecl. part. परि, IX, 60.  
 पर, (another), VI, 15.  
 पर, (upon), IX, 39.  
 ✓ परा, indecl. part. पराग्र, III, 8 : X, 38.  
 ✓ पार, pres. 3 sg. पार, I, 16 : II, 11, 42 : VIII, 24, 37 : X, 6, 19.  
 पार, VIII, 6.  
 परकार, VIII, 37.  
 परचण्ड, IX, 5.  
 ✓ परचार, indecl. part. परचारि, III, 12 : IX, 22.  
 परतौति, III, 18.  
 परान, II, 9, 51 : see प्रान.  
 परनाम, IV, 57 : IX, 57, 62.  
 परापत, fem. परापति, X, 1.  
 परवत, IV, 26 : V, 26, 29, 48 : VI, 8, 37.  
 परभ, VII, 52 : see प्रभ.  
 परम, I, 31 : III, 18 : IV, 25, 42 : V, 6 : VIII, 6 : IX, 23, 30, 63 : X, 30.  
 परलग्र, IV, 10 : V, 39.  
 परलम्ब, V, 14 : lg. form. परलम्बौ, V, 19.  
 परसन्धु, V, 20 : परसन्धा, V, 55.  
 परसमनि, VII, 57.  
 परसू, VII, 16.  
 परस्थान, VI, 39.  
 परहार, II, 15.  
 परि, I, 3, 23 : VI, 5, 17 : VII, 46 : IX, 38, 42, 49 : X, 54.

- परिक, IX, 26.  
 परिकै, VIII, 18.  
 परिजन, I, 15 : IV, 3.  
 परिपद्य, VII, 42.  
 परिपाठ, indecl. part. परिपाठि, VI, 31 : VIII, 41.  
 ✓ परिपुर, past. 3 sg. परिपुरल, VIII, 33.  
 परिवार, IV, 26.  
 परिनद्र, I, 2.  
 पाल, II, 13 : X, 9.  
 ✓ पाव, pres. 1 sg. पाव, V, 42 : 3 sg. पावद्र, VIII, 46 : पाद्र, X, 52 : fut. 1 sg. पाद्योव, VI, 28 : VII, 16 : 2 pl. पैवह, I, 38 : 3 sg. पाद्योत, VIII, 43 : past 3 sg. पाद्योल, II, 63 : III, 9 : IV, 29 : V, 59 : pl. पौलन्हि, V, 30 : indecl. part. पाद्र, V, 9, 11 : VIII, 39 : X, 44.  
 ✓ पसार, indecl. part. पसारि, II, 24.  
 पद्य, II, 22 : IV, 20.  
 पद्यण्ड, IX, 5.  
 पहर, पहेक, I, 23.  
 पहर, VI, 17.  
 ✓ पहरि, indecl. part. पहरि, VIII, 19.  
 पहिल, obl. पहिलहि, VI, 21 : obl. पहिनहि, V, 5.  
 ✓ पञ्च, pres. 1 sg. पञ्चिञ्च, IX, 55 : past 3 sg. पञ्चल, IV, 32 : V, 2 : X, 51 : पञ्चल, VII, 1, 18 : fem. पञ्चलि, III, 17 : X, 2 : imperat. 2 pl. पञ्चौ, V, 48.  
 पञ्चनामि, VIII, 37.  
 ✓ पौ, pres. 3 sg. पिबै, IV, 20 : past 3 sg. पिउल, II, 51.  
 ✓ पिचा(व), indecl. part. पिचाद्र, II, 50.  
 पौचर, VII, 21 : पिचर, VIII, 13 : fem. पौचरि, VII, 55.  
 पिच्यार, II, 1 : VIII, 9.  
 पिठि, VII, 13 : पौठि, VII, 51.  
 पिड, VIII, 45 : पौड, VI, 35 : IX, 14.  
 पितर, V, 9.  
 पिसान, IX, 31.  
 पुकार, X, 16.  
 ✓ पूह, pres. 3 sg. पुहद्र, VIII, 18 : pl. पूहयिञ्चन्हि, VII, 44 : past 3 sg. पुहल, VII, 28 : pl. पुहलन्हि, V, 22 : VIII, 30 : adv. part. पुहितहि, VIII, 31.  
 ✓ पूज, past 3 sg. पूजल, V, 28 : indecl. part. पुजि, V, 25.  
 पुज, V, 24 : पुजा, V, 21, 23 : पूजा, V, 27.  
 पूजन, V, 24.  
 पुन, III, 8 : पूत, X, 4.  
 पुतना, II, 30, 49 : V, 56.  
 पुनि, X, 51 : पूनि, X, 49 : पुनु, I, 4, 5, 32 : II, 46 : III, 1 : IV, 27 : V, 8, 59 : VII, 16 : VIII, 24, 38 : IX, 25, 37, 38, 49, 53, 55, 61, 70.  
 पुन्य, gen. sg. पुन्यक, VIII, 17.  
 ✓ पुर, pres. 3 sg. पुर, VII, 24 : past 3 sg. पुरल, IV, 39.  
 पुर, (city), I, 6 : IV, 3 : V, 60 : IX, 19.  
 पूर, (full), I, 15 : VI, 43.  
 पुरातन, I, 31.  
 पुरान, V, 17.  
 पूरन, VII, 20.  
 पूरव, IX, 60 : gen. पुरवक, VII, 49.  
 पुरी, IV, 8.  
 पुरुख, I, 31 : V, 17.

- पेट, II, 51.  
 पै, X, 21 : see पट्ट.  
 पैर, IV, 44 : VII, 27, 38 : IX, 60 :  
 पैर, IX, 29 : instr. pl. पैरहिं, VIII,  
 7 : IX, 63.  
 ✓ पैस, pres. conj. 1 sg. पैसिच, IV,  
 22 : past 3 sg. पैसलि, II, 50.  
 पाख, IV, 52.  
 पाघी, IV, 12.  
 पास, VI, 23.  
 पौरख, IV, 43 : VI, 24, 36.  
 ✓ प्रणम, pres. 1 sg. प्रणमों, I, 1.  
 प्रात, II, 42 : VII, 46 : VIII, 47 :  
 loc. sg. प्रातहिं, VI, 31 : VIII, 41.  
 प्रति, VII, 57 : VIII, 14.  
 प्रतिपाल, VIII, 40.  
 प्रान, IV, 35 : IX, 46, 59, see परान,  
 प्रवेश, VIII, 19.  
 प्रभु, II, 16, 21, 57 : IV, 50 : VIII,  
 7, 25 : see परभु.  
 प्रसङ्ग, I, 39.  
 प्रख्यान, VI, 25.  
 प्रीति, III, 18.  
 प्रम, VII, 27, 49.

## ॥ फ ॥

- ✓ फाट, indecl. part. फाटि, V, 44 :  
 VII, 10.  
 फन, IV, 46 : फना, II, 24.  
 फनि, IV, 19, 26, 43, 44, 46.  
 फनिगा, X, 41.  
 फनिपति, II, 24.  
 ✓ फर, past 3 sg. फरल, IX, 63.  
 ✓ फार, indecl. part. फारि, VI, 46.  
 फरमाइस, VII, 47.  
 फल, I, 38 : III, 16 : V, 9 : X, 52.  
 ✓ फाँद, indecl. part. फाँदि, IX, 46.  
 ✓ फिर, fut. 3 sg. फिरव, VII, 39 :  
 past 3 sg. फिरल, VIII, 28 : X,  
 55 : pres. part. फिरदत, VIII, 23 :  
 indecl. part. फिरि, VII, 54 : X,  
 47.  
 ✓ फूज, past 3 sg. फूजल, VII, 34.  
 ✓ फुट, past 3 sg. फुटल, II, 59 : X, 13.  
 फुट, VIII, 23.  
 फुफुकार, IV, 26.  
 फुफरी, X, 20.  
 फुर, pres. 3 sg. फूर, VII, 37 : past  
 3 sg. फुरल, IV, 39 : VIII, 33.  
 फूल, VI, 2 : VII, 22 : फुल, VIII,  
 18.  
 ✓ फेंक, indecl. part. फेंकि, II, 58 :  
 adv. part. फेंकितहि, V, 6 : obl.  
 verb. noun. फेंकप्र, VI, 10.  
 ✓ फेर, indecl. part. फेरि, I, 14 :  
 VII, 50 : X, 53, 54.  
 ✓ फैल, pres. 3 sg. फैल, VIII, 5.  
 ✓ फो, past 3 sg. फोप्रल, II, 36 :  
 फोप्रल, IV, 42 : indecl. part. फोप्र,  
 III, 18.  
 फौज, X, 12, 47.

## ॥ व ॥

- वा, VII, 50.  
 वाइस, VII, 47.  
 वाउर, f. वाउरि, VII, 55.  
 वाक, IV, 33.  
 वाँक, II, 59.  
 वकट, II, 59.  
 वाकर, VII, 4.  
 वक्क, IX, 36.

- वखा, IV, 7.  
 वाघ, II, 18 : V, 26.  
 वङ्ग, II, 12.  
 वङ्ग, X, 9, 39.  
 ✓ वाँच, pres. 3 sg. वाँच, IX, 9 : fut. 3 sg. वाँचत, IX, 59 : past 3 sg. वाँचल, IX, 50 : X, 43.  
 वचन, VIII, 3 : IX, 25 : X, 26, 37.  
 वदक, IV, 14.  
 ✓ वाज, pres. 3 sg. वाज, IX, 24 : X, 27 : pres. part. fem. वजरति, I, 13.  
 वाज, (a falcon), V, 38 : VIII, 11 : X, 17 : (abstaining) I, 17 : (musical instruments) pl. वाजन, IX, 6.  
 वजर, IV, 44 : V, 35 : gen. sg. वजरक, V, 41.  
 ✓ वजार, indecl. part. वजारि, IV, 24.  
 ✓ वजाव, past 3 sg. वजाओल, I, 27 : VI, 26 : VIII, 44 : indecl. part. वजाप्र, IV, 11 : V, 34 : VI, 22 : VIII, 39.  
 वाट, III, 14 : VIII, 12 : loc. sg. वाटहि, VIII, 12.  
 ✓ वाँट, indecl. part. वाँटि, VI, 31 : VIII, 41.  
 ✓ वटुरा, indecl. part. वटुराप्र, X, 51.  
 वटेरि, V, 38 : X, 17.  
 ✓ वटोर, fut. 3 pl. वटोरताह, X, 49, past 3 sg. वटोरल, X, 8.  
 वटोर, IX, 10.  
 वड, I, 2 : II, 25, 33, 39, 60 : IV, 24, 29, 49 : V, 56 : VI, 6 : VII, 16 : VIII, 38 : IX, 8, 33, 58 : X, 27 : वडैच, V, 15 : fem. वडि, II, 30 : IX, 38 : वरि, VII, 9 : obl. वडे, IV, 15, 29 : obl. वडो, IX, 16.  
 ✓ वडरा, past 3 sg. वडराप्रल, VI, 24 : indecl. part. वडराप्र, II, 52.  
 वाडि, V, 24.  
 ✓ वाड, pres. 3 sg. वाड, IX, 1 : past 3 sg. वाडल, V, 15 : VI, 19 : indecl. part. वाडि, IV, 1 : VI, 23 : VII, 52 : VIII, 20 : IX, 19 : verb. noun. loc. वडले, VI, 38.  
 वडनुक, VI, 38.  
 ✓ वडिचा, pres. 3 sg. वडिचाप्र, II, 41.  
 वत, IV, 20, 60 : VI, 34, 40.  
 वात, V, 52.  
 वथान, VI, 25.  
 वदन, VII, 26 : IX, 21.  
 वदल, I, 33 : II, 27 : VI, 17.  
 ✓ वद, indecl. part. वदि, III, 4.  
 वड, I, 10.  
 ✓ वध, verb. noun. obl. वधवाँ, IV, 49.  
 वध, VII, 31 : IX, 70.  
 वाध, IV, 49 : IX, 58.  
 वधू, IV, 34.  
 वध, VII, 32.  
 ✓ वन, fut. 3 sg. वनत, I, 32 : X, 30 : past 3 sg. वनल, VII, 15 : IX, I, 4, 42 : X, 25.  
 वन, V, 1, 5, 26.  
 वान, X, 45, 52.  
 ✓ वनाव, fut. 1 sg. वनाओव, I, 32. indecl. part. वनाप्र, VI, 16 : VIII, 22 : verb. noun. gen. वनावक, IX, 7.  
 वानि, II, 5 : IV, 48 : X, 35 : वानी, IV, 41.  
 वन्द, III, 13.  
 वन्दी, II, 10, 13.  
 वन्नु, II, 20 : IV, 55 : IX, 68.  
 वन्द, V, 20 : gen. वन्दक, II, 37 :

- loc. बन्धुहि, VIII, 5.  
 बन्धी, IX, 62.  
 ✓ बान्ध, pres. 3 sg. बान्ध, II, 38 :  
 IX, 34 : past 3 sg. बन्धलक, IV,  
 27 : pl. बन्धलन्धि, III, 8 : indecl.  
 part.  
 बान्धि, II, 10.  
 बान्ध, III, 18 : IV, 42 : IX, 64.  
 बाप, IV, 37.  
 बफ, IX, 14 : बफदर, X, 20.  
 ✓ बाव, indecl. part. बावि, VII, 7.  
 बामन, IV, 12.  
 बाम, VI, 13 : IX, 29.  
 बयजन्ती, VII, 25.  
 बर, (excellent), V, 25, 47, 50 : VI,  
 35 : IX, 15 : X, 31.  
 बर, (a boon), V, 31 : VIII, 19.  
 बरख, IV, 9 : VI, 49 : बरखा, V, 39.  
 बरद, VI, 9.  
 ✓ बरन, pres. 3 sg. बरन, I, 1 : conj.  
 pres. 1 sg. बरनिञ्च, VI, 49 : fut.  
 1 sg. बरनव, V, 39 : past 3 sg.  
 बरनल, III, 21 : verb. noun obl.  
 बरनप्र, I, 16 : VIII, 48.  
 बरन, VII, 11.  
 बराम, VII, 19.  
 बरमासुर, X, 24.  
 बारम्बार, IV, 4.  
 बरायुध, IX, 15.  
 ✓ बरस, indecl. part. बरसि, III, 19 :  
 see ✓ बरिस.  
 बारह, III, 14 : VI, 49.  
 बरस्य, IX, 63.  
 बरस्य्या, I, 8, 9 : IV, 16.  
 बरि, see बड़.  
 बारि, II, 24 : VII, 49.  
 ✓ बरिस, pres. 3 sg. बरिस, IX, 19 :  
 बरिसप्र, II, 24 : see ✓ बरस.  
 बर, II, 8, 10 : III, 13 : X, 6.  
 बग, X, 28.  
 बल, I, 1, 35 : IV, 50 : V, 14, 19, 20 :  
 VI, 7, 12, 33 : VIII, 31 : IX, 23,  
 30, 43 : gen. बलक, X, 39 : instr.  
 बलसि, IV, 42 : बलहिं, V, 8.  
 बाल, I, 28 : II, 4 : III, 21.  
 बलाप्र, V, 7.  
 बालक, II, 8, 13, 14, 31, 33 : VI, 20.  
 बलमन्त, IX, 33.  
 बलि, VI, 47.  
 बलौ, IX, 35.  
 ✓ बव, past 3 sg. बबोल, VII, 17.  
 ✓ बस, pres. 3 sg. बस, I, 21 : past  
 3 sg. बसल, VIII, 14 : imperat. 1  
 pl. बसिञ्च, IV, 5 : indecl. part.  
 बसि, II, 13 : V, 58.  
 बस, VI, 7.  
 बास, I, 36 : IV, 5, 61 : VI, 3.  
 बसन, VII, 21 : VIII, 9, 13.  
 बसुदेव, II, 18 : VI, 17 : बसुदेव, I,  
 21, 33 : II, 8, 11, 36 : VI, 29 :  
 IX, 21, 61 : gen. बसुदेवक, II, 25 :  
 VI, 33 : IX, 63.  
 बसु, V, 30.  
 ✓ बच, past. 3 sg. बचल, X, 47 : in-  
 decl. part. बचि, IV, 47.  
 बाहर, V, 53 : VII, 55 : X, 28.  
 ✓ बहरत, pres. 3 pl. बहराधि, III, 2 :  
 past 3 sg. बहराप्रल, X, 12.  
 बाँहि, IV, 24 : VII, 9 : IX, 32 :  
 see बाँड.  
 बहिनि, II, 38.  
 बहिनीञ्च, II, 38.  
 बड, IX, 51.  
 बाँड, VII, 8 : see बाँहि.  
 बाड, IX, 35.  
 बडत, I, 19 : II, 1, 52 : IV, 16, 47,  
 54 : VI, 24 : IX, 40, 61 : X, 2.  
 बिकट, II, 57.

- विष, II, 50: IV, 53: gen. sg. विषहिक, IV, 21: विषयत, IV, 20.  
 विषा, IX, 40.  
 विच, VI, 4: VII, 20: loc. विचदि, IX, 49.  
 ✓ विचा pres. 3 sg. विचार, VIII, 24: indecl. part. विचारि, IV, 2: V, 5: IX, 25.  
 विचार, II, 11: IV, 4, 19: VIII, 6.  
 ✓ विचल, past 3 sg. विचलल, X, 39, 44.  
 ✓ विह, indecl. part. विहि, VIII, 13.  
 वीहि, X, 52.  
 ✓ वीत, pres. 3 sg. वीत, IV, 10: pres. conj. 3 sg. वित, VI, 49: indecl. part. विति, III, 1: V, 21: VI, 5: वीति, VII, 46.  
 विदा, IX, 56.  
 विदित, VIII, 42: X, 24.  
 विधाता, II, 12, 36.  
 विधि, gen. विधिक, II, 55.  
 विधुर, X, 47.  
 विनष्ट, VII, 13: IX, 64.  
 विनति, II, 8.  
 विनु, IV, 36, 37, 45, 49: VII, 59: IX, 8: वीनु, III, 6.  
 विन्दु, X, 14.  
 विप्र, X, 28.  
 विर, X, 51: वीर, VIII, 28: X, 25, 26.  
 विरतांत, VI, 26: विरितांत, VIII, 44.  
 विरह, gen. विरहक, VII, 53.  
 विरह, IV, 42.  
 ✓ विरुध, indecl. part. विरुधि, X, 32.  
 विलाप, VII, 34.  
 विलम्ब, VI, 32: IX, 2.  
 विलास, IV, 61.  
 विस, VIII, 32.  
 वीस, X, 12.  
 ✓ विसर, fut. 3 sg. विसरत, IV, 55.  
 विसारद, II, 2.  
 ✓ विसेश, indecl. part. विसेशि, V, 57.  
 विसरूप, IX, 46.  
 विहारि, III, 14.  
 ✓ विहंस, indecl. part. विहंसि, II, 3.  
 ✓ वृक्ष, pres. 3 sg. वृक्ष, X, 4: वृक्ष, IV, 6: VIII, 48: past 3 sg. वृक्षल, V, 19: VIII, 35: वृक्षल, V, 51: pl. वृक्षलन्दि, II, 12: indecl. part. वृभि, I, 25: VII, 29: VIII, 3, 17, 26, 47: IX, 61.  
 वृद्ध, V, 22: वृद्ध वृद्ध, X, 16: gen. pl. वृद्धक, IX, 1.  
 वृत, X, 4.  
 वृत्, V, 44.  
 वेश्याकुल, fem. वेश्याकुलि, I, 6.  
 ✓ वेंकताय, pres. 3 sg. वेंकतायो, II, 46: indecl. part. वेंकताय, X, 2.  
 वेंकति, gen. sg. वेंकतिक, VIII, 27.  
 वेंत, X, 16.  
 वेंतिथा, X, 10.  
 वेद, VI, 45.  
 ✓ वैध, pres. conj. 2 pl. वैधिच, II, 23.  
 वैरि, I, 29: II, 21: III, 2, 4, 6: V, 57: IX, 34: वैरि, VII, 50: X, 54.  
 वैकुण्ठ, loc. वैकुण्ठदि, IV, 61.  
 वैधव, X, 2.  
 वैर, IV, 55: VI, 29: X, 7.  
 ✓ वैस, pres. 1 sg. वैसिच, IV, 22: past 3 sg. वैसल, IV, 2: fem. वैसलि, II, 50: वैसलि, VII, 33, 42.  
 वैस, VI, 36: gen. वैसक, IV, 9.  
 वैध, IX, 53.  
 वोल, V, 27.  
 वीच, VII, 1.

- व्याकुल, IV, 32.  
 व्यवहर, fut. 2 pl. व्यवहरव, VIII, 46 :  
   past 3 sg. व्यवहरल, VIII, 17.  
 व्याल, IV, 57 : VII, 41.  
 व्योत, VII, 31.  
 व्रज, IV, 18, 36, 37 : V, 12 : VI,  
   28 : VII, 28, 33 : IX, 13, 30,

- 68 : X, 21.  
 व्रीक, IV, 3.  
 त्रिच्छ, III, 10.  
 त्रिचि, VI, 15.  
 त्रिधा, II, 37.  
 त्रिन्दावन, IV, 5, 14 : VI, 3.  
 त्रिटि, V, 35, 51 : X, 45.

॥ भ ॥

- भाडर, fem. भाडरि, IX, 38.  
 भाद्र, IV, 11 : V, 1 : VI, 22 : VIII,  
   8, 22, 34 : IX, 48.  
 भक्त, VII, 29.  
 भक्ति, VI, 42 : see भगति.  
 ✓ भख, fut. 1 sg. भखव, VII, 4.  
 ✓ भाख, pres. 3 sg. भाख, II, 7 : VII,  
   5 : pl. भाखथि, VII, 35 : past 3  
   sg. भाखल, II, 29 : indecl. part.  
   भाखि, II, 31.  
 भाग, VI, 44.  
 भगति, V, 25 : see भक्ति.  
 भगन, VI, 6.  
 भगवान, gen. sg. भगवानक, II, 1. \*  
 भङ्ग, V, 32, 33 : X, 39, 53.  
 भङ्कङ्क, IV, 23.  
 भोति, IV, 36 : VI, 17.  
 भदवा, VII, 44.  
 भादव, II, 16 : X, 44.  
 ✓ भन, pres. 3 sg. भन, I, 39 : II, 63 :  
   III, 21 : IV, 62 : V, 61 : VI,  
   49 : VII, 60 : IX, 70 : X, 55.  
 भव, V, 60.  
 भाव, II, 46 : V, 25 : VIII, 24 : X, 2.  
 भवन, I, 21, 33, 36 : III, 19 : X, 2.  
 भावङ्ग, IX, 51.  
 भवितव्य, I, 29.  
 ✓ भर, past 3 sg. भरल, IX, 20 :  
   fem. भरलि, IV, 15 : VIII, 24 :

- IX, 16 : past part. भरल, VIII,  
 17 : indecl. part. भरि, II, 40, 51 :  
 III, 9 : IV, 40, 52, 61 : V, 8 :  
 VI, 12 : VII, 28, 44, 51 : IX, 1,  
 4, 40, 52 : X, 13, 41.  
 भार, I, 6, 13, 16, 20 : V, 11, 13 :  
   VI, 14 : VII, 47 : X, 21, 42, 49 :  
   भर, IX, 46.  
 भरम, VII, 41 : X, 46.  
 भरोस, VI, 23 : IX, 53.  
 भल, V, 9, 12 : IX, 18.  
 ✓ भस, past 3 sg. भसल, VII, 57.  
 ✓ भास, past 3 sg. भासल, X, 48.  
 भौड़, IX, 14.  
 ✓ भिडुक, past 3 sg. भिडुकल, III, 10.  
 भितर, V, 9.  
 भिनसर, VIII, 45.  
 भौम, X, 40.  
 ✓ भिराव, indecl. part. भिराव, IX, 34.  
 भौसयेन, I, 24.  
 भुज, VI, 33.  
 भुतल, II, 15.  
 भवन, IX, 66.  
 भूमि, X, 29 : भूमि, VII, 9 : VIII,  
   48 : IX, 5, 40, 50, 51 : gen.  
   भूमिक, VI, 14 : X, 21, 42, 49.  
 ✓ भुल, past 3 sg. भुलल, II, 22.  
 भुसा, VII, 36.  
 भेष, V, 46.

- ✓ भेजाव, indecl. part. भेजा, II, 28. भोरठ, X, 9.  
 ✓ भोग, fut. 1 sg. भोगव, VI, 30. धित्य, IV, 56, 58.  
 भोजन, VIII, 37: भोजन, V, 30.

## ॥ म ॥

- मा, IX, 51: माइ, II, 62: माप्र, IV, 65: X, 15, 41, 45.  
 37: IX, 55.  
 मप्र, I, 11, 19.  
 मकराकृत, VII, 24.  
 ख, V, 32.  
 ✓ माँग, past 3 pl. मँगलन्दि, VIII, 16.  
 मगन, I, 14: VI, 6.  
 मगद, X, 11, 55.  
 मङ्गल, I, 5: III, 20: X, 37.  
 माँच, IX, 6, 7, 8, 9: obl. मचदि, IX, 45.  
 माँभ, VII, 10: loc. माँभदि, VII, 10.  
 माभिल, loc. sg. मभिलदि, IV, 44.  
 माडि, V, 44: VI, 10: IX, 32.  
 मण्डप, IX, 5.  
 मण्डल, VI, 5.  
 मत, I, 26: मति, IV, 40: V, 22.  
 ✓ मात, past part. मातल, II, 15: indecl. part. माति, VI, 17.  
 मात, fem. माति, II, 27.  
 मति, (req. part.) IV, 53.  
 माथ, VII, 34: IX, 34: obl. मथा, II, 43.  
 मथुरा, I, 21: X, 12: loc. मथुरदि, VII, 18.  
 मद्गुन, X, 31.  
 मध, VI, 36.  
 मधुपर, VII, 58: VIII, 33.  
 मध्य, IV, 7: VII, 32.  
 मन, I, 2: II, 17: IV, 17, 34, 51, 59: V, 24, 60: VI, 35: VII, 26, 57: VIII, 3, 29: IX, 1, 17, 65: X, 15, 41, 45.  
 ✓ मान, pres. 3 sg. मानप्र, IV, 17: मान, VII, 45: pl. मानधि, VI, 23: past 3 sg. मानल, II, 20: IX, 24: indecl. part. मानि, V, 48: VII, 31.  
 मान, X, 19.  
 ✓ मनाव, pres. 3 sg. मनाव, IX, 17.  
 वनवोध, II, 63: III, 21: IV, 62: VI, 49: मनवोध, I, 39: V, 61: VII, 60: VIII, 48: IX, 70: X, 55.  
 मनि, I, 11: IV, 36.  
 मानुख, IV, 43: V, 33, 46: VI, 36: मनुस, VIII, 42.  
 ✓ मनुसा, past 3 sg. मनुसाप्रल, VIII, 42.  
 मनोरथ, I, 8: VI, 1.  
 माफिक, VIII, 27.  
 ✓ ममोर, fut. 2 pl. ममोरव, II, 33: मथूर, gen. मथूरक, VII, 23.  
 ✓ मर, pres. conj. 3 sg. मर, IX, 18: fut. 3 sg. मरत, VI, 36: past 3 sg. मरल, X, 55: मुदल, V, 41: IX, 41, 50: past part. मुदल, VI, 14: VII, 12.  
 ✓ मार, pres. 3 sg. मार, X, 6: fut. 1 sg. मारव, VI, 25, 29: 3 sg. मारत, I, 37: past 3 sg. मारल, V, 8: VI, 12: VIII, 11: IX, 28: X, 43: indecl. part. मारि, III, 5: IV, 23: VI, 13, 27: IX, 44: verb. noun gen. मारैक, X, 36.

- मर, IX, 5.  
 मरन, IX, 17.  
 ✓ मल, past 3 sg. मलल, IV, 46 :  
 VII, 36.  
 माल, (a garland), VII, 41 : VIII,  
 16, 19 : माला, VIII, 15.  
 माल, (a wrestler), VI, 34 : VIII,  
 40 : IX, 43 : मल्ल, VIII, 42 : IX,  
 41.  
 मलान, fem. मलानि, IV, 35.  
 मालि, VIII, 17 : lq. f. gen. मलिआक,  
 VIII, 6.  
 मलिन, VII, 23.  
 मल्ल, see माल.  
 मल्ल, V, 12.  
 महा, II, 16, 21, 57 : III, 12 : IV,  
 50 : X, 6.  
 महाउति, IX, 12.  
 महर, VII, 45, 48 : fem. महरि, II,  
 49 : IV, 1 : fem. with emph. चो,  
 महरो, VI, 2.  
 महारथि, X, 6.  
 महला, (obl.) IX, 6.  
 महि, V, 53 : X, 14, 37.  
 महिखी, VI, 38 : see महिसि.  
 महिमा, II, 44, 63 : IV, 34, 41 : VII, 9.  
 महिसि, V, 40, 50 : VI, 28 : see महिखी.  
 ✓ मिभरा, past 3 pl. मिभरेलाह, V, 9.  
 ✓ मौड़, pres. conj. 3 sg. मौड़, VI, 35.  
 ✓ मिल, indecl. part. मिलि, III, 20 :  
 IV, 4 : V, 11, 28 : VII, 34.  
 मुक, IV, 2.  
 मुका, (obl.) V, 19.  
 मुकुट, VII, 21 : IX, 11 ; gen. मुकुटक,  
 VII, 23.  
 मुख, II, 31, 38 : IV, 33, 35 : VII,  
 38 : VIII, 10 : IX, 20.  
 मुडहा, IX, 18.  
 मूड, V, 22.  
 मुदगर, IX, 4.  
 ✓ मूँद, मून, indecl. part. मुँदि, VI,  
 11 : मूनि, IV, 23 : verb. noun loc.  
 मुँदले, VI, 8.  
 मुनि, VI, 25 : VII, 17 : मूनि, II, 2,  
 29.  
 मुरारि, III, 12 : IV, 23, 59 : VI, 4.  
 मुष्टि, VI, 34 : IX, 33 : obl. मुष्टा, IX,  
 33.  
 मुष्टिक, VIII, 39 : IX, 42.  
 मुसल, X, 34, 38.  
 मुसलायुध, X, 34, 38.  
 मुच, VII, 1, 7 : मुँच, V, 2, 3 : IX,  
 40 : X, 20.  
 मैं, (pronoun) obl. मोहि, III, 16 :  
 V, 16 : VI, 21, 35 : VII, 16 :  
 VIII, 25 : मोहि, I, 37 : gen.  
 dir. मोर, III, 14 : IV, 52 :  
 VI, 22, 23, 30, 44 : VII, 38 :  
 VIII, 21 : IX, 58 : X, 4, 30 :  
 fem. मोरि, IX, 55.  
 मैं, (sign of loc.) V, 18.  
 मेघ, V, 34 : VI, 37 : X, 44 : bg.  
 form. मेघो, V, 37 : मेघौ, V, 53 :  
 gen. मेघक, V, 36 : VII, 13.  
 ✓ मेट, verb. noun obl. मेटप्र, II, 11.  
 ✓ मेटाव, past 3 pl. मेटोलहि,  
 VIII, 12.  
 मेदनि, VII, 2.  
 मेर, X, 5.  
 मेघ, X, 35.  
 मोट, X, 50 : fem. मोटि, IX, 32.  
 ✓ मोटा, past 3 sg. मोटाप्रल, VII,  
 9 : X, 12.  
 मोति, VII, 21.  
 ✓ मोर, indecl. part. मोरि, IX, 29.  
 मोरनि, V, 59 : IX, 61.

## ॥ र ॥

- ✓ राख, pres. 3 sg. राख, II, 7: imperat. 2 sg. राख, VII, 5: राखि, II, 31: indecl. part. राखि, VI, 11.
- रखवार, II, 15.
- रखवारि, V, 5.
- रख्ख, II, 40.
- ✓ रङ्ग, indecl. part. रङ्गि, IX, 39.
- रङ्ग, VIII, 48: IX, 5, 50: X, 53: रंग, X, 29.
- ✓ रच, past 3 sg. रचल, V, 28: VIII, 6: X, 36: mild imperat. रचिच्च, IV, 4.
- रच्छक, II, 12: VIII, 30, 34: see रक्षक.
- रक्षक, I, 34: see रच्छक.
- रज, X, 13.
- राज, IV, 29: VI, 30: IX, 67: X, 21: gen. रजाक, VIII, 9.
- रजक, VIII, 9.
- राजित, X, 25.
- रनत, II, 40: IX, 56.
- रनि, II, 63: IX, 46.
- रानि, II, 16, 27: IV, 36: V, 49: VI, 1, 3: VII, 46.
- रथ, VI, 35, 39: VII, 56: VIII, 1, 7: X, 25, 27, 28.
- राधा, V, 45: VI, 2.
- रन, X, 38, 43.
- रानि, III, 3.
- रावन, VI, 48.
- राम, IV, 31: VI, 33: VIII, 4, 19: IX, 57, 69.
- रसन, X, 37.
- रमनि, VII, 38, 58: gen. रमनिक, VIII, 38.
- रस, VI, 6: VIII, 37: X, 26.
- रास, VI, 3: gen. रासक, VI, 5, 6.
- रसातल, I, 14.
- रसना, VI, 44.
- ✓ रच, pres. 1 pl. रचिच्च, II, 61: IV, 54: VII, 26: 3 sg. रच, IV, 18: V, 39: VII, 53: VIII, 42: IX, 32: रच्छ, III, 10: VI, 21: X, 3: pres. conj. 3 sg. रच, II, 33: imperat. 2 pl. रच, V, 48: fut. 1 sg. रचव, VII, 44, 50: past. 3 sg. रचल, I, 8, 39: II, 20: V, 27, 52: VI, 9, 41: VII, 30: VIII, 27: IX, 70: X, 43, 47, 53: रचले, X, 11: रचले, IV, 31: fem. रचलि, II, 48: m. pl. रचल्लाह, V, 49: imperat. 3 sg. रचथु, VII, 42: fut. 3 sg. रचत, I, 34: pres. part. रचत, IX, 18.
- रचित, V, 51.
- राड, VII, 8.
- ✓ रिङ्ग, indecl. part. रिंग, III, 8.
- रितु, V, 39.
- रद्र, VII, 4.
- रूप, V, 5: VII, 1, 26: रूप, I, 6: II, 19: VI, 47: VII, 38.
- ✓ रैक, adv. part. रैकितदि, V, 6.
- रैचनि, VII, 48.
- ✓ रोख, past 3 sg. रोखल, IX, 43: रोदन, I, 34.
- ✓ रोप, past 3 sg. रोपुल, IX, 30.
- रोचिनि, I, 30: II, 14.

## ॥ ल ॥

- ✓ ला, past 3 sg. fem. लाप्रलि, VI, 2 :  
3 pl. लैलर, V, 11 : लैलर, X,  
27 : indecl. part. लाप्र, II, 32 : V,  
60 : (for) X, 42.
- लक्ष्मिनारायण, I, 11.
- लाख, IX, 3.
- लग, IV, 11 : V, 7, 42, 45 : IX, 44.
- ✓ लग, pres. 3 sg. लग, V, 56, 57 :  
X, 48 : लग, I, 9, 12 : VI, 42 :  
VII, 6 : X, 26, 31, 33, 46 : im-  
perat. 3 sg. लाग, VI, 32 : pres.  
conj. 3 sg. लाग, II, 23 : fut. 2 pl.  
लागव, I, 36 : past 3 sg. लागल, II,  
22 : IV, 51 : V, 2, 4, 55 : VI, 10,  
14, 21 : VII, 13, 19 : X, 35, 45,  
53 : fem. लागलि, I, 14 : VII, 34 :  
X, 3 : periphrast. pres. 3 sg. लग-  
दहि, IV, 3 : V, 55 : लगैदहि, I,  
3 : past part. लागल, II, 53 : VII,  
19 : indecl. part. लागि, II, 44 :  
X, 32 : verb. noun loc. लगले,  
III, 17.
- ✓ लगाव, fut. 1 sg. लगाचोव, VI, 28 :  
past 3 sg. लगाचोल, IV, 30 : V,  
59 : IX, 32, 61 : लगोल, II, 54 :  
fem. लगाचोलि, III, 18 : indecl.  
part. लगप्र, I, 35 : II, 48 : III,  
8 : V, 8, 16 : VIII, 10 : verb.  
noun pl. obl. लगप्रवाँ, VI, 15.
- लाज, VIII, 22 : IX, 24 : gen. sg.  
लाजक, II, 38 : X, 50.
- लविधर, X, 6.
- ✓ लड़, past 3 sg. लड़ल, X, 41.
- लात, V, 7.
- ✓ लपटा, past 3 sg. लपटाप्रल, V, 7 :  
past part. लपटाप्रल, VI, 7.
- लवनौ, II, 53.
- ✓ लार, indecl. part. लारि, II, 19.
- लसकर, X, 15, 19.
- ✓ लहर, indecl. part. लहरि, V, 32.
- ✓ लिख, past part. लिखल, II, 11 :  
IV, 33 : see ✓ लेख.
- लिधुर, IV, 40 : VII, 10 : X, 47.
- ✓ लूट, pres. 3 sg. लूट, V, 61 : fut.  
1 sg.
- लुटव, VI, 28 : past 3 sg. लुटल, II,  
40 : indecl. part. लुटि, VIII, 11.  
verb. noun acc. लुटि, VIII, 14.
- ✓ ले, fut. 1 sg. लेव, VI, 27 : लेव, I,  
21, 25 : VI, 29 : IX, 21 : X, 7 :  
2 pl. लेव, I, 30, 33 : II, 8 : 3 sg.  
लेत, I, 35 : V, 43 : past 3 sg. लेल,  
II, 51 : V, 34 : VII, 31, 48 :  
VIII, 11 : IX, 47 : X, 34 :  
लेल, I, 10, 23 : II, 21, 30, 63 :  
IV, 9, 21 : V, 40 : VI, 40 : VII,  
12, 54, 56 : VIII, 13 : IX, 29 :  
X, 50 : लेलक, IV, 25 : V, 36 :  
VI, 37 : VIII, 39 : लेलक, V, 38 :  
pl. लेलन्हि, IV, 11 : V, 46 : VI,  
13, 41 : VIII, 31 : लेलन्हि, X,  
29 : past part. (on account of)  
लेल, II, 38 : indecl. part. लप्र, I,  
26, 37 : II, 23, 28, 55 : VI, 30 :  
VII, 2, 31, 36, 47 : VIII, 40 :  
IX, 1, 13 : X, 23 : लै, X, 34 : लै,  
II, 6 : III, 4, 19 : IV, 14 : VI,  
13 : VIII, 20, 45 : X, 52.

- ✓ लेख, fut. 3 sg. लेखत, IV, 55 : IX, 10 : gen. लोकक, IX, 52.  
 fem. लेखति, VII, 58 : past 3 sg. लेखन, VII, 11.  
 लेखल, VIII, 2 : indecl. part. लेखि, ✓ लोटा, past 3 sg. लोटाग्रल VII,  
 V, 57 : see लिख. 9 : fem. लोटाग्रलि, IX, 51.  
 लेजिम, IX, 3. लेप, X, 45.  
 लोक, VIII, 14 : लोक, I, 8 : IV, 2 : लोर, gen. लोरक, VII, 54.

## ॥ श ॥

- शुभमस्तु, V, 30. शेर, II, 14 : IX, 10, 52.

## ॥ स ॥

- सप्र, VII, 10, 47 : IX, 6 : see सै. सानम, I, 30 : II, 14.  
 सप्रन, II, 39. ✓ सताव, pres. part. obl. सतवितदि,  
 सक, II, 58. VI, 7.  
 सकट, II, 58, 60 : gen. सकटक, II, 55, सनु, VI, 19 : VII, 60 : acc. sg. सनुदि,  
 57, 59. VI, 39.  
 सकल, II, 2 : IV, 4 : V, 47, 58 : साध, IV, 18 : IX, 15.  
 VI, 16, 28 : VII, 15 : X, 10. सदेह, I, 11.  
 सखा, IV, 30 : fem. सखी, III, 20. ✓ साध, past 3 sg. सधलक, IV, 27.  
 सगर, VI, 7 : VII, 46, 59 : VIII, 28. सन, II, 21 : IV, 26, 44, 50 : VI, 8 :  
 सागर, IV, 56, 58 : V, 60. VII, 7, 38 : X, 48 : fem. सनि,  
 सङ्गा, I, 4. VIII, 26.  
 सङ्करखित, I, 30. सन्तति, VIII, 18.  
 संकट, IX, 69. सन्द्यु, II, 10 : see सन्द्यै.  
 सक्त, II, 17. सन्द्यार, X, 19.  
 सङ्ग, I, 7, 9 : IV, 30 : VI, 2 : VIII, सन्द्यै, IV, 1, 3 : V, 57, 58, 59 : see  
 22 : IX, 11, 19, 21 : X, 53 : संग, सन्द्यु.  
 IV, 26 : V, 1 : X, 28. साप, III, 4 : IV, 24, 28, 38, 50.  
 सच, IX, 45. साँप, X, 48 : loc. सापदि, IV, 28.  
 ✓ साज, indecl. part. साज, X, 27. ✓ सपट, indecl. part. सपटि, IV, 7.  
 सजल, VII, 40. सपथ, I, 17 : II, 61.  
 साँभ, X, 15. सब, emph. सबै, II, 34 : VII, 5 :  
 सद्य, VII, 42 : IX, 53 : संच, VII, emph. सबड, I, 7 : nom. pl. सबडँ,  
 53. II, 34 : III, 20 : सबड, II, 53 :  
 सत, X, 25. IV, 38 : V, 11, 22, 28 : VII, 35 :  
 सान, IV, 9 : V, 49, 52. X, 22 : obl. pl. सबड, VII, 57 :

- IX, 62 : gen. सबङ्क, IV 17 : V, 2 : see सभ.
- सबद, III, 13 : IV, 24 : VIII, 33.
- सबारि, X, 52.
- सव्य, I, 29.
- सभ, I, 1, 10, 20 : II, 3, 22, 31, 35, 43, 47, 59 : IV, 2, 7, 16, 18, 30, 32, 42, 62 : V, 22, 30, 31, 34, 48, 53, 55 : VI, 9, 19, 23, 27, 41 : VII, 34, 43, 54 : VIII, 36 : IX, 6, 10, 11, 18 : X, 12, 20, 23, 26, 28, 51, 52 : सभटा, V, 23 : emph. सभै, V, 40 : IX, 18 : gen. सभक, I, 22.
- सभा, VI, 40 : IX, 22, 24.
- सधित्य, IV, 45.
- सम, VI, 31 : VIII, 41 : X, 25 : fem. समि, VII, 39.
- ✓ समा, indecl. part. समाप्र, II, 41.
- समप्र, IX, 27 : X, 15 : see समै.
- समदा, VII, 49.
- समधान, V, 17.
- समान, VII, 24.
- समर, I, 15.
- समसान, IX, 50.
- ✓ समुक्त, indecl. part. समुक्ति, IX, 47.
- समुद्र, I, 10 : II, 3 : X, 5.
- सम्बरतक, V, 36.
- ✓ सन्धार, fut. 2 pl. सन्धारव, II, 32.
- समै, III, 9 : see समप्र.
- ✓ सर, indecl. part. सर कै, II, 50.
- सरकार, VI, 28.
- सारंग, I, 18, 27 : IV, 35, 48 : VII, 31 : IX, 25.
- सरद, gen. सरदक, VII, 23.
- सारद, VI, 1.
- सरन, I, 18 : II, 58 : V, 42.
- सरनागत, IV, 49, 53 : VII, 5 : fem. सरनागति, I, 18.
- सरनापन्न, X, 14.
- सरसिज, II, 17.
- सरस्वति, IV, 47.
- ✓ सराह, pres. 3 sg. सराहिद्य, VIII, 38.
- सरिता, X, 47.
- सरीर, VIII, 28 : X, 26.
- सरी, IX, 1, 31.
- सर्ष, IV, 29.
- सर्वसंहार, I, 17.
- साल, II, 10, 13.
- सलाम, V, 36.
- साँस, IV, 33.
- ससधर, VI, 1.
- ✓ ससर, indecl. part. ससरि, VII, 57.
- ससि, IV, 36 : X, 5.
- सासु, IV, 16.
- ✓ सह, pres. 1 sg. सहिद्य, IV, 54 : IX, 27 : 3 pl. सहधि, VII, 35.
- सहाप्र, I, 17.
- सहदेव, I, 25.
- साहस, II, 25.
- सहस, VII, 26.
- सहित, II, 51 : IV, 56, 58 : V, 31 : VIII, 2 : IX, 60 : X, 26.
- साहेव, II, 34.
- सहोदर, VI, 31 : VIII, 41.
- ✓ सौख, pres. 3 sg. सिख, IV, 12 : fut. 2 pl. सिखवह, III, 7.
- सिखा, IV, 21.
- ✓ सिखाव, past 3 sg. सिखौलक, IX, 35.
- सिंघासन, IX, 67.

- सिंह, VI, 11, 13: सिंग, VI, 11.  
 सिङ्ग, V, 26: VI, 10.  
 सिङ्गो, IX, 8.  
 सिनेह, VIII, 15.  
 सिन्दुर, II, 43, 44: V, 44: सिंदुर,  
 VIII, 12: X, 4.  
 सिव, II, 6: IV, 13: gen. सिवक, II,  
 1.  
 सिर, IX, 67.  
 सौल, IX, 7.  
 सिधु, II, 61: V, 1: VI, 27.  
 सुर, II, 23.  
 सुकवि, VII, 11.  
 सुख, V, 18, 61: VII, 16: IX,  
 18.  
 ✓ सुखा, pres. 3 pl. सुखाथि, X, 5.  
 सुखद, IV, 38.  
 सुखदाप्रक, IX, 68.  
 सुखप्रद, IV, 58.  
 सुगा, II, 2.  
 सुजन, VIII, 47: gen. सुजनक, IX,  
 37.  
 ✓ सुभ, pres. 3 sg. सुभ, IV, 6:  
 VII, 56: VIII, 48: सुभ, IV, 28:  
 past 3 sg. सुभल, VIII, 35: peri-  
 phrast. pres. 3 sg. सुभदहि, VI,  
 20.  
 ✓ सुत, past 3 sg. सुतल, II, 15:  
 fem. सुतलि, II, 27: सुतला (?  
 सुतलि), II, 49: indecl. part.  
 सुति, II, 48: VI, 17: past part.  
 fem. loc. सुतलिहि, II, 27.  
 सुत, II, 1, 62: IX, 20.  
 ✓ सुताव, past 3 pl. सुतालहि, II,  
 56.  
 सुद, VII, 4: fem. सुदिनि, VII, 44.  
 सुदामा, IX, 48.  
 ✓ सुन, pres. 3 sg. सुन, V, 60: X,  
 3: fut. 3 sg. सुनत, IV, 60: past  
 3 sg. सुनल, V, 32: VI, 37: VII,  
 33, 38: IX, 24: indecl. part.  
 सुनि, I, 22: II, 6, 60: III, 13:  
 IV, 24, 51: V, 6, 14, 27: VI,  
 21: VII, 41: VIII, 10, 11, 33,  
 42: X, 15, 37: सुनि, I, 34: II,  
 2, 29.  
 सुन, (empty), III, 15: सुन, VII, 59.  
 सुन्दर, V, 44.  
 सुभ, X, 28.  
 ✓ सुमिर, pres. 3 sg. सुमिरु, VII,  
 59: imperat. 2 pl. सुमिरह, II, 5.  
 सुमिरन, IX, 60.  
 सुर, IV, 15: IX, 16: सुरपुर, I, 6:  
 सुरतर, I, 11: सुरपति, IV, 13: V,  
 24, 32.  
 सुर, VII, 18.  
 सुरभि, I, 6.  
 से, subst. nom. or dir. adj. से, VI,  
 39: X, 43: से, I, 37: II, 4, 5,  
 9, 14, 28: III, 2: IV, 6, 10: V,  
 13, 24, 43: VI, 6: VII, 24, 32:  
 VIII, 14, 30: IX, 8, 27: X, 46,  
 47, 55: subst. nom. से, IX, 70:  
 subst. nom. pl. तनि, VI, 48:  
 subst. acc. से, IX, 31: से, II, 3,  
 29: IV, 30, 53: V, 4, 20, 27,  
 45: VI, 13: VII, 11: VIII, 3,  
 5, 33, 46: IX, 13, 14, 37, 43,  
 48: X, 15, 20, 30: ताहि, VII,  
 21: pl. तनि, VII, 29: IX, 49:  
 general obl. subst. तेहि, IX, 30:  
 तकरा, IX, 7: pl. तनिका, IV, 13:  
 VI, 46, 47: obl. adj. से, VII, 9:  
 ताहि, I, 12: II, 25: VII, 20:  
 pl. तनि, VII, 36: instr. sg. ते, I,  
 5: II, 24: VI, 42: VIII, 25:  
 IX, 18: X, 49: से, IX, 42: gen.  
 dir. ताहि, VII, 48: तकर, I, 3: IV,

- 24, 37: V, 12, 13, 37, 48: VII, 42: VIII, 33: IX, 65, 66: X, 3, तसु, VI, 13: emph. तकरो, I, 23: तकरो, I, 4: pl. तनिक, VI, 45: तन्धिक, II, 33: obl. तन्धिका, I, 21: तन्धिका, I, 9.
- सेख, X, 47: see सेस.
- सेज, VII, 40.
- सेन, I, 24.
- सेप, V, 3.
- ✓ सेव, imperat. 2 pl. सेव, V, 25.
- सेव, IV, 13: सेवा, IX, 58.
- सेस, VIII, 2: see सेख.
- से, IV, 43, 60: X, 40: see सप्र.
- सें, I, 7, 8, 17, 30, 35: II, 9: III, 2, 3, 6: IV, 8, 17, 46: V, 9, 14, 25, 29, 54: VI, 11, 18, 21, 46, 47: VII, 19, 27, 52, 57: VIII, 36: X, 18, 31, 33, 41, 46.
- सेखौ, V, 33.
- सेंभ, VIII, 26: सेभ, VIII, 43: IX, 29.
- सेनित, II, 51: IV, 46, 47: IX, 40.
- ✓ सेप, past 3 sg. सोपल, IV, 13.
- सेरट, X, 9.
- सेरर, II, 46.
- ✓ सोदाव, pres. 3 pl. सोदाधि, IV, 16.
- सेरभ, V, 2.
- स्याम, VIII, 13.
- सौत, VII, 7.
- साप, IX, 65.
- सवन, VII, 11.
- सौ, X, 21.
- सौक, IV, 3.
- सौपति, IV, 52.
- सौव्रजनाथ, IX, 68. [II, 1.
- सौभगवान, I, 22: gen. सौभगवानक,
- सौराम, IX, 69.
- सिद्धि, V, 35: X, 45.
- स्वामि, IV, 48: X, 7.

## ॥ ह ॥

- हप्र, I, 16: VII, 1, 56.
- ✓ हंकार, past 3 sg. हंकारल, X, 10. indecl. past हकारि, II, 30: IV, 2.
- हकार, II, 35, 42: VIII, 47.
- ✓ हट, verb. noun, हटल, IV, 17.
- हत, IV, 3: IV, 53.
- हतसौक, IV, 3.
- हत्तो, IX, 35.
- हाथ, II, 20, 23: III, 6, 11, 15: VII, 28: IX, 9, 13, 15, 30, 34, 59: X, 16: loc. हाथदि, II, 23.
- हाथगर, III, 1.
- हाथौ, I, 16.
- हाथिचार, X, 23: gen. हाथिचारक, I, 16.
- हाथिदाह, VIII, 44.
- ✓ हन, pres. 3 sg. हन, X, 42: fut. 3 sg. हनत, VI, 34: past 3 sg. हनल, VII, 15: IX, 13, 42: mild imperat. हनिथ, II, 31.
- हानि, IX, 25.
- हन्द, II, 29: VIII, 27.
- हम, nom. sg. हम, I, 5, 14, 17, 20, 21, 32, 33, 39: II, 18, 61: III, 21: IV, 52, 53, 54: VI, 25, 29, 46, 47: VII, 4, 16, 44: VIII, 23, 25: IX, 23, 27, 55, 66: X, 7: emph. हमहिं, I, 31: हमउं, I, 2: IX, 26: हमे, VI, 44: gen. dir. हमर, II, 36: IV, 55: VI, 34, 39: VII, 32: VIII, 40, 43: IX, 59: emph. हमरो, V, 33: fem. हमरि, VII, 39: obl. हमरदि, III, 7: dat. हमउ, हम, III, 7: nom. pl. हमरा सवउ, VII, 35.

- ✓ हर, fut. 1 sg. हरव, I, 20 : 3 sg. हरत, V, 18 : past 3 sg. हरल, X, 4 : indecl. part. हरि, VII, 36 : verb. noun. instr. used as indecl. part. हरने, V, 16.
- ✓ हार, pres. 3 pl. हारथि, X, 54 : indecl. part. हारि, VII, 33, 42. हार, VII, 25.
- ✓ हरख, indecl. part. हरखि, II, 51. हरख, II, 26, 42 : VI, 43, 49 : VIII, 38 : X, 22 : gen. हरखक, II, 41. हरखित, III, 3 : IV, 14, 45, 62 : V, 50 : VII, 58 : VIII, 8 : X, 21. हरद, loc. हरदहि, IV, 18 : see द्द.
- हरि, I, 5, 14, 26 : II, 25, 44, 48, 51, 54, 63 : III, 1, 9, 18 : IV, 9, 11, 14, 36, 40, 41, 51 : V, 1, 17, 31, 47, 54, 60 : VI, 1, 6, 10, 12, 18 : VII, 8, 28, 36, 41, 46, 58, 59 : VIII, 2, 3, 4, 5, 13, 15, 19, 20, 27, 37, 39 : IX, 15, 41, 42, 44, 56, 57 : X, 18, 22, 28, 40, 41, 42, 44, 49 : emph. हरिहिं, IX, 53 : gen. हरिङ्क, IX, 52. हारि, V, 13 : IX, 28. हरिचन्द, IV, 8. हरिनी, II, 18.
- ✓ हल, pres. 3 pl. हलयि, VIII, 25 : past 3 sg. हलल, V, 16 : VI, 12 : VIII, 7 : IX, 12, 45 : हललक, V, 7 : pl. हललन्दि, VI, 11 : IX, 39 : past part. हल, IX, 41. हलधर, I, 31 : IV, 11, 14, 40 : V, 1, 4, 7, 9, 16, 17, 19 : VII, 29 : VIII, 2, 13 : IX, 15, 42, 49, 66 : X, 29, 33, 36. हलायुध, X, 31. हलु, II, 19, 31 : V, 1 : VI, 10 : VIII, 32 : X, 22.
- ✓ हंस, pres. 3 pl. हसथि, III, 3 : past 3 sg. हसल, III, 12 : VI, 43 : VIII, 14 : indecl. part. हंसि, VII, 28 : हंसि, X, 29 : adv. part. हंसित्ति, IX, 49 : हंसित्तिं, VII, 15 : हंसित्तिं, V, 29 : verb. noun. obl. हसप्र, V, 4. हलि, IX, 13. हिच, III, 15 : VII, 33, 42 : हिप्र, X, 22. हिन, VI, 39. हिमगिरि, I, 1. हिरदप्र, IX, 47 : see द्विदप्र.
- ✓ हिलाव, past 3 sg. हिलावोह, V, 4. उकुम, IX, 66.
- ✓ हल, indecl. part. हलि, IX, 12. हेठ, IX, 45. हतु, II, 56 : VI, 42, 43.
- ✓ हेर, pres. 3 pl. हेरथि, II, 57 : indecl. part. हेरि, I, 14 : II, 31, verb. noun. dir. with emph. ओ, हेरिओ, II, 38.
- ✓ हेरा, past 3 sg. हेराप्रल, III, 15 : verb. noun. instr. हेरेने, (for हेरेले,) III, 17.
- ✓ हो, pres. 3 sg. होचप्र, X, 15 : होप्र, X, 32, 49 : होप्र, X, 45 : होच VII, 26 : VIII, 30 : IX, 10, 38, 54 : होच, II, 38 : IX, 18 : X, 6 : pl. होचथि, VIII, 4 : pres. conj. 3 sg. हो, I, 4 : होच, II, 10 : VII, 26 : IX, 55 : imperat. 2 pl. होउ, V, 17 : 3 sg. होचओ, VII, 60 : fut. 3 sg. ह्येत, I, 4 : VII, 32 : होरत, III, 14 : X, 35 : होप्रत, VI, 20 : X, 22, 33 : होर, VIII, 47 : past 1 sg. भेलङ्, IV, 53 : 3 sg. भेल, I, 9, 22, 24 : II, 14, 27, 42 : III, 5, 16 : IV, 28, 42, 44, 45,

- 49, 51: V, 50, 51, 58: VI, 3, 40,  
43: VII, 6, 11, 16, 41, 59: VIII,  
47: IX, 5, 8, 25, 33, 38, 50: X,  
14, 39, 44, 45, 53, 54: भेल, I, 7,  
19, 23, 26: II, 3, 13, 21, 39,  
47, 62: III, 1, 12: IV, 8, 9,  
14, 35, 47, 58, 62: V, 15, 21,  
31, 53: VI, 5, 14, 40: VIII, 26:  
IX, 44, 53, 60: X, 8, 28, 37, 43,  
50: भेलद, V, 12: fem. भेलि, I,  
12: II, 26: VII, 43, 52: IX,  
19: भेलि, I, 6: II, 56: III, 19:  
VII, 55: pl. masc. भेलाच, II, 12:  
X, 31: fem. भेलिच, III, 9: peri-  
phrast. pres. होदबिच, V, 22: 3 sg.
- होरकि, IV, 4: IX, 2: past part.  
भेल, V, 54: indecl. part. भे, X,  
23: भे, II, 55, 59: IV, 32, 43,  
48: VII, 1, 44: IX, 10, 40: X,  
37: भप्र, I, 32: V, 7, 27: VI,  
3, 36: VII, 42, 53, 54: VIII,  
6, 8, 17, 23: IX, 41: verb. noun.  
obl. होमप्र, X, 4, 6: होमप्र, X, 35.  
होष, VII, 1.  
हद, IV, 19, 20, 28, 38, 57, 58:  
*see* हरद.  
ह्रिदप्र, I, 5: II, 48, 54: III, 18:  
IV, 19: VII, 25, 36: IX, 25, 37:  
X, 22: obl. ह्रिदयाँ, VIII, 48:  
*see* हिरदप्र.

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*Errata to Man'bodh's Haribans.*

TEXT.

INTRODUCTION.

p. 130, l. 8 from bottom, *read* वन्दलन्दि.

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TEXT.

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|--|---|
| <p>I, 30, <i>read</i> सङ्करखित.</p> <p>II, 7, „ चंगना.</p> <p>10, „ सन्सप्र.</p> <p>22, <i>for</i> सब, <i>read</i> सभ.</p> <p>45, <i>read</i> चंगना.</p> <p>III, 2, „ अंगनऊँ सेँ बहराधि.</p> <p>7, „ टाँग.</p> <p>15, „ चाँगन.</p> <p>IV, 4, „ होशकि.</p> <p>15, „ अहिगरलि.</p> <p>17, „ मन ऊनकहि.</p> | <p>21, <i>read</i> सिखा.</p> <p>25, „ घेरि ललक.</p> <p>39, „ करप्रक.</p> <p>V, 11, „ चाँगन.</p> <p>31, „ चाँगन.</p> <p>55, „ जेहन देव.</p> <p>VI, 2, „ सङ्क फूल काँ</p> <p>3, „ भप्र.</p> <p>5, „ मखल.</p> <p>7, „ सतबितहि.</p> <p>8, „ मुँदले.</p> |
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VI, 11, read मुँदि.	46, read अयहरव.
26, ,, बिरताँत.	IX, 16, ,, अहिगरलि.
41, ,, अँगिरि.	28, ,, हारि जीति.
43, ,, अँगिकार.	37, ,, ओहो जोगाव.
45, ,, अबतरव.	39, ,, रङ्गि.
VII, 15, ,, देवक.	42, ,, परि हरि.
30, ,, अबसेख न.	63, ,, परम वरक्ष.
36, ,, भुसा.	65, ,, अनुताप.
43, ,, अँगना.	67, ,, सिंघासन.
VIII, 16, ,, मँगलन्दि.	X, ,, ई वर होअ होमप्र.
26, ,, भेल.	12, ,, मथुरा.
34, for क (in some copies)	17, ,, बटेरि.
read केँ.	48, ,, ढाल, भासल.
41, read देस.	49, ,, बटोरताह.
44, ,, बिरिताँत.	

## TRANSLATION.

- p. 2, note <sup>1</sup>, l. 7, for गोग, read गोट.  
 p. 30, note <sup>2</sup>, add, see X, 20.  
 p. 35, note <sup>1</sup>, add, see note <sup>2</sup>, p. 30.

## INDEX.

- p. 38, after art. ✓ अकुला, add as a new art. आकित, VII, 24.  
*ib.* art. ✓ अट, omit the entry IX, 20: , and add, verb.  
 noun अटल, IX, 20.  
 p. 39, art. ✓ अबतर, after VI, 45, add, 46.  
 p. 43, col. 2, l. 25, after IV, add 43.  
 p. 50, art. जीति, for 29, read 28.  
 p. 68, col. 2, l. 21, for 63, read 62.

*Twenty-one Vaishṇava Hymns.—Edited and translated by*  
G. A. GRIERSON, C. S.

All the following hymns are in the Maithilī dialect of the Bihārī language. Mithilā boasts of a long series of vernacular authors commencing with the famous Bidyāpati who flourished at the end of the 14th century, and ending with many living poets like Bhānunāth and Harkhnāth.

I have endeavoured to make the present short selection as representative as possible, and have therefore given samples of the poetry of fourteen different writers. Of most of these poets little is known even by tradition. Jayadeb must be one of the oldest, for according to the hymn herein quoted, he sang before king Sib Singh, who was Bidyāpati's patron. Concerning the patrons of the other poets, except those of Bhānunāth and Harkhnāth no information is available. Maheśwara Singh, mentioned by the former was the father of the present Mahārāj Bāhādūr of Darbhanga, and Harkhnāth addresses the present Mahārāj himself.

On another occasion I may perhaps have time to arrange the materials which I have accumulated regarding the ancient kings of Mithilā. The present article can only be taken as showing that poems by several writers of very varying dates, who were natives of that country, are still extant.

These poems partake of the usual character of Vaishṇava hymns concerning which I have treated at some length in the Introduction to Bidyāpati's poems in my Maithilī Chrestomathy.\* Suffice it here to say that the relationship of God to the soul is always exhibited as that of a lover to his beloved. The lover is represented by Kṛishṇa, and the beloved by Rādhā or some other Gopī of Vraja. Kṛishṇa, it need hardly be mentioned, appears under various aliases, such as Murāri, Hari or Yadupati.

## I.

## UMĀPATI.

In the following hymn, God is shown as entreating the soul to abandon itself to him.

अरुन पुरुव दिसि, बहलि सगर निसि, गगन मगन भेल चन्दा ।  
मुनि गेलि कुमुदिनि, तश्चो तोहर, धनि, मूनल मुख अरविन्दा ॥  
कमल बदन, कुवलय दुज्ज लोचन, अधर मधुरि निरमाने ।  
सकल सरीर कुसुम तुअ सिरजल, किअ तुअ झिदय पखाने ॥

\* J. A. S. B., Extra Number, Part I for 1880.

असकति कर कङ्कन नहिँ परिहसि, झिदय हार भैल भारे ।  
गिरि सम गरुअ मान नहिँ सुखसि, अपखव तुअ व्यवहारे ॥  
अवगुन परिहरि हरखि हेर, धनि, मानक अवधि विहाने ।  
सुमति उमापति सकल त्रिपति पति हिन्दू पति रस जाने ॥ १ ॥

*Translation 1.*

1. The dawn hath appeared in the east, the whole night hath flowed away, the moon hath disappeared in the sky. The waterlily\* hath closed, and yet, O Lady, thy lotus face is unopened.

2. Thy countenance is like unto the lotus, and thine eyes the dark-blue lily. Thy lip resembleth the carnation.† Thy whole body hath been created of flowers. Why, then, is thy heart of stone?

3. Because thou faintest, thou wearest not the bracelet on thine arm; and (thou complainest that) that the necklace o'er thy heart is too heavy. Yet the burden of scorn which is weighty as a mountain thou throwest not off. Strange are thy ways.

4. Give up thy waywardness, and gaze upon me joyfully, O Lady. Let the sunrise be the end of thy scorn. Saith the wise Umápati, The king of kings, the Lord of the Hindús, knoweth every sentiment.

II.

Subject—the same as the preceding.

माननि मानह जौँ मोर देसे । सान्ति करिअ, वर न करिअ रोसे ॥  
भौँह कमान बिलोकन वाने । वेधह विधु सुखि कय समधाने ॥  
पीन पयोधर गिरि वर साधी । बाजँ पाँस, धनि, धर मोहि बाँधी ॥  
की परिनति भय परसनि होही । भूखन चरन कमल देह मोही ॥  
सुमति उमापति भन परमाने । जग माता हिन्दू पति जाने ॥ २ ॥

*Translation 2.*

1. O proud one, if thou art angry at my fault, be appeased, and show not wrath.

2. Thy brow is a bow, and thy glances arrows. String thy bow and strike me, O moon-faced one.

3. Consider thy firm bosom as a great mountain,‡ and bind me to it, Lady, with thine arms for bonds.

\* The waterlily is supposed only to open its flowers by night, and the lotus by day.

† The *Madhuri* is a flower of a deep carmine colour,—*Pentapetes phanicia*.

‡ Cf. *Bid.* 53, 5, 6.

असकति कर कङ्कन नहिँ परिहसि, झिदय हार भैल भारे ।  
गिरि सम गरुअ मान नहिँ सुखसि, अपखव तुअ व्यवहारे ॥  
अवगुन परिहरि हरखि हेर, धनि, मानक अवधि विहाने ।  
सुमति उमापति सकल त्रिपति पति हिन्दू पति रस जाने ॥ १ ॥

*Translation 1.*

1. The dawn hath appeared in the east, the whole night hath flowed away, the moon hath disappeared in the sky. The waterlily\* hath closed, and yet, O Lady, thy lotus face is unopened.

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3. Because thou faintest, thou wearest not the bracelet on thine arm; and (thou complainest that) that the necklace o'er thy heart is too heavy. Yet the burden of scorn which is weighty as a mountain thou throwest not off. Strange are thy ways.

4. Give up thy waywardness, and gaze upon me joyfully, O Lady. Let the sunrise be the end of thy scorn. Saith the wise Umápati, The king of kings, the Lord of the Hindús, knoweth every sentiment.

II.

Subject—the same as the preceding.

मानिनि मानह जौँ मोर देसे । सान्ति करिअ, वर न करिअ रोसे ॥  
भौँह कमान बिलोकन वाने । वेधह विधु सुखि कय समधाने ॥  
पीन पयोधर गिरि वर साधी । बाजँ पाँस, धनि, धर मोहि बाँधी ॥  
की परिनति भय परसनि होही । भूखन चरन कमल देह मोही ॥  
सुमति उमापति भन परमाने । जग माता हिन्दू पति जाने ॥ २ ॥

*Translation 2.*

1. O proud one, if thou art angry at my fault, be appeased, and show not wrath.

2. Thy brow is a bow, and thy glances arrows. String thy bow and strike me, O moon-faced one.

3. Consider thy firm bosom as a great mountain,‡ and bind me to it, Lady, with thine arms for bonds.

\* The waterlily is supposed only to open its flowers by night, and the lotus by day.

† The *Madhuri* is a flower of a deep carmine colour,—*Pentapetes phanicia*.

‡ Cf. *Bid.* 53, 5, 6.

4. With what act of submission wilt thou be pleased? Place thy lotus feet upon my body (and they will be but) an ornament to me (and not a penance).

5. The wise Umápati saith a true saying. The Lord of the Hindús knoweth the mother of the universe.

### III.

Here, the distress of the soul imagining itself to be deserted by God is allegorically depicted.

सखि हे मन जनु करिअ मलाने ।  
 अपन करम फल हम उपभोगव, तोहँ किअ तजह पराने ॥  
 हरि सँ प्रेम आस करि लाब्योलि, पाब्योलि परिभव ठामे ।  
 जलधर काहरि तर हम सुतलज्ज, आतप भैल परिनामे ॥  
 कबज नेह नहिँ पुन परगासव, केवल फल अपमाने ।  
 बेरि सहस दस अमिअ भिँजाविअ, कोमल हो न पराने ॥  
 पुरुव पिरिति रिति जनि जौँ विसरल, रति ज न जनकर देखे ।  
 कतन जतन धरि जौँ प्रतिपालय, साप न मानय पोसे ॥  
 सुमति उमापति हरि होप्रत परसन, मान होप्रत अबसाने ।  
 सकल त्रिपति पति हिन्दू पति जिउ, पट महिखी विरमाने ॥ ३ ॥

#### *Translation 3.*

1. O friend, be not unhappy. I shall but enjoy the fruit of my own fate. Wherefore dost thou give up thy life (in sorrow for me)?

2. Hopefully did I bring my love to Hari, and there I obtained but disappointment. I slept beneath the shade of a cloud, (but it passed away and) in the end the burning (rays of the sun fell upon me).

3. Never again will I reveal my love, for its only fruit is slighting. If thou moisten a stone ten thousand times with ambrosia, never couldst thou soften it.

4. If he have forgotten the manner of his former love, the fault is not his in the least\* (but that of his inborn nature). Even as if thou wert to cherish a snake with many efforts, still it would not remember thy tender care.

5. The wise Umápati saith, Hari will be appeased, and (the sun of) his pride will set. May the king of all kings, the Lord of the Hindús live, and with him the queen† in whom his heart delights.

\* रति ज 'not even a rat' or 'small weight.'

† पट महिखी is the principal queen who sits on the throne with her husband and was proclaimed queen at the time that he was proclaimed king.

4. With what act of submission wilt thou be pleased? Place thy lotus feet upon my body (and they will be but) an ornament to me (and not a penance).

5. The wise Umápati saith a true saying. The Lord of the Hindús knoweth the mother of the universe.

### III.

Here, the distress of the soul imagining itself to be deserted by God is allegorically depicted.

सखि हे मन जनु करिअ मलाने ।  
 अपन करम फल हम उपभोगव, तोहँ किअ तजह पराने ॥  
 हरि सँ प्रेम आस करि लाओलि, पाओलि परिभव ठामे ।  
 जलधर काहरि तर हम सुतलऊँ, आतप भैल परिनामे ॥  
 कवऊ नेह नहिँ पुनु परगासव, केवल फल अपमाने ।  
 बेरि सहस दस अमिअ भिँजाबिअ, कोमल हो न पखाने ॥  
 पुरुव पिरिति रिति ऊनि जौँ विसरल, रति ऊ न ऊनकर दोसे ।  
 कतन जतन धरि जौँ प्रतिपालय, साप न मानय पोसे ॥  
 सुमति उमापति हरि होँप्रत परसन, मान होँप्रत अबसाने ।  
 सकल त्रिपति पति हिन्दू पति जिउ, पट महिखी विरमाने ॥ ३ ॥

#### Translation 3.

1. O friend, be not unhappy. I shall but enjoy the fruit of my own fate. Wherefore dost thou give up thy life (in sorrow for me)?

2. Hopefully did I bring my love to Hari, and there I obtained but disappointment. I slept beneath the shade of a cloud, (but it passed away and) in the end the burning (rays of the sun fell upon me).

3. Never again will I reveal my love, for its only fruit is slighting. If thou moisten a stone ten thousand times with ambrosia, never couldst thou soften it.

4. If he have forgotten the manner of his former love, the fault is not his in the least\* (but that of his inborn nature). Even as if thou wert to cherish a snake with many efforts, still it would not remember thy tender care.

5. The wise Umápati saith, Hari will be appeased, and (the sun of) his pride will set. May the king of all kings, the Lord of the Hindús live, and with him the queen† in whom his heart delights.

\* रति ऊ 'not even a *rati*' or 'small weight.'

† पट महिखी is the principal queen who sits on the throne with her husband and was proclaimed queen at the time that he was proclaimed king.

## IV.

## NANDÍPATI.

Subject,—the same as the preceding.

माधव ग्रहण दिवस भैंस मोरा ।

अपन करम फल हम उपभोगव, ताहि दोस कोन तोरा ॥

जाहि नगर चानन नहिं चीन्धि, अड़ड़ आदर कै रोपे ।

बिनु गुन बुझलैं जनिक अनादर, उचित न ता पर कोपे ॥

सगुन पुरुख निरगुन नीनल जाँ, जीवन जड़ के देला ।

जाँ करमी फुल सबज्ज सराहिप्र, तौँ कि कमल गुन गेला ॥

थल गुन आन ठाम परगासल, तैँ की तनिक अभेला ।

गिरि दरि ताहि तिमिर रज्ज ता पर, रवि महिमा हिन भेला ॥

जनिक सरस मन ताहि कहिप्र गुन, पसु सिसु अवध न बुझे ।

नन्दीपति मन तैँ देखु दरपन, आन्तर काँ की सुझे ॥ ४ ॥

*Translation 4.*

1. O Mádhab, such is the day which hath come to me. I shall but enjoy the fruit of mine own fate, and what fault is that of thine ?

2. In the city where the sandal tree is not known, there they plant the castor tree with honour. He who showeth dishonour through not understanding qualities, on him anger is unseemly.

3. If he who is void of qualities blamed the man who possesses good ones, and showed favour\* to a fool,—If all men praise the *kar'mi*,† are the virtues of the lotus less on that account ?

4. If one's fixed qualities were displayed (not in his presence, but) elsewhere, was he therefore heedless (for not perceiving them). If a man remain in the darkness of a mountain cleft, is the might of the sun diminished thereby ?

5. Describe qualities to one who hath an intelligent mind ; beasts, children and the ignorant cannot appreciate them. Saith Nandípati, if a blind man look in a mirror, what doth he see ?

## V.

The following song refers to the famous lesson which Kṛishṇa gave to the Gopís that they must come to God naked and not ashamed, and must give themselves to him unreservedly.

अम्बर धप्रल उतारी । से लप्र कदम तर चढल मुरारी ॥

अमरन प्रक बर लैहे । हरि परिधान बसन मोर दैहे ॥

\* *Lit.* 'gave livelihood.'

† A small white creeper that grows in marshes.

सवहि सखी पट पाऊ । हमर हि किअ प्रतिखन बिलमाऊ ॥  
हम ऊ बुभिय तोर भावे । से मन वासि करिय हरि आवे ॥  
मेर मुख अबइकि आगी । तेहँ करह हरि ततवय लागी ॥  
नन्दीपति कवि गावे । नन्द तनय रसमय बुभ भावे ॥ ५ ॥

*Translation 5.*

1. They took off their garments, and laid them (on the shore,) and Murāri climbed with them into the *kadamb* tree.

2. 'Take an ornament from me, but, O Hari, give me my wearing apparel.

3. 'All my companions have got their garments. Why dost thou delay me only so long ?

4. 'I know thine object. O Hari, do now what is in thy heart.

5. 'To my face comes fire. O Hari, thou art doing this to make me angry with thee.'

6. The poet Nandīpati sings ; Hari the son of Nanda knoweth a nature full of sentiment.

VI.

In the following hymn the first occasion on which a soul gives itself unreservedly up to God, and its misgivings, are described under the similitude of a bridal night. The bridegroom represents the deity, and the bride the soul.

भाङ्ग\* चाह चिकुर भर, सजनी, सहजहि दूर देह ।  
प्रथमहिँ पडु सं समागम, सजनी, उपजल अधिक सनेह ॥  
दुर सं सूतलि विमुख भङ्ग, सजनी, बिरल बसन मुख भाँपि ।  
अभिनव केलिक नामहि, सजनी, नहिँ नहिँ कष्ट उठि काँपि ॥  
नूपुर काँढि नडाओल, सजनी, हरल बसन अवसेखि ।  
भाव भरल नव नागर, सजनी, अति उनमत भेल देखि ॥  
नयन नेर भरि वाजलि, सजनी, भल सपथक निरवाह ।  
नागर न बूभ नाँरि दुख, सजनी, केवल निअ सुख चाह ॥  
नन्दीपति कवि गाओल, सजनी, यहँ उचित ग्रहि ठाम ।  
साहस तह पुन लडु थिक, सजनी, सुखद होएत परिनाम ॥ ६ ॥

*Translation 6.*

1. The weight of my tresses, O friend, is on the point of breaking my naturally slim body. When I first met my husband, a great love sprang up within my heart.

\* भाङ्ग is an optional way of writing भाँग.

2. I slept far from him and turned my face away, concealing it under my scanty raiment, and when I heard the mere name of young dalliance, I rose trembling and said, 'No, No.'

3. He took off my anklets and cast them aside, and removed all my garments. The young bridegroom's love increased, and I saw him very frantic.

4. Mine eyes filled with tears as I cried; 'this is a fine fulfilment of thine oaths.' But, O friend, a lover doth not understand a woman's grief, he only seeketh his own pleasure.

5. The Poet Nandīpati sang, this was proper at the time and place, but, with courage, the pangs are light, and the end will be full of pleasure.

### VII.

In the following hymn, a Gopī complains to Yaśodā of the wantonness of the infant Kṛishṇa.

जसोमति मोर उपरागे । हरिक चरित मोहि वड़ मन्द लागे ॥  
जाइत जमुना पथ अजे । वन सँ वाहर भेल जुवराजे ॥  
आँचर घप्रलन्दि मोरा । कालक जनमल तोहर किसोरा ॥  
तखनुक तसु व्यवहारे । आव कि कहव हम अपन कपारे ॥  
कोर सूतल तोर कान्हे । तेँ जनु वूभह हरि कथि नान्हे ॥  
प्रतय करथि तन पाने । ओतय कटैकथि तरुनक काने ॥  
नन्दीपति कवि गाई । जननि जसोमति नहिँ पतिआई ॥ ७ ॥

### Translation 7.

1. O Yaśodā, it is my calamity. Hari's actions appear very wicked to me.
2. To-day as I was going to the river Yamunā, the prince appeared from the wood.
3. Thy darling who was born but yesterday, caught the hem of my garment.
4. What am I to say now about my fate, and of how he then conducted himself?
5. He sleepeth in thy lap, but do not therefore think that Hari is a baby.
6. Here he drinketh from the body, and there he is able to outwit\* a full-grown man.
7. The poet Nandīpati singeth. His mother Yaśodā did not believe her.

\* कान काटव 'to cut the ear,' hence 'to outwit.'

## VIII.

In the next song, faith in God is shown as the one boat in which the troubled Sea of Existence can be crossed. A Gopí is represented as asking Kṛishṇa to ferry her across the Yamuná.

हरि हे अति आकुल मन मोरा । कतेक सचव दुख कौतुक तोरा ॥  
 प्रहि जमुना जल कतज्ज न थाहे । लप्र गिम हार पार भप्र जाहे ॥  
 चज्ज दिस घन बुन्द वरिसप्र मेहा । अब कि करव सखि जिव ज्ज सन्देहा ॥  
 भाँभरि नाव टुटल करुचारे । कौन विधि उतरव प्रहो भव पारे ॥  
 सभ सखि मिलि बैसलि\* चियां हारी । बिनु रे पुरुख पय न चढ़िप्र नारी ॥  
 नन्दीपति जल बीचि अपार । डगमग नैयां कर भाँभहि धार ॥ ८ ॥

*Translation 8.*

1. O Hari, my mind is much distraught. How much anxiety, which is thy sport, am I to bear?

2. The water of this Yamuná is nowhere fordable, take this necklace (as a fee) and pass over with me.

3. All round the clouds are raining heavy drops. What, O my companion, can I do? There is doubt if even (I shall keep my) life.

4. The boat is full of holes, and the oars are broken. How shall I pass over this sea of existence?

5. All my companions have sat down hopeless, for without a man† a woman dare not mount the path. Nandípati saith, the waves (appear) impassable, and in the midst of the stream the boat is moving to and fro.

## IX.

## MOD NARÁYAN.

The following Hymn illustrates the utter abandonment of the soul to God and God's love for the individual soul, as illustrated by Kṛishṇa's love for Rádhá.

जमुना तीर कदम तर हे, प्रक अतरज देखी ।  
 तड़ित जलद जनु अबतर हे, प्रक रूप विसेखी ॥  
 राधा रूप मगनि भेलि हे, कर धै हरि आनी ।  
 कतेक जतन कटु भाखिअ हे, नहिँ वोलथि सयानी ॥  
 अनुपम लोचन खञ्जन हे, बाँकज्ज हरि हेरी ।  
 बदन बसन अभिनत कै हे, मुसुकलि प्रक बेरी ॥

\* Another reading is सबज्ज सखी बैसलि.

† Or (allegorically) the Man of Ages.

काम कला गुन आगरि हे, बैसलि मुख फेरी ।  
 रङ्ग समान फिरधि हरि हे, जनि रतनक टेरी ॥  
 थिर नहिँ रहत सुगुध मन हे, जौवन जग साले ।  
 आलीगन रस पसरल हे, पुलकित बनमाले ॥  
 त्रिपति प्रताप भन अबतरु हे, नव तरु पचमाने ।  
 मोद नराछन मन दणु हे, सेआमे रस जाने ॥ ९ ॥

*Translation 9.*

1. On the bank of the Yamuná, at the foot of the Kadamba tree I saw a wondrous sight. It was as if the lightning and its cloud had become incarnate in one lovely form.

2. Rádhá (on seeing) his beauty became intoxicated with love as Hari took her hand and drew her to himself. Even cruel words spake he (to draw forth a reply from her), but the wise damsel answered not.

3. Her matchless eyes were like the *khañjan*,\* and with them she glanced sidelong at Hari. She lowered the cloth across her face and gave one smile.

4. Wise in the arts of love she sat with her face turned aside, while Hari walketh round her, as a miser walketh round a heap of jewels.

5. A mind full of love will not remain steady. The (ardour of) youth woundeth every one in this world. The delights of embraces were spread out (before him), and Banmáli (Kṛishṇa) thrilled with affection.

6. King Pratáp Singh, otherwise known as Mod Naráyan† payeth heed and saith, Love hath become incarnate in young trees,‡ and Syám (Kṛishṇa) understandeth it.

X.

RAMÁPATI.

The following treats of the pangs experienced when the soul fancies itself deserted by God.

प्रथमहिँ, ओ रे, ससि मुखि परिजन मुख सुन ।

ओ की, तुअ गुन अनुकन नेह उपज दुन ॥

विधि वस, ओ रे, वदन इन्दु तुअ देखि धनि ।

ओ की, भैलि जनि प्रेम पयोनिधि निगमनि ॥

\* A bird, *Motacilla alba*.

† This is the traditional interpretation.

‡ I. e., at the time of sprouting of leaves, as in the English Spring, love acquires greater power in the human breast.

अकमितं, ओ रे, कोकिल पञ्चम कल धुनि ।  
 ओ की, सँह सुनि पुनु पुनु सुख्क दुसह गुनि ॥  
 तलपहिँ, ओ रे, अति कोमल नलिनी दल ।  
 ओ की, दिच भल परम दगध होअ अनुपल ॥  
 अविधुँ, ओ रे, न मिलत जदि निरदय हरि ।  
 ओ की, कुन भरि न जिउति आलि कोनऊ परि ॥  
 सुनु धनि, ओ रे, सुमति रमापति वुभि कह ।  
 ओ की, थिर रह पुरत मनोरथ हरि तह ॥ १० ॥

*Translation 10.*

1. At first, alas, the moon-faced one heard of thy virtues from her friends, and at every moment a twofold love for thee ariseth in her heart.
2. By chance, alas, the Lady saw thy moon face, and became as it were plunged\* in a sea of love.
3. Of a sudden, alas, she heareth the song of the cuckoo† in the fifth scale, again and again the lovely one fainteth, as she findeth it unbearable.
4. Alas, the tender lotus leaf becometh‡ always quite burnt in a moment when laid upon her bed.
5. If, alas, Hari, thou art pitiless, and wilt not meet her at the appointed time, the maiden will not live by any means even for an instant.
6. Saith the wise Ramápati, hear, O Lady, be patient, and thy desires will be fulfilled by Hari.§

XI.

MAHIPATI.

In the following hymn, the state of uncertainty of a soul first convinced of its sin, is described under the illustration of a Gopí who desires to meet Kṛishṇa, and yet does not wish to leave her husband and relations.

\* निगमनि is feminine of निगमन *per metathesis* for निमग्न

† The song of this bird is supposed to be an incentive to love.

‡ I. e., the lotus leaves were laid upon the bed to cool her body, but the heat of her anguish was so great that it burnt them up, तलपहिँ is locative of तलप Skr. तल्प a 'bed.'

§ तह is the sign of the instrumental case.

पचसर लफ सर साज ना, कि कहव पऊ ना समाज ना ॥  
हरि हरि कर कत बेरि ना, मुखि खसू पथ हेरि ना ॥  
आँफल जसुना जल बाढ़ि ना, भेलऊँ कदम तर ठाढ़ि ना ॥  
आँव कि करव सिर धूनि ना, कोकिल कल रव सूनि ना ॥  
कवि महिपति इहो भान ना, जगत बन्धु रस जान ना ॥ ११ ॥

*Translation 11.*

1. The five-arrowed god of love aimeth his arrow at me, what can I say to my husband and his company ?
2. Many times cried I ' Hari, Hari,' and fainting I fell down as I looked for his path.
3. The waters of the Yamuná have risen, and I am standing at the foot of the *kadamba* tree.
4. What can I do now by beating my head in anguish, as I hear the musical cry of the cuckoo.
5. The poet Mahipati saith the Friend of the world understandeth thy love.

XII.

JAYÁNAND.

In this song, the grief of a soul which fancies itself deserted by God is described.

चौदिस हरि पथ हेरि हेरि, नयन बहूँ जल धार ।  
भवन न भाव दिवस निसि, करव कथोन परकार ॥  
ऊनि हम तिलऊ न आँतर, दुऊक प्राण कुल एक ।  
परदेस गफ निरदय भेल, कि कहव तनिक विवेक ॥  
कुदिवस रहत कतेक दिन, के मोहि कहत बुभाए ।  
बिह विपरीत भेल अब, के मोहि होएत सहाए ॥  
करन जयानन्द गाओल, चित जनु करिअ उदास ।  
धैरज सब तह वर थिक, आओत भमर अवास ॥ १२ ॥

*Translation 12.*

1. In all directions, I gaze, I gaze, upon the way for Hari, and there poureth from mine eyes a stream of tears. My home no longer pleaseth me night or day ; what am I to do ?
2. Between him and me there was not the difference of a grain of sesamum, our very breaths were one. Yet he went away pitilessly to a far country. What can I say of his wisdom ?

3. How many days will this ill day remain? Who will tell me and explain? O friend, the Creator hath become opposed to me. Who will be my help?

4. Jayānand the Karan Kayasth sang, be not mournful in thy heart. Patience is best of all. The bee will come\* to its home.

## XIII.

## BHĀNUNĀTH.

In the following song the allegory is the same as in the last.

जदुपति बुभ्रिय विचारी । अभिनव विरह वेत्ताकुलि नारी ॥  
 नलिन सयन नहिँ भावे । तनि पथ हेरइत दिवस गमावे ॥  
 केअच्यो चानन कर लेपे । केअच्यो कइए जनि रहल संकेपे ॥  
 कोन परि करति निवाहे । सित कर किरन सतत कर दाहे ॥  
 तप जनि करए सकामे । निस दिन जपइत रह तसु नामे ॥  
 भानुनाथ कवि भाने । रस बुझ महेस्वर सिङ्ग सुजाने ॥ १३ ॥

*Translation 13.*

1. Learn and understand the ways of Yadupati (Krishna.) The Lady is distraught with the fresh separation.

2. A bed of lotuses pleaseth her not. Gazing at his path she passeth the day.

3. Some are anointing her body with (cooling) sandal paste and some say that there is but little\* life\* in her.

4. To what can she have recourse? Even the cool rays of the moon continually burn her.

5. She is as it were performing a penance with a fixed desire; for night and day she utters but his name.

6. Saith the poet Bhānunāth, the wise Maheśwar Singh understands the sentiment.

## XIV.

## CHATURBHUJ.

An allegory explaining desire for communion of the soul with God.

नव तनु नव अनुराग, माधव, नव परिचय रस जाग ॥  
 अभिनव प्रकच्यो न भाख, माधव, दुऊ मन गौरव राख ॥

\* \* जनि here means 'life,' the Skr. जनौ 'birth.'

दिन दिन दुःख तन छीन, माधव, केँ जान बितत कत दीन ॥  
 दुःख मन बसु प्रक काज, माधव, आँतर भै रज्ज लाज ॥  
 ह्रिदय धरिअ जत गोइ, माधव, नयन बेकत तत होइ ॥  
 चतुर चतुर्भुज भान, माधव, प्रेम न होअय पुरान ॥ १४ ॥

*Translation 14.*

*Refrain.* Ah Mádhav.

1. The forms of both are young, and so is their passion. The young recognition of love is awaking.
2. Neither of the young ones speaketh, for both have pride in their minds.
3. Daily the bodies of both are fading away. Who knoweth how many days must (thus) be passed.
4. Both minds dwell on one employment, but modesty stands between them.
5. The more she concealeth her love within her heart,—the more will it become manifested by her eyes.
6. Saith the skilful Chaturbhuj. Their love never groweth old.

XV.

SARAS RÁM.

The beauty of the soul. This hymn is apparently taken from some religious drama, and was sung on the entrance of Rádhá.

देल परबेस परम सुकुमारि । हस्ति गमनि त्रिखभानु दुलारि ॥  
 तनु अनुपम आनन सानन्द । दामिनि उपर उगल नव चन्द ॥  
 नासा ललित नयन नहिँ थीर । जनि तिल फुल अलि दुःख दिस पीर ॥  
 भाङि जाँप्रत कुच भर परिनाम । तेँ जनि त्रिबलि गुन बान्दल काम ॥  
 सरस राम भन राधा रूप । रस बुझ रसमय सुन्दर भूप ॥ १५ ॥

*Translation 15.*

1. The exceedingly tender one entered,—the beloved of Brikh-bhánu, with the elephant gait.
2. Her body is matchless and her face suffused with joy, like the new moon rising over the summer lightning.
3. By her nose her playful eyes remain not steady, as bees surround each side of the sesamum flower.

4. Her full bosom would assuredly break, if love had not tied it with the string of three fair folds below.

5. Saras Rám telleth of Rádha's beauty, and king Sundar knoweth the sentiment.

## XVI.

JAYADEB.

The soul is described as being on the point of abandoning itself to God.

सुन्दरि करिअ तोरित अमिसारे ।  
 अबहि उगत ससि तिमिर तेजत निसि, उसरत मदन पसारे ॥  
 बदन कामिनि हे वक्त न करिय, चौदिस होप्रत उजोरे ॥  
 चानक भरम अमिअ रस लालच, ऐठ कप्र जायत चकोरे ॥  
 अमिअ वचन भरमऊ जनु वाजह, सौरभ वूभत आने ॥  
 पङ्कज लोभ भमर चल आओत, करत अधर मधु पाने ॥  
 तोहे रस कामिनि मधु के जामिनि, गेल चाँहिअ निज गेहे ॥  
 राजा सिव सिङ्घ रूप नारायन, कवि अभिनव जयदेवे ॥ १६ ॥

*Translation 16.*

1. Fair one, haste to the love-meeting. Even now will the moon arise. Darkness will desert the night, and the means of obtaining\* love be removed.

2. Lovely one, expose not thy face, or on all sides will there be a bright light. The Chakor† will take thy face for the risen moon, and covetous of thine ambrosia, will coaxingly (approach you, taste it) and go away.

3. Speak not inadvertently with thine ambrosial voice, or others will think it nectar. When the bee seeth thy face he will take it for an open waterlily, and will sip the honey of thy lower lip.

4. Thou art desirous of love and it is a night in the month of Chaitra.‡ (So haste) as thou desirest to return home. The new poet Jayadeb sang this before Rája Sib Singh Rúp Náráyan.

\* पसार, literally, 'a shop.'

† The Greek partridge, *Perdix rufa*, said to be enamoured of the moon, and to exist on moonbeams, and the ambrosia contained in it.

‡ March-April. In this month people are supposed to be inclined to oversleep themselves. She is hence warned not to oversleep herself, or she will have to return after sunrise, and her absence will be observed.

## XVII.

KEŚ'AB.

In the following the distress of the soul on fancying itself deserted by God is described.

सुनह वचन सखि मन दह, दहह चहह तनु आज ।  
 पवन परस तरसह जिव, मदन दहन सर साज ॥  
 कोन परि उबरव हरि हरि, धैरज धरि धरि लाख ।  
 इन इन मुखि मुखि खसु, सखि न जिउति सखि भाख ॥  
 कि करव सुनि सुनि पिक रव, निक रव मोहि न सोहाह ।  
 हहरि हहरि हरि हरि कह, निरदय आंज ज न आह ॥  
 सखि सेज, खिजह नलिनि दल, तेँ तह होअ अवसान ।  
 वन कुजकह घन सिखि गन, सुनि सुनि दह दुनु कान ॥  
 धरम करम विकुडल मोर, पुख कण्ठ कत पाप ।  
 धैरज धै रज केसव, रस बुभ निपति प्रताप ॥ १७ ॥

*Translation 17.*

1. O friend, take heed unto my words, my body is about to be consumed to-day. My life longeth for the touch of air, as love setteth in array his fiery darts.

2. How can I, ah Hari, Hari, come out of my difficulties, even though I take patience ten thousand times. Every minute I faint, I faint and fall, 'thy friend,' saith thy friend, 'can live no longer.'

3. As I hear, as I hear the cry of the cuckoo, what am I to do? Its sweet sound no longer pleaseth me. Lamenting, lamenting I call on Hari, but the pitiless one hath not yet come.

4. O friend, thou art making a (cool) bed of lotuses for me, that from it I may be cured.\* When I hear, when I hear the peacocks crying in the dense forest, both mine ears are consumed.

5. The fruit of my virtue and of my good deeds hath disappeared. In some former existence I must have committed many sins.† Saith Keśab, bear patience, king Pratáp understandeth love.

\* अवसान or क्षोसान is often used to mean 'a cure.'

† Under the doctrine of transmigration sins committed in one life follow on with their consequences in a future life.

## XVIII.

## BHANJAN.

Subject, the same as the preceding.

प्रकसरि कोन परि हरि हरि, तरव विरह नदि पारे ।  
 कतज्ज न देखिय जदु पति, जनि विनु जगत अन्दारे ॥  
 के हित हमर जगति तल, जे कर एकर उपचारे ।  
 कन कन तनु अबसन होअ, परल विरह दुख भारे ॥  
 कि करव कतय जाप्रव दज्ज, कोन तह होप्रत उधारे ।  
 चान किरन तन ताप्र, आव न जिवन परकारे ॥  
 न कर विजन नलिनी दल, सखि न सिचह घनसारे ।  
 मोरां लेखे तन बरिसप्र, अविरल निधुम अंगारे ॥  
 काहि कहव परिवेदन, हनप्र मदन दुरवारे ।  
 विसरि बैसल मोहि जदु पति, कि करव सगन विचारे ॥  
 कह कवि सेखर भञ्जन, लिखल मेटप्र के पारे ।  
 विपद विभव दुज्ज थिर नहिँ, अचिर मिलत गुन सारे ॥ १८ ॥

*Translation 18.*

1. O Hari, Hari, how can I pass over the river of separation alone. Nowhere do I see Kṛishṇa, without whom all the world is dark.
2. Who is there my friend upon this earth, on whose hand I can count in this? Every moment my body becometh prostrate, and falleth under the weight of the grief of separation.
3. What can I do? where can I go? From whence will come my salvation? The very rays of the moon scorch my body. Now I have no means by which to live.
4. Fan me not with lotus leaves, O friend, nor sprinkle me with camphor. To me (even these cooling applications) seem as if it were raining ceaseless (burning) smokeless coals upon my body.
5. To whom shall I tell my woes, for Love Invincible is slaying me. Kṛishṇa hath forgotten and deserted me. What can I do, hoping against hope?\*
6. Saith Bhañjañ, the chief of poets, Who can wipe out what hath been written in the book of fate? Misfortune and wealth are both fleeting. Before long the essence of all virtues will meet thee.

\* *Lit.* Wh shall I do with calculating good omens (as to the future). सगुन विचारव means 'to calculate the future from omens.'

## XIX.

The next hymn, by the same author, deals with the same subject.

पाचोस निखर तुलाप्रल, सजनी, कि कहव पड़ नहिँ चाप्रल ॥  
 गगन गरज नव जलधर, सजनी, वन वन सिखि मन रव कर ॥  
 कोन सखि आव उपदेसह, सजनी, प्रहन बिरह दुख के सह ॥  
 पिया सङ्ग रभसय कामिनि, सजनी, मोरा लेखे जुग सम जामिनि ॥  
 धैरज धरह कलावति, सजनी, चाप्र मिलत मधुरा पति ॥  
 कवि भङ्गन प्रहो गाओल, सजनी, कमलिनि मधु कर पाओल ॥ १९ ॥

*Translation 19.*

1. The rainy season hath come near, my friend, what am I to say ?  
for my Lord hath not come.
2. The new clouds thunder in the sky, and the peacocks are crying  
in the forest.
3. What advice dost thou give me now, my friend ? Who can bear  
such pangs of separation ?
4. Other damsels have sported with their loved ones, but for me a  
single night appeareth an æon.
5. Fair one, be patient. Krishna, the lord of Mathurá will come  
and meet thee.
6. The poet Bhañjan sang this, and the bee obtained the lotus.

## XX.

## CHAKRAPÁNI.

Subject,—the same as the preceding.

प्रेम बेलि पियां लाओल रे ॥  
 वचन अमी रस सेच कुसुम पहिराओल रे ॥  
 फुलल कुसुम रस वासल रे ॥  
 भमर चलल परदेस रहल विसवासल रे ॥  
 प्रक हम दैवक मारल विह मोहि टारल रे ॥  
 दोसर पियां परदेस कोर मोर सुन भेल रे ॥  
 पसरल सरद चान दुति रे ॥  
 मोर मन भेल चकोर ताहि ओर ससरल रे ॥  
 चक्रपानि भन सुभ दिन मालति भमर समाज आज भेल रे ॥ २० ॥

## Translation 20.

1. My beloved brought the jasmine of love. He watered it with the ambrosia of his voice, and clothed it with flowers.

2. The flowers blossomed, and the nectar exuded therefrom, but the bee, whom I trusted, went away and lived in a far country.

3. In the first place I am smitten by fate, and the Creator hath prevaricated with me. In the second place my beloved is afar off, and my bosom is empty.

4. The splendour of the autumn moon is spread abroad. My mind has become the *chakor*,\* and therefore it glided towards him.

5. Chakrapáni saith, now, on an auspicious day, the bee and the jasmine have met.

## XXI.

## HARKHNÁTH.

The following song is different from the others. It is by Harkhnáth the principal living poet of Mithilá, a selection from whose poems was published in my Maithil Chrestomathy.

The eleventh of the songs then published was a *Sohar* or congratulatory birth-song describing the birth of Kṛishṇa. I have since ascertained that this was only a portion of the whole, and I now take this opportunity of printing the song as it was originally written by the poet.

अविरल जल धर गरजत घन रस वरिसत रे ।  
 दादुल सङ्गुल रभसत दामिनि चमकत रे ॥  
 तड़ित चमकत जलद गरजत करत दादुल सोर ओ ।  
 तिमिर सङ्गुल करत आकुल निसिथ भादव घोर ओ ॥  
 अबतरु देवकि नन्दन जन सुख चन्दन रे ।  
 सुर नर मुनि कित वन्दन कन्स निकन्दन रे ॥  
 उगल जदु कुल कमल दिन कर सकल जन सुख कन्द ओ ।  
 नन्द नयन चकोर सम्पद पुरन सारद चन्द ओ ॥  
 अमल कमल दल गङ्गन लोचन खङ्गन रे ।  
 त्रिभुवन आपद भङ्गन जग अनुरङ्गन रे ॥  
 जगत रङ्गन विपद भङ्गन वदन गङ्गित चान ओ ।  
 नवल जल धर रुचिर तनु वर विजित स्निगमद मान ओ ॥  
 मनि मानिक मुकुता कत कञ्चन अभरन रे ।

\* A bird supposed to be enamoured of the full moon.

जत क्ल नन्द भवन धन पाञ्चोल गुनि जन रे ॥  
 तुरग, गज, रथ, वनक, मानिक, रतन, सुकता माथ्यो ।  
 पावि नट भट गनक चटपट भेल सकल सनाथ्यो ॥  
 सुर गन सहित पुरन्दर करि सुभ डम्बर रे ।  
 देखल जदु कुल सुन्दर चाप्रल अम्बर रे ॥  
 बरिस सुर गन कुसुम परसन मुदित पुलकित अङ्ग रे ।  
 देव दुन्दुभि वजत अम्बर स्रोत सङ्कल रङ्ग्यो ॥  
 नारि किनाञ्चोन दगरिनि कत धन पाञ्चोल रे ।  
 हरखित गोप बधू जन सौहर गाञ्चोल रे ॥  
 हरखि गावहिँ नगर नागरि हरहिँ सुर नर ग्यान्यो ।  
 मुनत खग म्निग रहत निञ्चल कुटत मुनि जन ध्यान्यो ॥  
 हरखनाथ भन मन दय हरि परसन भव्य रे ।  
 करधु त्रिपति लक्ष्मीस्वर धन जन उपचय्य रे ॥  
 हरखनाथ सनाथ करि जदु नाथ त्रिभुवन धाम्यो ।  
 पुरधु मिथिला नगर नायक सफल अभिमत काम्यो ॥ २१ ॥

*Translation 21.*

1. The clouds thunder without intermission, and pour continuous drops of rain. The throng of frogs is passionate, and the lightning flasheth.\*

2. The lightning flasheth, the clouds thunder, and the frogs cry out. The darkness is intense, and the terrible midnight of the month of Bhādo causeth confusion.

3. The son of Devakī became incarnate, as it were (sweet) sandal wood for the people's joy. He is praised by† the gods, saints, and men as the destroyer of Kāṁśa.

4. The sun of the lotus of the house of Yadu rose, a well-spring of happiness to all men. Nanda's‡ eyes were like the *chakor*, and obtained bliss from the full autumn moon (of Kṛishṇa's face).

5. He excelled the spotless lotus-leaf in beauty, and his eyes the *khanjan*. He was the destroyer of all calamities in the universe, and a bringer of happiness upon the earth.

6. The bringer of happiness on the earth, the destroyer of calami-

\* It is needless to remind the reader that Kṛishṇa was born in a storm, under cover of which he was conveyed away beyond reach of Kāṁśa.

† Note the force of क्तिन् here.

‡ Kṛishṇa's foster-father.

ties, and his countenance excelling the moon in beauty. Shining like a young cloud, his beauteous person (in fragrance) destroyed the pride of musk.

7. And all the wise men in Nanda's house, obtained wealth, in the shape of jewels, pearls, tiaras, and golden ornaments.

8. The dancers, warriors, and astrologers, all at once obtained their desires in the shape of horses, elephants, chariots, gold, rubies, jewels, and pearls upon their heads.

9. Indra with the gods appeared in the atmosphere with glorious pomp, and saw the loveliness of the house of Yadu.

10. The gods, pleased at heart, and their limbs thrilling with joy, rained flowers, and in the sky played propitious melodies upon the drum.

11. Great was the wealth given to the midwife who cut the navel cord: and the wives of the cowherds in their joy sang the *Sohar*.

12. In their joy the fair ones of the city sang, and captivated the minds of gods and men; when birds and beasts heard them they became motionless, and even saints desisted from their contemplation.

13. Harkhnáth saith with all his heart, May Hari be propitious, and bless king Lakshmisvar Singh with increase of wealth and subjects.

14. May Krishna the refuge of the three worlds, satisfy Harkhnáth's request, and fulfil the heart's desires of the Lord of Mithilá.

*The Song of Bijai Mal.*—Edited and translated by G. A. GRIERSON, C. S.

The accompanying poem is an excellent example of the pure Eastern Bhojpúri dialect spoken in the district of Sháhábád. Its grammar is fully described in Part II of my Grammars of the Bihár dialects published by the Government of Bengal. It is also interesting as showing vividly the manners and customs of a district famous for its fighting men. It is not necessary to allude to them in detail here, as a literal translation is given of the poem, to which reference can be made. The whole structure is founded on the difficulty experienced by a Rajpút father in marrying his daughter, and the large sums he has to pay to the father of a suitable bridegroom.

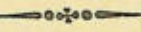
The poem is sung, and the lines are arranged to suit the air, but are not in metre. It abounds in useful long and redundant forms of substantives.

I am unable to identify the names of persons and places mentioned in it. The poem itself contains all the traditions that are known on the subject. I may note, however, that in the famous *Bundelkhand* epic

of Alhá and Rúdal, there are fifty-two *súbás* or generals mentioned, and that the name of one of the principal characters in the present poem is named Báwan Súbá. So also in that poem there is a wonderful horse, and there are other points of resemblance. This must be more than a coincidence, but I am unable to do more than point out the fact.

The author and date of the poem are unknown. It is published just as it was taken down from the mouth of a singer, under the superintendence of Bábu Siv Naudan Lál Ráy, to whom I am indebted for the text, and the proof sheets have again been checked with a fresh recitation by the singer so as to ensure accuracy. Only obvious misspellings have been corrected, and where one word is spelt in two places in two different spellings, an uniform system has been adopted.

## गीत विजै मल ।



### सुमिरन ।

ठैयाँ सुमिरोँ भुँइयाँ सुमिरोँ तव सुमिरोँ डिहवरवा रे ना ॥  
 राम तव सुमिरोँ माँता के चरनियाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम फेनु सुमिरोँ गुरु जी के चरनियाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम फेनु सुमिरोँ गाँव के बरन्धवाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम तव सुमिरोँ सुखज मल रे ना ॥ ५ ॥  
 राम जे कर जोती जरे सगर दिनवाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम फेनु सुमिरोँ गङ्गा मैया रे ना ॥  
 राम जे कर जल बहे निरधरवा रे ना ॥  
 राम तव सुमिरोँ पाँचो पाँड़वा रे ना ॥  
 राम तव सुमिरोँ बीर हलुमनवाँ रे ना ॥ १० ॥  
 राम फेर सुमिरोँ देविया दुरुगवा रे ना ॥  
 देवी मेरा कण्ठे रह्ण ना सहेया रे ना ॥  
 देवी जवन अच्चर भोर परि जेहँ रे ना ॥  
 देवी अह्णे अह्णे दीह्ण ना मेराइ रे ना ॥  
 राम तव सुमिरोँ दिल्ली के गोरेया रे ना ॥ १५ ॥  
 राम तव सुबहान गीर रे ना ॥  
 राम केधियेँ मनावेँ ठैयाँ भुँइयाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम केधियेँ मनावेँ डिहवरवा रे ना ॥

राम कंधिये मनावेँ माँता चरनियाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम कंधिये मनावेँ गुरु चरनियाँ रे ना ॥ २० ॥  
 राम कंधिये मनावेँ गाँव के बरन्धवाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम कंधिये मनावेँ सुरज मल रे ना ॥  
 राम कंधिये मनावेँ गङ्गा मैया रे ना ॥  
 राम कंधिये मनावेँ पाँचे पाँड़वा रे ना ॥  
 राम कंधिये मनावेँ वीर हलुमनवाँ रे ना ॥ २५ ॥  
 राम कंधिये मनावेँ देविया दुखवा रे ना ॥  
 राम कंधिये मनावेँ डिह्ली गोरेया रे ना ॥  
 राम कंधिये मनावेँ सुबहान गीर रे ना ॥  
 राम ऊँमवेँ मनावेँ ठैयाँ भुँइयाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम अकृत मनावेँ डिहवरवा रे ना ॥ ३० ॥  
 राम दसो नोहवेँ मनावेँ माता जी के चरनियाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम पिअरी मनावेँ गुरु के चरनियाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम आऊत मनावेँ गाँव के बरन्धवाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम दुधवा का धरवेँ सुरज मल रे ना ॥  
 राम पिठवेँ मनावेँ गङ्गा मैया रे ना ॥ ३५ ॥  
 राम सोने के जनेउवेँ पाँचे पाँड़वा रे ना ॥  
 राम धिऊ का लडुएँ वीर हलुमनवाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम खसिये मनावेँ देवी दुखवा रे ना ॥  
 राम पटके मनावेँ डिह्ली गोरेया रे ना ॥  
 राम सुरगे मनावेँ सुबहनवाँ रे ना ॥ ४० ॥  
 राम तव लेवेँ राम जी के नैयाँ रे ना ॥  
 राम इहाँ गावोँ कुँचरा पँवरवा रे ना ॥  
 राम सभ पक्षे मुन० मन लाइ रे ना ॥

### कुँचरा के पँवारा ॥

रामा बोलि उठे रानी रे मैनवाँ रे ना ॥  
 रामा मुनि लेवे चल्हकी नौनियाँ रे ना ॥ ४५ ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे रानी मैनवाँ रे ना ॥  
 सामी मुनि लेव० ह्मरि बचनियाँ रे ना ॥  
 सामी बेटी भैषी बिअहे जोगवा रे ना ॥

सामी देसवा पैसि लड़िका खोजित० रे ना ॥  
 रामा चलि गैले राजा वावन सुबवा रे ना ॥ ५० ॥  
 रामा बैठि गैले अपनि कचहरिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे वावन गरभी सुबवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेवे पढ़ल पँडितवा रे ना ॥  
 पखित बेटी भैली विअहन जोगवा रे ना ॥  
 पखित लेइ ल० नौआ क्कोकड़वा रे ना ॥ ५५ ॥  
 पखित देसवा पैसि लड़िका खोजित० रे ना ॥  
 पखित ले ल० रुपया पैसवा रे ना ॥  
 पखित देसवा पैसि वर खोजित० रे ना ॥  
 पखित घर जोग खोजिह० तूँ घरवा रे ना ॥  
 पखित लड़िका जोग खोजिह० लड़िकावा रे ना ॥ ६० ॥  
 पखित समधी जोग खोजिह० तूँ समधिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा प्रतना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना ॥  
 पखित लेइले रुपया पैसवा रे ना ॥  
 पखित लेइले नौआ क्कोकड़वा रे ना ॥  
 रामा चलि भैले दखिन के देसवा रे ना ॥ ६५ ॥  
 रामा तिलकी जोग नाहिँ मिलले वरवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा पूख के दिसा खाजि रेले रे ना ॥  
 रामा उत्तरहिँ दिसा खाजि रेले रे ना ॥  
 रामा बज्जत नगर पखित धाइ रेले रे ना ॥  
 रामा नाहिँ मिलले तिलकी जोगी वरवा रे ना ॥ ७० ॥  
 रामा तब चलि गैले वावन कचहरिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा नइ नइ करे नौआ सलमियाँ रे ना ॥  
 रामा देत बाड़े उहाँ असिरवदवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे गरभी वावन सुबवा रे ना ॥  
 पखित कह० ना लड़िका के हलवा रे ना ॥ ७५ ॥  
 राजा बज्जत नगर फिरि रेले रे ना ॥  
 रामा राउर बेटी जामे दुसमनवाँ रे ना ॥  
 रामा ओकरा जोगी कतऊँ ना मिले लड़िकावा रे ना ॥  
 रामा प्रतना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे वावन गरभी सुबवा रे ना ॥ ८० ॥

पखिट चलि जाऊ पच्छिम के देसवा रे ना ॥  
 पखिट चलि जाऊ घुनघुन सहरवा रे ना ॥  
 पखिट उहाँ बाड़े फ़क राजा सुबवा रे ना ॥  
 पखिट उँहा बाड़े तिलकी जोग लड़कवा रे ना ॥  
 पखिट फ़तना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना ॥ ८५ ॥  
 पखिट चलि गैले घुनघुन सहरवा रे ना ॥  
 पखिट चलि गैले राजा दरबरवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे विपर पँडितवा रे ना ॥  
 राजा सुनि लेब० हमारि वचनियाँ रे ना ॥  
 राजा रवाँ बाड़े दू लड़कवा रे ना ॥ ९० ॥  
 राजा हम देखव राउर सौदवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा फ़तना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे राजा गोरख सिँघवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेबे बेटा रन धिरवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा ऊकुमुदे दे० हेमियाँ लौँड़िया रे ना ॥ ९५ ॥  
 रामा कुँअरा के लै आवसु रे ना ॥  
 रामा फ़तना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे बेटा धीर कृतिरी रे ना ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेबे हेमियाँ लौँड़िया रे ना ॥  
 रामा कुँअरा के अब लै आवऊ रे ना ॥ १०० ॥  
 रामा लेइ रेणी हेमियाँ लौँड़िया रे ना ॥  
 रामा देखत भैले पढ़ल पँडितवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा होइ गैले मनमनवाँ रे ना ॥  
 राजा केतना तिलक कुँअरा के लेब० रे ना ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे राजा गोरख सिँघवा रे ना ॥ १०५ ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेब० पढ़ल पँडितवा रे ना ॥  
 पखिट नौ लाख लेबेँ तिलकवा रे ना ॥  
 पखिट कौ लाख लेबेँ दहेजवा रे ना ॥  
 पखिट चारि लाख लेबेँ दुआर पुजवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा तीनि लाख लेबेँ जनउआ रे ना ॥ ११० ॥  
 रामा दुइ लाख लेबेँ कुँअरा कन्वरिया रे ना ॥  
 पखिट सब करवेँ कुँअरा विअहवा रे ना ॥

रामा प्रतना बचन के सुनलवे रे ना ॥  
 पण्डित चलि गैले गढ़ परबतवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा चलि गैले राजा कचहरिया रे ना ॥ ११५ ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे पढ़ल पंडितवा रे ना ॥  
 राजा सुनि लेव० हमरि बचनियाँ रे ना ॥  
 राजा समधी जोग बाड़े समधिया रे ना ॥  
 राजा लड़िका जोग बाड़े लड़िकवा रे ना ॥  
 राजा घर जोग बाड़े घरवा रे ना ॥ १२० ॥  
 राजा बजत माँगे रुपैया रे ना ॥  
 राजा नौ लाख माँगे तिलकवा रे ना ॥  
 राजा द्वाँ लाख माँगेला दहेजवा रे ना ॥  
 राजा चारि लाख माँगे दुआर पुजवा रे ना ॥  
 राजा तीनि लाख माँगे जनेउआ रे ना ॥ १२५ ॥  
 राजा दुइ लाख माँगे कन्दवरिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा प्रतना बचन के सुनलवे रे ना ॥  
 राजा इहे तो कवल करि ऐलीं रे ना ॥  
 राजा आठ दिनवाँ के धैलीं दिनवाँ रे ना ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे राजा गरभी बावन सुववा रे ना ॥ १३० ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेव० बेटा मानिक चँदवा रे ना ॥  
 बबुआ जलदी से खिल० भँडरवा रे ना ॥  
 बबुआ दस पाँच भैया नैवंतिह० रे ना ॥  
 बबुआ गड़ियन लाद० रसतिया रे ना ॥  
 बबुआ भिड़ि ल० भँवरानन हथवा रे ना ॥ १३५ ॥  
 बबुआ चढ़ि जाह देस धुनधुनवा रे ना ॥  
 बबुआ कुँअरा के तिलक चढ़ेह० रे ना ॥  
 रामा प्रतना बचन के सुनलवे रे ना ॥  
 रामा चलि मैले राजा मानिक चँदवा रे ने ॥  
 रामा चलल चलल चलि गैले रे ना ॥ १४० ॥  
 रामा चलि गैले देस धुनधुनवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा चलि गैले राजा दरवजवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा तब बेले राजा गोरख सिंघवा रे ना ॥  
 बबुआ सुनि लेव० बेटा धीर कतिरी रे ना ॥

बबुआ आइ गैले कुँअरा तिलकवा रे ना ॥ १४५ ॥  
 बबुआ जलदी से करना तेअरिया रे ना ॥  
 बबुआ जलदी से दह सरवतवा रे ना ॥  
 बबुआ पूछि घालं अब ना सैतिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा पढ़ल पंडितवा बोलौले रे ना ॥  
 पण्डित सुनि लेबं हमारि वचनियाँ रे ना ॥ १५० ॥  
 पण्डित जलदी से देखं ना सैतिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे पढ़ल पंडितवा रे ना ॥  
 राजा भलि भाँति वाड़ि सैतिया रे ना ॥  
 राजा जलदी से तिलक चढ़ावं रे ना ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे अब धीर कृतिरी रे ना ॥ १५५ ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेबं राजा मानिक चँदवा रे ना ॥  
 राजा चलि चलं अब अँगनवाँ रे ना ॥  
 राजा जलदी तिलक चढ़ावं रे ना ॥  
 रामा बैठि गैले कुँअर बिजैया रे ना ॥  
 रामा बैठि गैले दस ना भैयवा रे ना ॥ १६० ॥  
 रामा बैठि गैले राजा मानिक चनवाँ रे ना ॥  
 रामा उठे लागे अब ना मङ्गलवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा चढ़े लागे अब तं तिलकवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा तिलक चढ़ि गैले रे ना ॥  
 रामा सभे चलि गेले अब तं दोअरवा रे ना ॥ १६५ ॥  
 रामा भलि भाँति बीजे करौले रे ना ॥  
 रामा सभे पञ्चे खाइ धी तेअरवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा भलि भाँति भैलि तेअरिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा आठ दिन के दिहले दिनवाँ रे ना ॥  
 रामा मानिक चन्द फिरि गेले घरवा रे ना ॥ १७० ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे राजा गोरख सिंघवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेबं बेटा धिरवा कृतिरी रे ना ॥  
 बबुआ देस देस दं ना नैवंतवा रे ना ॥  
 बबुआ भलि भाँति साजं बरिअतिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा प्रतना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना ॥ १७५ ॥  
 रामा बजत भाइ नैवंतले रे ना ॥

रामा भलि भाँति सजली वरिअतिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा चलि भैले राजा गोरख सिंघवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा सूवा साजि घलले वरिअतिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा चलि ऐले देस गढ़ परवतवा रे ना ॥ १८० ॥  
 रामा खबरि दिहले गोरख सिंघवा रे ना ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेव० अब तुँजं पहरू रे ना ॥  
 रामा चलि जाऊ राजा कचहरिया रे ना ॥  
 वबुआ खबरि अब देइ दीह० रे ना ॥  
 रामा आइ गैलि सूवा वरिअतिया रे ना ॥ १८५ ॥  
 रामा राजा किहाँ खबरि पऊँचलि रे ना ॥  
 रामा तव बोले राजा वावन सुववा रे ना ॥  
 राम सुनि लेव० बेटा मानिक चँदवा रे ना ॥  
 वबुआ भलि भाँति लेइ आव० वरिअतिया रे ना ॥  
 वबुआ लेइ आवऊ जिरऊल किलवा रे ना ॥ १९० ॥  
 रामा फ्रतना वचन के सुनखे रे ना ॥  
 रामा मानिक चन्द भलि भाँति लेइ ऐले वरिअतिया रे ना ॥  
 रामा सभ वरियाती किला मे दुकौले रे ना ॥  
 रामा सभ वरियात बन्द कैले रे ना ॥  
 राम भलि भाँति बाड़ि सैतिया रे ना ॥ १९५ ॥  
 राम कुँचरा घोड़ा बाँधे निमियाँ के गछवा रे ना ॥  
 राम दस पाँच लेले ना भैशवा रे ना ॥  
 राम भलि भाँति होला विचहवा रे ना ॥  
 राम जेतना रहलि राजा वरिअतिया रे ना ॥  
 राम सभे वरियाती बाँधि रखले रे ना ॥ २०० ॥  
 राम बोलि उठे राजा वावन सुववा रे ना ॥  
 राम सुनि लेव० बेटा मानिक चँदवा रे ना  
 वबुआ गोड़वन दियाव० अब वरिया रे ना  
 वबुआ डँडवन में भर० ना जँजिरवा रे ना  
 वबुआ नोहवन में ठाक० खपचरिया रे ना ॥ २०५ ॥  
 राम सभ गति सभ कर मानिक चन्द कैले रे ना  
 राम कुँचर गेले अब कोहवरवा रे ना  
 राम उहाँ रहली देवि त० दुरुगवा रे ना

राम घोड़ा मन करेला बिचरवा रे ना  
 राम सुनि लेऊ देवि दुखगवा रे ना ॥ २१० ॥  
 राम कुँअरा का नान्ह के हऊ पुजमनवाँ रे ना  
 राम जेतना रहलि कुँअरा बरिअतिया रे ना  
 राम सभ बरियात बावन डाले जेखनवाँ रे ना  
 राम घोड़ा दँतेँ काटेला पिक्कड़िया रे ना  
 राम सभ पिक्काड़ी काटि घलले रे ना ॥ २१५ ॥  
 राम अब चलि गैले मझौआ रे ना  
 राम कुँअर रहे अब कोहवरवा रे ना  
 राम उहाँ घोड़ा देला ना मटकिया रे ना  
 राम सुनि लेवे कुँअर बिजैया रे ना  
 बबुआ जेतनहिँ रहलि बरिअतिया रे ना ॥ २२० ॥  
 बबुआ बावन सूवा दुकौले जिरऊलिया रे ना  
 बबुआ बाँचि गैले कुलवा मँ प्रकला फतिंगवा रे ना  
 बबुआ तुँऊँ तो भैले वुरबकवा रे ना  
 बबुआ फानि घोड़ा होखे असवरवा रे ना  
 रामा फानि कुँअर भैले असवरवा रे ना ॥ २२५ ॥  
 रामा हिच्छल झाड़ि देले धरम धरतिया रे ना  
 रामा जमीन सरगवा के बिचवा रे ना  
 रामा घोड़ा बिचे बिचे मारैला मँड़रिया रे ना  
 रामा घोड़ा चलि ऐले दसो ना मुलकवा रे ना  
 रामा चलि ऐले गाँव घुनघुनवा रे ना ॥ २३० ॥  
 रामा कुँअर होइ गैले अब तं बिअहवा रे ना  
 रामा बैठल रहे भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 रामा नजरि परेला सोनमतिया रे ना  
 रामा खिसिअन भैली मतवलवा रे ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना ॥ २३५ ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेवे हिच्छल बहेड़वा रे ना  
 रामा का भैले सभ बरिअतिया रे ना  
 रामा सुनि लेवे सोनमती भौजी रे ना  
 रामा सभ बरिअतिया डाले जेखनवाँ रे ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे रानी सोनमतिया रे ना ॥ २४० ॥  
 रामा हिच्छल कहवाँ के मरी टँगले ऐले हो ना

रामा कुँचरा ले बनली धिरिजवा रे ना  
रामा कुलवा में एकल फतिगवा रे ना

रामा फ्रतना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना  
रामा कुँचरा भैल वारह वरिसवा रे ना ॥ २४५ ॥  
रामा चलि गैले बाबा बगैचवा रे ना  
रामा जहाँ खिले लैका गदेलवा रे ना  
रामा सभ लैका खिले गुलि टँडवा रे ना  
रामा बोलि उठे कुँचर विजैया रे ना  
रामा लड़िके सुनि लेव० हमरि वचनियाँ रे ना ॥ २५० ॥  
रामा लैके हमहँ खेलव गुलि टँडवा रे ना  
रामा बोलि उठे लैका गदेलवा रे ना  
बबुआ सुनि लेव० कुँचर विजैया रे ना  
बबुआ तुँज हव० गाँव के ठकुरवा रे ना  
रामा बोलि उठे कुँचर विजैया रे ना ॥ २५५ ॥  
रामा लैके खेलिया में कवन ठकुरैया रे ना  
रामा जैसे खिले बनिवाँ छोकड़वा रे ना  
रामा हम ओइसे खेलव गुलि टँडवा रे ना  
रामा सुनि लेव० कुँचर विजैया रे ना  
रामा खेलिया में होइहँ गालि गोगवा रे ना ॥ २६० ॥  
रामा सुनि पैहँ भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
रामा भुसवे भरैहँ हमनी खलवा रे ना  
रामा बोलि उठे कुँचर विजैया रे ना  
लड़िके एकर जनि कर० ना अंदेसवा रे ना  
लड़िका एकर करवों हम जवबिया रे ना ॥ २६५ ॥  
कुँचर सुनि लेव० हमरि वचनियाँ रे ना  
बबुआ लेइ आव० अपनि तुँ गुलिया रे ना  
बबुआ तवे हम खेलिया खेलैवों रे ना  
रामा चलि भैले कुँचर विजैया रे ना  
रामा कुँचर चलि गैले लाल दरबजवा रे ना ॥ २७० ॥  
रामा सुनि लेवे भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
भौजी हमरा लागे गुलि डखटा सधवा रे ना

रामा सुनि लेब० कुँअर विजैया रे ना  
 बबुआ गुल्लि के कवन हवी खेलिया रे ना  
 बबुआ तुँऊँ खेल० जूआ चौपरिया रे ना ॥ २७१ ॥  
 राम प्रतना वचन कुँअरा सुनले रे ना  
 राम कुँअरा गैले लाल दरवजवा रे ना  
 कुँअरा गोड़ मूँड़ तानेला चदरिया रे ना  
 राम अन्न जल बोलेला हरमवाँ रे ना  
 भौजी जब ले नाहिँ गुलिया तेअरवा रे ना ॥ २८० ॥  
 राम प्रतना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना  
 राम सुनि लेवे हेमियाँ लौँडिया रे ना  
 राम चलि जाह्र कुसहर दुकनियाँ रे ना  
 राम जलदी से कुसहर बोलेवे रे ना  
 राम चलि भैली हेमियाँ लौँडिया रे ना ॥ २८५ ॥  
 राम चलि गैली लोहरा दुकनिया रे ना  
 राम सुनि लेब० कुसहर लोहरा रे ना  
 राम तुँहँ बोलावे रानी सोनवाँ रे ना  
 राम प्रतना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना  
 राम कुसहर चलि गैले रङ्ग ना महलिया रे ना ॥ २९० ॥  
 राम सनमुख परलि नजरिया रे ना  
 भौजी कवन भैले अब ना कुसुरवा रे ना  
 भौजी कबही ना परले हँकरवा रे ना  
 राम आजु काहे भैले आजु हँकरवा रे ना  
 भौजी जलदी से दीहीँ ना ऊकुमवाँ रे ना ॥ २९५ ॥  
 बबुआ सुनि लेवे कुसहर लोहरा रे ना  
 बबुआ कुँअर हवे प्रान के अघरवा रे ना  
 बबुआ कुँअर ले के बँधलोँ सुबुरवा रे ना  
 राम कुलवा में प्रकला पतिंगवा रे ना  
 राम सेह्र छाडे अब अन्न जलवा रे ना ॥ ३०० ॥  
 बबुआ जलद्री से कर० गुल्लि तेअरिया रे ना  
 राम चलि भैले कुसहर लोहरा रे ना  
 राम जहाँ बाडे कुँअर विजैया रे ना  
 राम नइ नइ करेला सलमिया रे ना  
 बबुआ कैसन चाहीँ राउर गुलिया रे ना ॥ ३०५ ॥

दैवा अस्सी मन के लेवों गुलिया रे ना  
 दैवा और चौरासी मन डँटवा रे ना  
 राम आठ दिन में कर० ना तेअरिया रे ना  
 राम फ़तना बचन के सुनलवे रे ना  
 राम चलि ऐले कुसहर लोहरवा रे ना ॥ ३१० ॥  
 राम नेवते लागि हित ना कुटुमवाँ रे ना  
 राम कुसहर नेवतत बाड़े दर ना देअदवा रे ना  
 राम लागल गुलिया गढ़ैया रे ना  
 राम सभ मिलि गढ़े गुलि डँटवा रे ना  
 राम नाहिँ गृह्णि भैलि तेअरवा रे ना ॥ ३१५ ॥  
 राम भागि गैले दर ना देअदवा रे ना  
 राम भागि चले कुसहर लोहरा रे ना  
 राम नाहिँ भैले गुलिया तेअरवा रे ना  
 राम कुसहर घर छोड़ी चलले रे ना  
 राम बिचवाँ मिलेला विकरमजितवा रे ना ॥ ३२० ॥  
 राम सुनि लेव० कुसहर लोहरा रे ना  
 ववुआ कवन गाढ़ परि गैले रे ना  
 ववुआ इहवाँ से भागि तुँजँ चलल० रे ना  
 ववुआ गवि के ठाकुर हवे कुँअर रे ना  
 ववुआ सेह्र माँगे गुलिया तेअरिया रे ना ॥ ३२५ ॥  
 राम अस्सी मन के गुह्णि चौरासी मन के डँटवा रे ना  
 राम आठ दिन में माँगले तेअरिया रे ना  
 राम नाहिँ भैलि गुलिया तेअरिया रे ना  
 राम सुनि पैहेँ कुँअर बिजैया रे ना  
 राम फ़हिँ लागि भुसवेँ भरेहँ मोरि खलिया रे ना ॥ ३३० ॥  
 राम फ़हिँ लागि अब भागि चललौँ रे ना  
 राम बोलि उठे अब विकरमजितवा रे ना  
 ववुआ चलि चल० अब तूँ अपनि दुकनियाँ रे ना  
 ववुआ जलदी से भठिया धनकैह० रे ना  
 राम चलि ऐले आगा विकरमजितवा रे ना ॥ ३३५ ॥  
 राम कुसहर घरे फिरि ऐले रे ना  
 राम विकरमजितवा कूअले गुलि डँटवा रे ना  
 राम गुलि डगटा होइ गैले तेअरवा रे ना

राम चलि भैले कुसहर लोहरा रे ना  
 राम जहाँ बाड़े कुँअरा विजैया रे ना ॥ ३० ॥  
 राम सुनि लेव० कुँअरा विजैया रे ना  
 बबुआ गुलिया तेआर होइ गैलि रे ना  
 राम प्रतना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना  
 राम कुँअर चलि भैले कुसहर दुकनियाँ रे ना  
 राम देखत भैले गुलिया जे डंटावा रे ना ॥ ३१ ॥  
 राम फिरि गैले लाल दरवजवा रे ना  
 राम चलि गैले देविया चरवा रे ना  
 राम सुनि लेवे देविया दुखवा रे ना  
 मैया नान्हे के हऊ पुजमनवाँ रे ना  
 मैया तोहरा भरोसे जाल ओढ़लौं रे ना ॥ ३५ ॥  
 मैया हम चललौं गुलिया खेलनवा रे ना  
 मैया मोरि बाँहिँ देऊ बौसैया रे ना  
 राम चलि भैले कुँअर विजैया रे ना  
 राम जहाँ खेले लरिका गदेलवा रे ना  
 राम कुँअर अन्ह करे गुलि डंटावा रे ना ॥ ३५ ॥  
 राम कुँअर देखि सभ लरिका भैले सनमतवा रे ना  
 कुँअर मोरि पहिले खेलिया खेलावह रे ना  
 राम प्रतना वचन के सुनलवे रे ना  
 राम फानि कुँअर गैले मैदनवाँ रे ना  
 राम खेले लगले लरिका गदेलवा रे ना ॥ ३६ ॥  
 राम सभ कर गुलि कुँअर लोकले रे ना  
 रामा कुँअरा के खेलिया लवटली रे ना  
 रामा सभ लरिके गैले मैदनवाँ रे ना  
 रामा सुमिरले देविया दुखवा रे ना  
 दुखवा मोर उपर होख० ना सहेया रे ना ॥ ३६ ॥  
 राम कुँअरा मारे अब गुलि डंटावा रे ना  
 राम जतना लरिका परले अब सोभवा रे ना  
 राम ठहरे सरद होइ गैले रे ना  
 राम गुलिया गिरले अस्खी कोसवाँ रे ना  
 राम सभ लरिके भैले सनमतवा रे ना ॥ ३७ ॥  
 राम भागि चलले लरिका गदेलवा रे ना

राम बोलि उठे कुँअरा बिजैया रे ना  
 राम सुनि लेवे सारे ना लरिकावा रे ना  
 राम तोहनी के खेलिया खेलौली रे ना  
 राम हमरे त० खेलिया खेलाव० रे ना ॥ ३७५ ॥  
 राम प्रतना बचन के सुनलवे रे ना  
 राम बोलि उठे प्रक त० लरिकावा रे ना  
 राम सुनि लेव० कुँअर बिजैया रे ना  
 राम जेकरा बँहियाँ प्रतना बौसैया रे ना  
 राम सेकर बाप सहे जेलखनवाँ रे ना ॥ ३८० ॥  
 राम सेकर भैया सहे जेलखनवाँ रे ना  
 राम बनियाँ घरे लिहित० जनमियाँ रे ना  
 राम डँडिया तौलि अब खैत० रे ना  
 राम छतिरी के कोखिया जनमल० रे ना  
 राम बारह बरिस के तोहर उमिरिया रे ना ॥ ३८५ ॥  
 राम तोहर जीअल धिरकरवा रे ना  
 राम तोहरे विअहवा बँधैले रे ना  
 राम प्रतना बचन कुँअर सुनले रे ना  
 राम डँटवा फँकेला जमुना परवा रे ना  
 राम कुँअर घरे चलि रेले रे ना ॥ ३९० ॥  
 राम गोड़े मूँड़ तानेला चदरिया रे ना  
 राम बोलि उठे भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 राम सुनि लेवे हेमियाँ लौँडिया रे ना  
 हेमियाँ बबुआ गैले गुलिया खेलनवाँ रे ना  
 राम घड़ी दिन चढ़ले पहरवा रे ना ॥ ३९५ ॥  
 हेमियाँ बबुआ के मारेले खरैया रे ना  
 राम प्रतना बचन के सुनलवे रे ना  
 हेमियाँ गैली जहाँ कुँअर गोड़े मूँड़ ताने चदरिया रे ना  
 राम बोलि उठी हेमियाँ लौँडिया रे ना  
 बबुआ तुँऊँ कर० राम दतुअनियाँ रे ना ॥ ४०० ॥  
 बबुआ गंगवा कर० असननवाँ रे ना  
 बबुआ तब कर० देविया पुजनवाँ रे ना  
 बबुआ तब कर० अब दाना दुनियाँ रे ना

राम बोलि उठे कुँचरा बिजैया रे ना  
 हेमियाँ तवे तं करव दतुअनियाँ रे ना ॥ ४०५ ॥  
 हेमियाँ हमे जवे बाप के नैयाँ बतैवे रे ना  
 हेमियाँ भैया के नैयाँ बतैवे रे ना  
 राम बोलि उठे हेमियाँ लौंड़िया रे ना  
 कुँचर इहे हाल जाने राउर भौजैया रे ना  
 राम चलि भैली हेमियाँ लौंड़िया रे ना ॥ ४१० ॥  
 राम जहाँ बाटे भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 मार सनमुख पड़लि नजरिया रे ना  
 राम बोलि उठी भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 हेमियाँ बबुआ के कहं कुसलैया रे ना  
 राम बोलि उठी हेमियाँ लौंड़िया रे ना ॥ ४१५ ॥  
 भौजो का दू कहीं कुँचर कुसलैया रे ना  
 भौजो कुँचर बोले बोलिया कुबोलिया रे ना  
 भौजो बाप कर नाम कुँचर पूछेजा रे ना  
 भौजो भैया के नाम कुँचर पूछेला रे ना  
 रामा चलि भैली सोनमतिया रे ना ॥ ४२० ॥  
 रामा ले लिहली लोटा भरि पनियाँ रे ना  
 रामा ले लिहली राम दतुअनियाँ रे ना  
 रामा ले लिहली गैया के दुधवा रे ना  
 रामा ले लिहली मगही ढोली पनवाँ रे ना  
 भौजी चलि भैली लाल दरवजवा रे ना ॥ ४२५ ॥  
 रामा जहाँ सूते कुँचरा बिजैया रे ना  
 रामा जाइ कुँचरा सिरवाँ ठाढ़ भैली रे ना  
 बबुआ उठं कुँचर करं दतुअनियाँ रे ना  
 बबुआ गङ्गा करं असननवाँ रे ना  
 बबुआ पीअ नं सोराही गाइ के दुधवा रे ना ॥ ४३० ॥  
 बबुआ कचरं ना मगही ढोली पनवाँ रे ना  
 बबुआ काड़िं दं मन के किरोधवा रे ना  
 बबुआ तुँजं हवं परान के अधरवा रे ना  
 बबुआ तुँहे ले धीतल सगर दिनवाँ रे ना  
 बबुआ तुँहे ले बाँधलोँ सवरवा रे ना ॥ ४३५ ॥

रामा बोलि उठे कुँअर बिजैया रे ना  
 भौजो तबेखेवों अनवाँ से पनियाँ रे ना  
 भौजो जबे वाप के नैयाँ बतैवू रे ना  
 भौजो ना भैले अब मेर भैया रे ना  
 बबुआ जब रहल० अंभा के ओतनवाँ रे ना ॥ ४४० ॥  
 बबुआ जबे मरि गैले राउर बपौ रे ना  
 बबुआ जाहि दिन तोहरे जनमवाँ रे ना  
 बबुआ ओहि दिन हमरो गवनवा रे ना  
 बबुआ ताहि दिन तोहार भैया सुअले रे ना  
 बबुआ फतना वचन जब सुनले रे ना ॥ ४४५ ॥  
 भौजो नाहिं रहितू तुँऊँ भौजैया रे ना  
 भौजो मारि दिहती तोहरो सिरवा रे ना  
 भौजो हमरे वियाहे वाप गैले रे ना  
 भौजो सेहो सहे अब जेहलखनवाँ रे ना  
 भौजो हमरे वियाहे भैया गैले रे ना ॥ ४५० ॥  
 भौजो सेहो सहे अब जेहलखनवाँ रे ना  
 भौजो ससुर के नाम बावन सुववा रे ना  
 भौजो सेहि सूवा डाले जेहलखनवाँ रे ना  
 रामा फतना वचन सोनवाँ सुनली रे ना  
 रामा रोवे लगली जार वे जरवा रे ना ॥ ४५५ ॥  
 राम चलि भैली रङ्ग महलवा रे ना  
 राम जहाँ बाड़ी सखिया सलेहरी रे ना  
 राम सुनि लेवू सखिया सलेहरी रे ना  
 सखिया कुँअरा गैले गुलिया खेलनवाँ रे ना  
 सखिया कवने बिदिनी जगौले रे ना ॥ ४६० ॥  
 सखिया कुँअरा मन पारे वाप भैया रे ना  
 रामा कुँअरा चलल दुसमन देसवा रे ना  
 सखिया एकर ना कर० ना उपैया रे ना  
 सखिया कैसे में कुँअरा भोरैयँ रे ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे सखिया सलेहरी रे ना ॥ ४६५ ॥  
 सखि गोड़वा में डाल० गोड़हरवा रे ना  
 सखि वारे वारे मोतिया गुहाव० रे ना

सखि करि ल० सोलह सिंगरवा रे ना  
 भौजो रचि रचि सेजिया डसैह० रे ना  
 भौजो जाइ कुँअरा बहिँयाँ पकड़िह० रे ना ॥ ४७० ॥  
 रामा करि लिहली सभ सिंगरवा रे ना  
 भौजो चलि गैली लाल दरवजवा रे ना  
 रामा जहाँ सूते कुँअर बिजैया रे ना  
 रामा जाइ कुँअरा बहिँयाँ पकड़ली रे ना  
 बबुआ तुँऊँ चल० रङ्ग ना महलवा रे ना ॥ ४७५ ॥  
 बबुआ बिधि के लिखल ना निमेटवा रे ना  
 बबुआ तोरा मोरा लिखे सुख निँदिया रे ना  
 रामा चलि भैले कुँअरा बिजैया रे ना  
 रामा सूइ रहे सोनमतिया रे ना  
 रामा बिचे धरेला कुँअर तेगवा रे ना ॥ ४८० ॥  
 दैवा बोलि उठे भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 बबुआ लोहिया लगले पह फटले रे ना  
 बबुआ फिरि के ना ताक० चेहरवा रे ना  
 दैवा प्रतना वचन कुँअर सुनले रे ना  
 दैवा उतरि कुँअर ठाढ़ भैले रे ना ॥ ४८५ ॥  
 भौजो अब ले रहल भौजिया रे ना  
 भौजो अजुर से भैल मँहतरिया रे ना  
 रामा आँगा आँगा चले सोनमतिया रे ना  
 रामा तेकरा पीके कुँअर बिजैया रे ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअरा बिजैया रे ना ॥ ४९० ॥  
 भौजो कहाँ बाड़े हिच्छल बक्केड़वा रे ना  
 रामा जहाँ रहे हिच्छल बक्केड़वा रे ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 रामा घोड़वा रहले अब त० ओवरा रे ना  
 भौजी उपरा चकवा दियौली रे ना ॥ ४९५ ॥  
 कुँअरा उहाँ सुमिरे देविया दुखगवा रे ना  
 दुखगा मोरि बहिँयाँ होख० ना सँहैया रे ना  
 रामा जाइ कुँअर चकवा उलटले रे ना  
 दवाँ घोड़वा पर परलि नजरिया रे ना

रामा रोवे लगले हिच्छल बक्केड़वा रे ना ॥ ५०० ॥  
 देवा बोलि उठे हिच्छला बक्केड़वा रे ना  
 रामा खिसिये भरल मतवलवा रे ना  
 कुँअर काहे के सुँहवाँ देखौले रे ना  
 राम बारह बरिस बीति गैले रे ना  
 राम हमरो के डलल० ओवरवां रे ना ॥ ५०५ ॥  
 राम बोलि उठे हिच्छल बक्केड़वा रे ना  
 कुँअर इहे हाल कैले अपना गढ़वा रे ना  
 राम बोलि उठे कुँअरा विजैया रे ना  
 हिच्छल नाहिँ जनलों राउर हवलिया रे ना  
 हिच्छल आजु जनलों राउर हवलिया रे ना ॥ ५१० ॥  
 हिच्छल चलि ऐलों रौरा में खोजिया रे ना  
 रामा उहाँ कुँअर ओवरा से निकासले रे ना  
 राम लेइ गैले बावा का सगरवा रे ना  
 रामा उहाँ घोड़ा मलि दलि कैले तेअरवा रे ना  
 राम लेइ ऐले अपना दुअरवा रे ना ॥ ५१५ ॥  
 राम बाँधि देले निमियाँ के गहवा रे ना  
 राम उहाँ कुँअर दे घोड़ा धिऊ मलिदवा रे ना  
 राम तव घोड़ा दनवाँ वढ़ौले रे ना  
 राम तव घोड़ा भैले तेअरवा रे ना  
 राम कुँअर चलि गैले रङ्ग ना महलवा रे ना ॥ ५२० ॥  
 राम जहाँ बाड़ी भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 भौजी देइ देवू घोड़ा चरजमवाँ रे ना  
 राम देइ देली घोड़ा चरजमवाँ रे ना  
 कुँअर लेइ ऐले घोड़ा का पसवा रे ना  
 राम घोड़ा पर कैले कसरिया रे ना ॥ ५२५ ॥  
 राम फानि कुँअर भैले असवरवा रे ना  
 राम बोलि उठी भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना .  
 बवुआ तुँऊँ चलल० दुसमन देसवा रे ना  
 बवुआ चलि जाह० देबिया चौरवा रे ना  
 राम देबिया के गोड़ लागि धलिह० रे ना ॥ ५३० ॥  
 कुँअर चलि गैले देबिया चौरवा रे ना

राम जाइ कुँअरा अरज लागै रे ना  
 देवी हम चललौं दुसमन देसवाँ है ना  
 देवी मोरा उपर रहिहूँ सचैया है ना  
 रामा बोलि उठी भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना ॥ ५३५ ॥  
 बबुआ देवी दुरगा हिंद्या में रहिहूँ है ना  
 राम बोलि उठी भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 बबुआ तुँजँ चललौं दुसमन देसवा रे ना  
 बबुआ कैसे जनवों तोहरि हबलिया है ना  
 देवा बोलि उठे कुँअरा विजैया है ना ॥ ५४० ॥  
 भौजो हरिअर चनन कटैहूँ है ना  
 भौजो अंगना में दीहूँ रोपवाइ है ना  
 भौजो जब लौं चनन कचनरवा है ना  
 भौजो जब लौं जनिहूँ कुँअरा जिअत बाटे है ना  
 भौजो जब चनन जैहँ भौराइ है ना ॥ ५४५ ॥  
 तव जनिहूँ कुँअर जुभि गैले है ना  
 राम बोलि उठी भौजी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 राम रोवे लागल रानी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 बबुआ अजुए से मोरा को विसरलौं हो ना  
 राम चलि भैले कुँअरा विजैया है ना ॥ ५५० ॥  
 राम हिच्छल उड़ि लागले अकसवा है ना  
 राम चलल चलल चलि गैले है ना  
 राम चलि गैले गढ़ परवतवा है ना  
 राम डेरा डाले बावन पोखरवा है ना  
 राम बोलि उठे देविया दुरगवा है ना ॥ ५५५ ॥  
 बबुआ तुँजँ ऐलौं दुसमन देसवा है ना  
 बबुआ इहाँ रहिहूँ बजत चतुरैया है ना  
 बबुआ हम जात बाड़ी बावन गढ़वा है ना  
 बबुआ चल्हकी में सपना देखैवों है ना  
 राम चलि गेली देवी बावन गढ़वा है ना ॥ ५६० ॥  
 राम जहाँ सूते चल्हकी नौनिया है ना  
 राम तहाँ देवी धैले बाड़े बिलाइ सरपवा है ना  
 राम सुनि लेवे चल्हकी नौनिया रे ना

चल्हकी तिलकी के बाप खोनावे पोखरवा हे ना  
 भैया उनकर बंधावे घटिया हे ना ॥ ५६५ ॥  
 राम पोखरा के बड़ि करिगरिया हे ना  
 चल्हकी कबहीं ना तिलकी देखली पोखरवा हे ना  
 चल्हकी उनकर जीअल धरकरवा हे ना  
 देवी सपना देखाइ चलि ऐली हे ना  
 राम जहाँ बाड़े कुँअरा बिजैया हे ना ॥ ५७० ॥  
 पक्षे चल्हकी के हाल अब सुनि लेव० हे ना  
 राम चलि भैली चल्हकी नौनिया हे ना  
 राम जहाँ बाड़ी तिलकी रनियाँ हे ना  
 राम बोलि उठे चल्हकी नौनिया हे ना  
 राम सुनि लेवे तिलकी रनियाँ हे ना ॥ ५७५ ॥  
 रानी सूरतल में रहलौं चित सरिया हे ना  
 रानी राति के सपनवाँ अजगुतवा हे ना  
 रानी बाप राउर खनावेले पोखरवा हे ना  
 रामा भैया बंधावेले चारु घटिया हे ना  
 रानी कबहीं ना देखलू पोखरवा हे ना ॥ ५८० ॥  
 रानी चलि चल० पोखरा असननवाँ हे ना  
 राम प्रतना बचन तिलकी सुनली हे ना  
 राम चलि भैली माँता का पसवा हे ना  
 राम सनमुख परलि नजरिया हे ना  
 बेटी केकरा से कैलू गारि गंगवा हे ना ॥ ५८५ ॥  
 बेटी आजो ऐलू हमरा पसवा हे ना  
 माँता नाहिँ केहू से गारि गंगा कैलीं हे ना  
 माँता बाप मोर खनावे पोखरवा हे ना  
 माँता पोखरा के बड़ि करिगरिया हे ना  
 माँता हम जेबोँ पोखरा असननवाँ हे ना ॥ ५९० ॥  
 माँता हमरा के दे दइलू कूटिया हे ना  
 माँता प्रहिँ कारन हम ऐलोँ हे ना  
 राम बोलि उठे रानी मेना हे ना  
 बेटी सुनि लेवू हमरि बचनियाँ हे ना  
 राम अंगना में पोखरा खनेबोँ हे ना ॥ ५९५ ॥

बेटी अंगने बंधैवों चारु घटिया हो ना  
 बेटी अंगने नहैहूँ घरवा जैहूँ हो ना  
 बेटी पोखरा पर आवे सवदगरा हो ना  
 बेटी थोहि लागि जैवू लोभाइ हो ना  
 बेटी बाप के नैयाँ हसैव हो ना ॥ ६०० ॥  
 बेटी सुनि प्रैहे बाप ना भैयवा हो ना  
 बेटी भोसवँ भरैहूँ हमनी खलवा हो ना  
 राम प्रतना वचन तिलकी सुनली हो ना  
 रानी नाहिँ दिहली अब कुटिया हो ना  
 राम चलि गेली तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना ॥ ६०५ ॥  
 राम चलि गेली अपनी अटरिया हो ना  
 राम सूति रहली अपनी अटरिया हो ना  
 रामा दे देली बजर के वड़वा हो ना  
 राम वीति गैले अब दूइ संभवा हो ना  
 राम उने ऐली चल्की नौनिया हो ना ॥ ६१० ॥  
 राम देखत बाड़ी तिलकी हवलिया हो ना  
 राम चलि भैली रानी का पसवा हो ना  
 राम सुनि लेबू रानी ना मैनवाँ हो ना  
 रानी तिलकी बितेला दूइ संभवा हो ना  
 रानी दे दीतू अब इहाँ कुटिया हो ना ॥ ६१५ ॥  
 रानी दूइ घड़ी के दिहली कुटिया हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे रानी मैनवाँ हो ना  
 चल्की रतिये नहैहे रतिये रेहे रे ना  
 राम चलि भैली चल्की नौनिया हो ना  
 राम सुनि ले तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना ॥ ६२० ॥  
 रानी खोल देह बजड़ के वड़वा हो ना  
 रानी दूइ घड़ी के पौली कुटिया हो ना  
 रानी भट पट खोलली के वड़वा हो ना  
 रामा दस पाँच सखिया बटोरली हो ना  
 रानी गोड़वा में डाले गोड़हरवा हो ना ॥ ६२५ ॥  
 रानी हथवा में डाले हथसंकरवा हो ना  
 रानी वारे वारे मोतिया गुहैली हो ना

रामा कैली सोरह सिंगरवा हो ना  
 रानी दखिन के चिरवा पहिरली हो ना  
 रानी चोलिया पेन्देले मखमलवा हो ना ॥ ६३० ॥  
 रानी बनवाँ लगावे अन्नमोलवा हो ना  
 रामा लिलरा पर साटले वेँदुलिया हो ना  
 रानी नैना में करेले कजरवा हो ना  
 रामा जैसे ऊगे दुजिया के चँदरमाँ हो ना  
 रानी दरपन में देखे सुँहवाँ हो ना ॥ ६३५ ॥  
 रानी घीँच मोक मारे आपनि कृतिया हो ना  
 दैवा काहे के दिहल० सुरतिया हो ना  
 दैवा मोर कन्ता भैले निरमोहिया हो ना  
 दैवा हमरे जीअल धिरकरवा हो ना  
 रामा सभ सखि भैली तेअरवा हो ना ॥ ६४० ॥  
 रानी पहिल देवढ़ लात डलली हो ना  
 रामा वाँवे अलङ्क काग बोलले हो ना  
 रानी अगवाँ के लात पक्कवाँ डलली हो ना  
 रामा मुनि लेव० कगवा कुलच्छन हो ना  
 कगवा तोहरा के देवाँ दुध भात खोरवा हो ना ॥ ६४५ ॥  
 कगवा पुरुस के बटिया देखैह० हो ना  
 रानी दोसर देवढ़ लात डलली हो ना  
 रामा टिकुली टपक भुँइयाँ गिरली हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना  
 रामा मुनि लेवे सखिया सलेहरी रे ना ॥ ६५० ॥  
 रामा बारह बरिस बीत गैले हो ना  
 रामा कवही ना फरके मोर टिकुलिया हो ना  
 सखी एकर सभ कर० ना बिचरवा हो ना  
 रानी एकर कवन करेँ में बिचरवा हो ना  
 रानी तेसर देवढ़ लाँघि गैली हो ना ॥ ६५५ ॥  
 रामा टुटि गैले चोलिया के बँदवा हो ना  
 सखी काहे लागि टुटे चोलि बँदवा हो ना  
 सखी एकर सभ कर० ना बिचरवा हो ना  
 रानी तोर कन्ता आवे पोखरवा हो ना

रानी ओहि लागि टुटे चोलि बंदवा हो ना ॥ ६६० ॥  
 रानी चौथ देवढ लात डलकी हो ना  
 रामा फुफुति फरकी भुँइयाँ गिरलि हो ना  
 सखी रकर सभ कर० ना विचरवा हो ना  
 रानी तोरे मन परे विअहलवा हो ना  
 रानी ओहि लागि फरके फुफुतिया हो ना ॥ ६६५ ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे तिलकी रनिया हो ना  
 रामा मुनि लेवे सखिया सलेहरी रे ना  
 सखी तोहनी कर० हम से मसखरिया रे ना  
 सखी मोरे कन्ता चील्हे ले गेलि हो ना  
 रामा मोरे कन्ता कैले होइहे दोसर विअहवा हो ना ॥ ६७० ॥  
 रामा जो कन्ता अब मोरे रहिते हो ना  
 रामा कैले रहिते हमरो गवनवाँ हो ना  
 रानी पचवाँ देवढ लात डलकी हो ना  
 रानी छुट्टाँ देवढ लाँघि गेली हो ना  
 रानी सातवाँ देवढ लाँघि गेली हो ना ॥ ६७५ ॥  
 रामा पोखरा विचे धजवा लौकले हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे चल्हकी नौनिया हो ना  
 रामा चल्हकी हवी बड़ि मुँहलगिया हो ना  
 रामा चलि भैली सखिया सलेहरी हो ना  
 रामा इहवाँ से काग उड़ि चलले हो ना ॥ ६८० ॥  
 रामा जाइ कुँअरा सिरवा टरेले हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअरा विजैया हो ना  
 रामा मुनि लेवे अब सार कगवा रे ना  
 रामा काइ सार कगवा टरेल० हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे देवी दुरुगवा हो ना ॥ ६८५ ॥  
 कुँअर जनम सनेहिया जूटि ऐली हो ना  
 कुँअर ओहि लागि कगवा टरेले हो ना  
 रामा चलि भैले सखिया सलेहरी रे ना  
 रामा चलि गेली पोखरा के भिँडवा रे ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे देबिया दुरुगवा रे ना ॥ ६९० ॥  
 वधुअी मुनि लेव० कुँअरा विजैया हो ना

बबुआ आइ गौली जनम सनेहिया हो ना  
 बबुआ कैंकि दे जनानी अब घटिया हो ना  
 रामा उठे कुँअर रोके अब घटिया हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे सखिया सलेहरी हो ना ॥ ६६५ ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना  
 चल्की इन हँ के देह न टोकरिया हो ना  
 रामा सखी लोग करिहँ असननवाँ हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे चल्की नौनियाँ हो ना  
 रानी अपना से देह ना टोकरिया हो ना ॥ ७०० ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना  
 रामा सुनि लेव० पोखरा सौदगरना हो ना  
 बबुआ कहाँ तोहार घरवा दुअरवा हो ना  
 बबुआ कहँवा के कैल० पप्रतवा हो ना  
 रामा घर मोर हवे घुनघुनवा हो ना ॥ ७०५ ॥  
 रामा चलि ऐली० गढ़ परबतवा हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे सखिया सलेहरी हो ना  
 रवाँ काड़ि दी० जनानी अब घटिया हो ना  
 रामा सखी लोग करिहँ अब असननियाँ हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअर विजैया हो ना ॥ ७१० ॥  
 सखी एक पहर दतुअनियाँ हो ना  
 सखी दूइ पहर असननियाँ हो ना  
 सखी तीसर पहर देवी पुजनवाँ हो ना  
 सखी चौथ पहर दाना दुनियाँ हो ना  
 सखी पचवाँ पहर मोर तेअरिया हो ना ॥ ७१५ ॥  
 सखी कठाँ पहर घाट छोड़वाँ हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना  
 रामा सुनि पैहँ बावन सुववा हो ना  
 रामा भुसवन भरेहँ तोहरि खलिया हो ना  
 रामा प्रतना वचन कुँअर सुनले हो ना ॥ ७२० ॥  
 रामा कैसन हवे बावन गरभी सुववा हो ना  
 रामा ससुर के देखवाँ सुवैया हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना

रामा मुनि लेबं पोखरा सबदगरवा हो ना  
 रामा जेकर बाड़ी ऐसन सुरतिया हो ना ॥ ७२५ ॥  
 रामा कैसन हवी तोहरि महतरिया हो ना  
 रामा कैसन हवी तोहरि तिरिया हो ना  
 रामा कौड़ी लोभे खेदली बहरवा हो ना  
 रामा उन के जोखल धिरिकरवा हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअर विजैया हो ना ॥ ७३० ॥  
 रामा कैसन हवी तोहरि महतरिया हो ना  
 रामा कैसन हवे तोहर पुरुखवा हो ना  
 रामा जेकर हवी ऐसन सुरतिया हो ना  
 रामा फुलवा नीअर जेकर देहिया हो ना  
 रामा बने बने फिरल अकेलवा हो ना ॥ ७३५ ॥  
 रामा उनकर जीअल धिरिकरवा हो ना  
 देवा काइ रौरा बाप के नैयाँ हो ना  
 देवा का रौरा माँता के नैयाँ हो ना  
 देवा का रौरा भैया के नैयाँ हो ना  
 देवा का रौरा भौजी के नैयाँ हो ना ॥ ७४० ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअर विजैया हो ना  
 सखी का रौरा बाप के नैयाँ हो ना  
 सखी का रौरा माँता के नैयाँ हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना  
 देवा बाप के नाम बावन सुववा हो ना ॥ ७४५ ॥  
 देवा भैया के नाम मानिक चंदवा हो ना  
 देवा माँता के नाम मैनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअर विजैया हो ना  
 सखी बाप के नाम गोरख सिंघवा हो ना  
 सखी माँता के नाम घघेलवा हो ना ॥ ७५० ॥  
 सखी भैया के नाम धीर कतिरी हो ना  
 सखी भौजी के नाम सोनमतिया हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना  
 देवा काइ हवे ससरवा नमवाँ हो ना  
 देवा काइ हवे सरवा नमवाँ हो ना ॥ ७५५ ॥

देवा काइ हवे सासु के नमवाँ हो ना  
 देवा काइ हवे रौरा तिरिया के नमवाँ हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअर बिजैया हो ना  
 सखी काइ तोर ससुर के नमवाँ हो ना  
 सखी का तोर भसुर के नमवाँ हो ना ॥ ७६० ॥  
 सखी का तोर गोतिनी के नमवाँ हो ना  
 सखी का तोर सैयाँ के नमवाँ हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना  
 देवा ससुर के नाम गोरख सिंघवा हो ना  
 देवा भसुर के नाम धीर कृतिरी हो ना ॥ ७६५ ॥  
 देवा सासु जी के नाम घघेलवा हो ना  
 देवा गोतिनी के नाम सोनमतिथा हो ना  
 देवा सैयाँ के नैयाँ नाहिँ जनल्युँ हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअरा बिजैया हो ना  
 सखी ससुर जी के नैयाँ बावन सुबवा हो ना ॥ ७७० ॥  
 सखी सासु जी के नाम मैनवाँ हो ना  
 सखी तिरिया के नाम हम नाहिँ जनलेँ हो ना  
 रामा प्रतना बचन तिलकी सुनली हो ना  
 रामा अंगवाँ के मोँह पाछे फेरली हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे चल्हकी नौनियाँ हो ना ॥ ७७५ ॥  
 रामा सुनि ले अब ननदोइथा हो ना  
 रामा बिन गवने बतियौल हो ना  
 कुँअर इहाँ लगिहँ तोहरा नेगवा हो ना  
 रामा एक ही मोहर कुँअर दिहले हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे चल्हकी नौनियाँ हो ना ॥ ७८० ॥  
 कुँअर भलि भाँति पूरब चौकवा हो ना  
 कुँअर पढ़ल पंडितवा बोलैवी हो ना  
 कुँअर भलि भाँति गवना त करैवी हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअरा बिजैया हो ना  
 रामा कृत्तिस देवता सिर उठौलोँ हो ना ॥ ७८५ ॥  
 रामा जब ले नाहिँ कटवौँ बाप के बरियवा हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे देबिया दुखगवा हो ना

कुँचर फानि घोड़ा होखे असवरवा हो ना  
 कुँचर इह हवी सखिया सलेहरी हो ना  
 कुँचर तौहि रखिहँ अब भोराइ हो ना ॥ ७६० ॥  
 कुँचर आगे पाछे जन तकिहँ हो ना  
 रामा प्रतना बचन कुँचर सुनले हो ना  
 रामा प्रतना बचन तिलकी सुनली हो ना  
 रामा धाइ तिलकी धरे घोड़ा बगिया हो ना  
 सामी सुनि लेबे हमरि बचनिया हो ना ॥ ७६५ ॥  
 सामी वारह बरिस बोट गैले हो ना  
 सामी सँदुरा के केलीं रुपवाँ हो ना  
 सामी आजो मोर सँदुर बज्जरले हो ना  
 सामी अजु के राति डेरा डलिते हो ना  
 सामी मोरे देहे उठेला अगिनियाँ हो ना ॥ ८०० ॥  
 सामी आजु मोरि अगिनि बुझैत हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँचरा बिजैया हो ना  
 रामा सुनि लेब पातरि तिरिया हो ना  
 तिरिया कैसे मेँ अगिनि बुतैवोँ हो ना  
 तिरिया देवी दुरुगा कंठवा मेँ रखलौं हो ना ॥ ८०५ ॥  
 तिरिया सभ देवता होइहेँ ना बिकोहवा हो ना  
 तिरिया जुभि जैवों भाँड़ मैदनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा प्रतना बचन तिलकी सुनली हो ना  
 तिलकी रोवे लगली जार वे जरवा हो ना  
 सामी अजु से मोरा के तिअगले हो ना ॥ ८१० ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँचरा बिजैया हो ना  
 तिरिया मनवाँ मे घरं ना धिरिजवा हो ना  
 तिरिया रन जीति घरवा चलवों हो ना  
 रामा प्रतना बचन के सुनलवे हो ना  
 सामी जवे कुँचरोँ घोड़ बगवा हो ना ॥ ८१५ ॥  
 सामी आजु कुकु गुनवाँ देखैबे हो ना  
 रामा कुँचर उहाँ प्रडवा दबौले हो ना  
 हिच्छल उडि लागे अब अकसवा हो ना  
 रामा चलि भैली सखिया सलेहरी रे ना

रामा चलि गैली रंगवा महलिया हो ना ॥ ८२० ॥  
 रामा जहाँ बाटे रानी ना मैनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा सनमुख परलि नजरिया हो ना  
 देवा बोलि उठे रानी त० मैनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा सुनि लेवे तिलकी त० रनियाँ-रे ना  
 बेटी दूइ घड़ी के दिहली कुटिया रे ना ॥ ८२५ ॥  
 बेटी कहवाँ गँवलू सारि रतिया हो ना  
 बेटी काहे तोर चँहरा उदसवा हो ना  
 रामा पोखरा के बड़ि करिगरिया हो ना  
 रामा फिरि फिरि देखलें पोखरवा हो ना  
 अँमा उहवेँ गँवलें सारि रतिया हो ना ॥ ८३० ॥  
 अँमा भाड़ि वहेला पछिनवा हो ना  
 अँमा चोहि लागि चँहरा उदसवा हो ना  
 रामा प्रतना वचन के सुनलवे हो ना  
 रामा सखी अपने अपने गैली अटरिया हो ना  
 रामा उहाँ बोले देवी ना दूखवा हो ना ॥ ८३५ ॥  
 कुँअर सुनि लेब० हमारि बचनिया हो ना  
 कुँअर इहाँ बनल तोहरि सैतिया हो ना  
 रामा पहिलि लड़ेया मानिक चँदवा हो ना  
 रामा दूसरि लड़ेया वावन सुववा हो ना  
 रामा चलि गैले जिरङ्गल किलवा हो ना ॥ ८४० ॥  
 रामा उहवाँ वहेले भिरभिर नदिया हो ना  
 रामा घोड़वा फनावे कुँअर नदिया हो ना  
 रामा कुटि तेगा गिरे चोहि नदिया हो ना  
 रामा भङ्गू लागे कुँअर विजैया हो ना  
 रामा काऊ के कहल नाहिँ मनली हो ना ॥ ८४५ ॥  
 रामा अपने से गेलें जेहलखनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा तेगवा गिरल भिरभिर नदिया हो ना  
 रामा अब कवन करव मनसैया हो ना  
 देवा बोलि उठे हिच्छल बकेड़वा हो ना  
 बबुआ कतिरी के कोखिया जनमल० हो ना ॥ ८५० ॥  
 बबुआ प्रतने मेँ गैल० अकुलिया हो ना

बबुआ जाहि घड़ी लगिहेँ लोइवा जुभरवा हो ना  
 बबुआ उहाँ कैसे अंगजवँ हो ना  
 बबुआ सात नदी रुधिर बमकिहेँ हो ना  
 बबुआ इहाँ करँ कठिन करेजवा हो ना ॥ ८५५ ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे हिक्कला बकड़ेइवा हो ना  
 कुँवर कसिष्ठ के धरिहँ लगमिया हो ना  
 बबुआ खिलि जैवाँ भिरभिर नदिया हो ना  
 बबुआ दंतवन तेगवा निकालवाँ हो ना  
 रामा तेगवा निकालि हिक्कल लेले हो ना ॥ ८६० ॥  
 रामा चलि भैले हिक्कल बकड़ेइवा हो ना  
 रामा चलि भैले जिरऊल किलवा हो ना  
 रामा उपर लागल कठ बँसवा हो ना  
 रामा निचवा लागल बवुरनिवाँ हो ना  
 रामा ताहि विचे जिरऊल किलवा हो ना ॥ ८६५ ॥  
 रामा काटि घलले अब बवुरनिवाँ हो ना  
 कुँवर तेगवन काटे कठ बँसवा हो ना  
 रामा किला भीतर लेले पैसरवा हो ना  
 रामा चारु चोर कुँवर घूमि गेले हो ना  
 रामा कतहाँ ना मिले पैसरवा हो ना ॥ ८७० ॥  
 रामा एक चोर रहे निकसरवा हो ना  
 रामा हनल रहे बजड़ कँवड़वा हो ना  
 रामा उहाँ हिक्कल मारे हनि टपवा हो ना  
 रामा टुटि गेले बजड़ कँवड़वा हो ना  
 रामा उहाँ रहले दृइ चौविदरवा हो ना ॥ ८७५ ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे देवी तो दुखवा हो ना  
 बबुआ सुनि केवँ कुँवर बिजे मल हो ना  
 बबुआ बनल वाड़ि तोहरि सैतिया हो ना  
 बबुआ इहाँ करँ समऊतवा हो ना  
 कुँवर मारिं घाले दूना जना सिरवा हो ना ॥ ८८० ॥  
 रामा खंडवा के रुधिर चिखौले हो ना  
 रामा दूसर देवड़ कुँवर काटले हो ना  
 रामा तीसर देवड़ काटि गेले हो ना

रामा चौथे देवढ़ काटि गैले हो ना  
 रामा पंचवाँ देवढ़ काटि गैले हो ना ॥ ८८५ ॥  
 रामा छव देवढ़ काटि गैले हो ना  
 रामा उहाँ रहले सभ ना बनियवाँ हो ना  
 रामा बैठल रहले सुनसी देवनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा लिखत रहले बंधुअन रसतवा हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे देवी ना दुखगवा हो ना ॥ ८९० ॥  
 रामा मारि घाल० सभ ना बनियवाँ हो ना  
 कुँअर मारि घाल० सुनसी देवनवाँ हो ना  
 कुँअर मारि काटि कैले मैदनवाँ हो ना  
 कुँअर सतवाँ देवढ़ काटि घलले हो ना  
 रामा तेगवा के फल भरि गैले हो ना ॥ ८९५ ॥  
 रामा बाँधल रहले सभ ना बंधुअवा हो ना  
 रामा नजर परले सभ ना बंधुअवा हो ना  
 रामा रोवे लगले सभ ना बंधुअवा हो ना  
 रामा किया हवे राजा मानिक चंदवा हो ना  
 रामा किया राजा हवे बावन सुववा हो ना ॥ ९०० ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे सभ ना बंधुअवा हो ना  
 रामा अच राजा करिहँ ववन हवलिवा हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअरा विजैया हो ना  
 रामा नाहिँ हवे ससुर बावन सुववा हो ना  
 बंधुए मेरे नाम कुँअर विजैया हो ना ॥ ९०५ ॥  
 बबुआ मनवाँ मेँ धर० ना धिरिजवा हो ना  
 बबुआ सभ कर सेनुरा बज्जराइव हो ना  
 रामा काटे लगले बंधुआ बैरियवा हो ना  
 बबुआ काटि कूटि कैले मैदनवा हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअरा विजैया हो ना ॥ ९१० ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेव० सभ ना बंधुअवा हो ना  
 बबुआ लूटि लह बावन बजरिया हो ना  
 बबुआ लूटि लाटि चलले बावन पोखरवा हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअरा विजैया हो ना  
 रामा खोजे लगले बाप ना भैदवा हो ना ॥ ९१५ ॥

रामा काइ भैले बाप गोरख सिंघवा हो ना  
 रामा काइ भैले भैया धीर कृतिरी हो ना  
 रामा किया सूवा पाँसिया दिथौले हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे बाप गोरख सिंघवा हो ना  
 रामा किया हवे भूत वैतलवा हो ना ॥ ६२० ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअरा विजैया हो ना  
 भैया नाहिँ हवे भूत वैतलवा हो ना  
 ववुआ अपने से ऐलौं जेहलखनवाँ हो ना  
 बाप मोर नाम कुँअरा विजैया हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे बाप गोरख सिंघवा हो ना ॥ ६२५ ॥  
 ववुआ अपने से ऐल० जेहलखनवाँ हो ना  
 ववुआ कुलवा में एकला फतिंगवा हो ना  
 ववुआ बंसवा के कैल० निधनवा हो ना  
 ववुआ कैसे कूड़ि ऐले सोनमतिया हो ना  
 ववुआ तोरि भौजी परनवाँ के अघरवा हो ना ॥ ६३० ॥  
 रामा उहाँ कुँअर सुमिरे देवी दुखगा हो ना  
 रामा उहाँ कुँअर चकवा उलटले हो ना  
 रामा सनमुख परेले नजरिया हो ना  
 रामा रोवे लगले कुँअरा विजैया हो ना  
 बाप प्रतना सासत सुबवाँ किले हो ना ॥ ६३५ ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे बाप गोरख सिंघवा हो ना  
 रामा रोवे लागि बाप ना भैयवा हो ना  
 देवा बोलि उठे बाप गोरख सिंघवा हो ना  
 ववुआ ओह जनमे ऐलौं लिखाइ हो ना  
 ववुआ जवन भोग कैलौं बावन किलवा हो ना ॥ ६४० ॥  
 ववुआ बोलि उठे राजा गोरख सिंघवा हो ना  
 ववुआ फिरि जा देस ना मुलकवा हो ना  
 बाप अब ले में रहलौं अकसर जिअरवा हो ना  
 बाप अब भैलीं तीनि अब सुबवा हो ना  
 बाप जवनि अलङ्ग अब तकवाँ हो ना ॥ ६४५ ॥  
 बाप किलवा दखल कै धलवाँ हो ना  
 रामा चलि भैले कुँअरा विजैया हो ना

रामा फुँकि दिहले बावन जेहलखनवा हो ना  
 रामा फुँकि के आवे बावन पोखरवा हो ना  
 रामा चलि ऐले भंवरा पोखरवा हो ना ॥ ६५० ॥  
 रामा एक नौआ चललि बरिअतिया हो ना  
 कुँअर सभ के पकड़ि मंगीले हो ना  
 नौआ छह सभ के वनाव० हजमतिया हो ना  
 रामा उहवाँ खरिदले कपड़वा हो ना  
 रामा उहवाँ बनौले जेवनरवा हो ना ॥ ६५५ ॥  
 रामा सभ बंधुअन कैले असननवाँ हो ना  
 रामा जेइ जैसन रहले सरदरवा हो ना  
 रामा जेइ जैसन कैले पहिरनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअर बिजैया हो ना  
 पछे सभे मिलि जाईँ अपने गिरिहिया हो ना ॥ ६६० ॥  
 पछे बाँचि जैहँ अकसर जिअरवा हो ना  
 पछे सभे मिलि दिहीँ असिरवदवा हो ना  
 पछे रन जीति घरवा ऐवौँ हो ना  
 पछे बोलि उठे सभ ना बंधुअवा हो ना  
 पछे कुअर रवाँ पाक्रे करव गोहरिया हो ना ॥ ६६५ ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअर बिजैया हो ना  
 पछे सभे जाईँ अपना अपना रसवा हो ना  
 रामा चलि गैले सभ ना बंधुअवा हो ना  
 रामा बाँचि गैले बाप ना भैया हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअर बिजैया हो ना ॥ ६७० ॥  
 रामा सुनि लेव० हिच्छल बक्रेडवा हो ना  
 घोड़ा ले जा बाप ना भैया हो ना  
 रामा उडि हिच्छल लगले अकसवा हो ना  
 रामा चलि गैले देस धुनधुनवा हो ना  
 रामा नजरी परेलि सोनमतिया हो ना ॥ ६७५ ॥  
 रामा जरि मरि होखेले खंगरवा हो ना  
 हिच्छल कहवाँ के मढ़ी टंगले ऐल० हो ना  
 रामा मोर परान कहवाँ कूड़गेल० हो ना  
 हिच्छल जलदी से जा कुँअर पसवा हो ना

हिच्छल अबरि रन जीति ऐव० हो ना ॥ ९८० ॥  
 हिच्छल सोनवाँ मढ़िवाँ तोहर खुरिया हो ना  
 रामा चलि ऐले हिच्छल बकड़वा हो ना  
 रामा जहाँ बाघ मारले असनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा सभ हाल सोनवाँ कुँअर कहले हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे देवी दुहगवा हो ना ॥ ९८५ ॥  
 बवुआ वनल वाड़ि तोहरि सैतिया हो ना  
 बवुआ चढ़ि चल० भँवरानन इनरवा हो ना  
 रामा पोखरा के गरद मिलौले हो ना  
 रामा इनरा पर डाले कुँअर डेरवा हो ना  
 रामा उन्न ऐली बावन|पनिहरिया हो ना ॥ ९९० ॥  
 रामा उहँ करे नसखरिया हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँअरा पनिहरिया हो ना  
 रामा कहवाँ के हवे मोसफिरवा हो ना  
 रामा सुनि पैहँ राजा बावन सुववा हो ना  
 बवुआ भुसवन भरैहँ तोहरि खलिया हो ना ॥ ९९५ ॥  
 रामा प्रतना वचन कुँअरा सुनले हो ना  
 कुँअरा फोरि देले सभन के धरिलवा हो ना  
 रामा क्किनि लेले सभे अभरनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा सभे लौंडी चलली उधरवे हो ना  
 रामा चलि गेली बावन कचहरिया हो ना ॥ १००० ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे सभ ना लौंडिया हो ना  
 रामा सुनि लेव० बावन|गरभी सुववा हो ना  
 सुववा कहवाँ के ऐले प्रक सुववा हो ना  
 रामा सभ बंधुअन कटले बेरियवा हो ना  
 रामा लूटि लेले बावन बजरिया हो ना ॥ १००५ ॥  
 रामा फुँकि देले जिरऊल किलवा हो ना  
 रामा पोखरा के गरद मिलौले रे ना  
 राजा हमनी सभ के कैले दरदसवा रे ना  
 रामा तोरि सूवा लागल बँहियाँ घुनवाँ रे ना  
 रामा प्रतना वचन सुववा सुनले हो ना ॥ १०१० ॥  
 रामा सूवा जरि मरि होले ना खंगरवा हो ना

रामा मुनि लेबे बेटा मानिक चँदवा रे ना  
 बेटा साजि लेऊ अपनि पौजिया हो ना  
 बबुआ भिड़ि लेऊ भँवरानन हथवा हो ना  
 रामा सरवा के पकड़ि मंगैहो हो ना ॥ १०१५ ॥  
 रामा ओकर देखव सुरतिया हो ना  
 रामा सरवा से घसिया गढ़िवाँ हो ना  
 रामा उहाँ सूवा साजले पौदिया हो ना  
 रामा धुरिया लागेला असमनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा बजवा बाजे जुभरवा हो ना ॥ १०२० ॥  
 रामा बोलि उठे देवी दुखगवा हो ना  
 कुँअर इहे हवे मानिक पलटनियाँ हो ना  
 रामा घोड़वा नचावे कुँअर मैदनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा सनमुख भैले जवववा हो ना  
 रामा घेरि लिहले सभ ना पौदिया हो ना ॥ १०२५ ॥  
 रामा लागि गैले लोहवा जुभरवा हो ना  
 रामा मारे लागल कुँअरा विजैया हो ना  
 रामा देवी दुखगा कैली कृतर कहियाँ हो ना  
 रामा काटि कूटि कैले मैदनवा हो ना  
 रामा बाँचि गैले राजा मानिक चँदवा हो ना ॥ १०३० ॥  
 रामा उन हँ के नाक काटि घलले हो ना  
 रामा कनवाँ काटि अब घलले हो ना  
 रामा बाँहियाँ काटि घलले हो ना  
 रामा बाँधि देले घोड़ा के पिकड़िया हो ना  
 रामा चलि गैले राजा मानिक चँदवा हो ना ॥ १०३५ ॥  
 रामा जहाँ लागे बावन कचहरिया हो ना  
 रामा सनमुख परलि नजरिया हो ना  
 रामा खिसिये भरल मतवलवा हो ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे बावन गरभी सुबवा हो ना  
 रामा सारे जुभि जैत भाड़े मैदनवाँ हो ना ॥ १०४० ॥  
 रामा कनवाँ कटाइ घरवा खेल हो ना  
 रामा कतिरी के कोखिया जनमल हो ना  
 रामा प्रतना बचन बावन सुनले हो ना

रामा उहाँ सूवा साजे पलटनियाँ हो ना  
 रामा चलि भैले बावन गरभी सुववा हो ना ॥ १०४५ ॥  
 रामा सूवा चलि ऐले भाड़े मैदनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा लागि गैले लोहवा जभरवा हो ना  
 रामा कुँय्यर मारि काटि कैले मैदनवाँ हो ना  
 रामा बाँचि गैले राजा बावन सुववा हो ना  
 रामा कर जोरि करेला बिनतियाँ हो ना ॥ १०५० ॥  
 बबुआ सुनि लेव० हमरि वचनियाँ हो ना  
 कुँय्यर हम हवीं तोहरे ना समरवा हो ना  
 बबुआ काड़ि देव० हमर जिअरवा हो ना  
 रामा फानि कुँय्यर मारे उनकर सिरवा हो ना  
 रामा काटि कूटि कैले मैदनवाँ हो ना ॥ १०५५ ॥  
 रामा चलि ऐले बावन सूवा गढ़वा हो ना,  
 कुँय्यरा मनवाँ में करेला घमंडवा हो ना  
 रामा नाहिँ रहिते जाँघे मोरा जोरवा हो ना  
 रामा नाहिँ बँहियाँ रहिते बौसैया हो ना  
 रामा काइ करती देवी ना दुरुगा हो ना ॥ १०६० ॥  
 रामा देवी दुरुगा भैली ना विक्रोहवा हो ना  
 रामा घोड़ा कुँय्यर गिरेले इनरवा हो ना  
 रामा ऊँचि ना अटारी तिलकी चढ़ली हो ना  
 रामा तिलकी के परलि नजरिया हो ना  
 तिलकी उहवाँ चलावे इनर बनवाँ हो ना ॥ १०६५ ॥  
 रामा चलि ऐली तिलकी रनियाँ हो ना  
 रामा चलि ऐली चल्हकी नौनियाँ हो ना  
 रामा कुय्यरा के बँहियाँ पकड़ली रे ना  
 रामा लेइ गैली बुध्या कोहरा के चकवा रे ना  
 रामा बोलि उठी तिलकी रनियाँ रे ना ॥ १०७० ॥  
 बुध्या अबकी के सेनुरा बहोरिहै रे ना  
 बुड़ू आधा राज तोहर के बटयूँ हो ना

रामा चल्हकी पढ़ल पण्डित बोलौली हो ना  
 रामा भलि भाँति भैले गवनवाँ हो ना

रामा आधा राज दिहले अब कौंहरे रे ना ॥ १०७५ ॥  
 रामा आधा राज दिहले अब बग्घने हो ना  
 रामा कुँअरा गैले दुअरा का सोभवा रे ना  
 रामा छोट भैया रहले सुरज मलवा रे ना  
 बबुआ भल कुँअर ऐले अब दुअरवा रे ना  
 बबुआ इन हँ के मारु अगिनि बनवाँ हो ना ॥ १०८० ॥  
 रामा छोड़त बाड़े अब अगिनि बनवाँ रे ना  
 रामा जर लागल कुँअरा बिजैया रे ना  
 रामा तीन लोक सुनिरे व्यापन सतवा रे ना  
 रामा जोरे सत होखु ना सहैया हो ना  
 रामा ऊहो तो मारेली इनर बनवाँ रे ना ॥ १०८५ ॥  
 रामा कुँअरा के लेले बचाइ रे ना  
 तिलकी लेइ लेले हाथ में तेगवा रे ना  
 तिलकी सभ कर मूँड़ि मारि घलली हो ना  
 रामा गोदिया में रहले फ्रक छोटका भैयवा रे ना  
 रामा बबुआ लेइ चलवौं रे ना ॥ १०९० ॥  
 सामी भैया के नतवा लगवौं रे ना  
 सामी कोइला बोरेवौं बावन गढ़िया हो ना  
 रामा डँड़िया फनाइ कुँअर चलले हो ना  
 रामा विचे रास्ते देले ना भोकमवाँ हो ना  
 रामा हम सुतवौं कुँअर के गोदिया हो ना ॥ १०९५ ॥  
 रामा कुँअरा के लागि गैले निंदिया रे ना  
 सरवा लेले रहले कृपण ना कुरिया रे ना  
 रामा पेसि देले कुँअरा के नरेटिया रे ना  
 रामा ऊहो तो लुकैले डाँड़ी भितरा रे ना  
 रामा लोहिया लागल पह फटले रे ना ॥ ११०० ॥  
 चल्हकी सामी जी के दह ना जगाइ रे ना  
 रामा जाइ चल्हकी जगौली रे ना  
 चल्हकी गिरि परली अब सुरकैया रे ना  
 रामा रोवे लगली तिलकी रनियाँ रे ना  
 रामा कनियों के अब नाहिँ भैलों रे ना ॥ ११०५ ॥  
 रामा नैहर के नतवा छोड़ली रे ना

रामा उहाँ चनन गैले मौराइ रे ना  
 रामा परि गैलि सोना नजरिया रे ना  
 सोनवाँ गिरि परली अब ना धरतिया रे ना  
 रामा धौरि चलली अब सोनमतिया रे ना ॥ १११० ॥  
 रामा धौरि गैली देवी ना चौरवा रे ना  
 दुखगा जो बलका कैले ना कसुरवा रे ना  
 हथवा काटि नाहिँ बिगवों रे ना  
 दुखगा अबरी रन ववुआ जितिहँ रे ना  
 रामा सोनवें कुवैवों मंडपवा रे ना ॥ १११५ ॥  
 रामा चलि भैली अब सोनमतिया रे ना  
 रामा चलि गैली कुँचरा के पसवा रे ना  
 सोनवाँ उहवाँ सतवा सुमिरली रे ना  
 रामा चीरि देले अपनि नखनवाँ रे ना  
 रामा कुँचरा जियाइ अब घलली रे ना ॥ ११२० ॥  
 रामा कुँचरा लियाइ घर ऐली रे ना  
 रामा बाजे लागल अनन्द वधैया रे ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे रानी सोनमतिया रे ना  
 हेमियाँ ववुआ के बाड़ि अब सैतिया रे ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँचरा बिजया रे ना ॥ ११२५ ॥  
 हेमियाँ भौजी जाइ समुभैहँ रे ना  
 भौजो जिन्क लैका दिहले उपदेसवा रे ना  
 भौजो सभ के पकड़ि मँगैवों रे ना  
 भौजो सभ के पकड़ि मँगौली रे ना  
 रामा बोलि उठे कुँचरा बिजैया रे ना ॥ ११३० ॥  
 भौजो सभ लड़िके करं पहिरौआ रे ना  
 रामा सभ के खियौली मिठैया रे ना  
 रामा हँसत खेलत लड़िके गैले रे ना  
 रामा इहाँ कुँचर लेले गिही वसवा रे ना  
 रामा इहाँ लेले राम जी के नैयाँ रे ना ॥ ११३५ ॥  
 कुँचरा भारी कैले देवी के पुजनवाँ रे ना  
 रामा दुखगा बड़ खुसाँहो गैली रे ना  
 कुँचरा जुगे जुग जियँ ना बरिसवा रे न

इति ।

## TRANSLATION.

## INVOCATION.

I invoke the god of this place and earth,\* and the village god: then I invoke the feet of my mother, and of my spiritual preceptor. Next I invoke the Brahm of the village, (5) and the sun god Suruj Mal, whose lamp is burning every day. I invoke Mother Ganges, whose water flows in a clear stream. I invoke the five Páñđavas, (10) and the heroic Hanumán.† Again I invoke the goddess Durgá: O goddess, be thou a help to my throat as I sing this song. O goddess, if any letters are forgotten, bring them together number by number. (15) Then will I invoke the god Goraiyá‡ of Delhi and the Musalmán saint Subhán Gír.§

With what shall I honour, the god of this place and earth, the village god, the feet of my mother, (20) and of my spiritual preceptor, the Brahm of the village, Suruj Mal, Mother Ganges, the five Páñđavas, (25) Hanumán, Durgá, Goraiyá of Delhi, and Subhán Gír.

With oblations will I honour the god of this place and earth, (30) and with grain the village god. With my ten nails (*i. e.*, with reverently joined hands) will I honour my mother's feet, and with yellow cloth my spiritual preceptor's. With incense will I honour the Brahm of the village, and with a stream of milk Suruj Mal, (35) with cakes|| will I honour Mother Ganges, with a golden brahmanical thread the five Páñđavas, and with sweetmeats of clarified butter the heroic Hanumán. With a castrated goat will I honour the goddess Durgá, with a sheet Goraiyá of Delhi, (40) with a fowl Subhán Gír.

Then will I call upon the name of Rám. Now will I sing the ballad of the prince, O gentlemen, hear attentively.

## THE BALLAD.

Up rose¶ Queen Mainá, (45) saying 'hear me, O Challakí my maid

\* *डेवाँ भूदर्याँ* is a common compound, meaning 'place.'

† *हनुमनवाँ* in the text is long form of *हनुमान*, which is a provincialism for *हनुमान*.

‡ Goraiyá of Delhi is the God worshipped by Dusádhis and other low-caste tribes, South of the Ganges. Hogs are sacrificed to him.

§ I have been unable to identify this saint.

|| *पिठवेँ*, instr. of *पिठवाँ* which is long form of *पिठ्ठा*.

¶ This is the literal translation of *बालि उठे* and is so carried out throughout the translation of the poem. The compound, however, means idiomatically 'to speak up.' It does not mean that the person speaking actually got up to speak.

servant.\* Up rose Queen Mainá saying, 'Husband, hear my words.† Our daughter has become fit for marriage. Go forth into the country, and have search‡ made for a spouse for her.' (50) King Báwan Súbá§ went away, and sat in his audience-chamber, and the proud Báwan Súbá thus spake, 'Hear, O well-read Paṇḍit, my daughter is ready for marriage. (55) Take with you a barber's|| lad, go forth into the country, and search for a bridegroom. O Paṇḍit, take money with you, and go forth and search. Search for a house worthy of my house, (60) and search for a boy worthy of my child.¶ Search for a co-father-in-law worthy of a co-father-in-law.' On hearing\*\* these words the Paṇḍit took money, and a barber lad (65), and went forth to the south country, but he found not a boy worthy of Tilki.†† He searched unsuccessfully in the east country, and in the north. He ran to many cities and returned, (70) but found not a bridegroom worthy of Tilki. Then he went to Báwan's audience hall, and there the barber lad bowed low‡‡ and made obeisance. The Paṇḍit blessed him, and up rose the proud Báwan Súbá and said (75) 'Tell me the news about the boy.' 'O king, I have wandered to and from many cities, but, lo, your daughter has been born an enemy to you. Nowhere have I found a boy worthy of her? (80) On hearing this, up rose the proud Báwan Súbá and said; 'Go to the west country, to the city of Ghunghun, there is there a great king and a boy worthy of Tilki.' (85) On hearing this the Paṇḍit went to the city of Ghunghun, into the king's audience-hall. Up rose the Bráhmaṇ Paṇḍit and said, 'hear my humble petition.§§ (90) Your majesty has two sons, I would see the goods which your Majesty has

\* **बौनिय्याँ** *lit.* a barber's wife, long form of **बउनी**, which is fem. of **बाऊ**, 'a barber.' Women of this caste are much used as domestic servants, and are even indispensable at ceremonies, such as marriages, &c.

† **बचनिय्याँ** is a feminine long form of **बचन**, 'a word.' This form gives a diminutive sense, something like, 'my dear little word'.

‡ **खोजित** is preterite conjunctive, in the rare sense of an Imperative. It is from **खोजाव**, the causal form of **खोज**.

§ This is evidently the name of the king, but there appears to be some confusion with the fifty-two Súbás mentioned in the well-known **Alhá** and **Rúdal**.

|| In arranging a marriage a barber is the recognized negotiator.

¶ **सड़िका** is here used, in common gender, to signify 'child'. It refers to the king's daughter.

\*\* **सुनलवे** is locative of **सुनलवा**, which is long form of **सुनल**, which is the verbal noun of **सुन**, 'hear'.

†† The name of the Princess.

‡‡ **नद** indecl. participle of **नव** to bow.

§§ **बचनिय्याँ** as before noted is diminutive.

for sale.\* On hearing this, up rose king Gorakh Singh and said, 'Hear, my son, Randhir. (95) Tell the damsel Hemiyá to bring the prince.' Up rose Randhir the Chbattri, 'hear O damsel Hemiyá, (100) bring now the prince.' The damsel Hemiyá brought him, and the well-read Paṇḍit inspected him, and was satisfied,† 'O king, how much *Tilak*‡ will you take for the prince.' (105) Up rose king Gorakh Singh and said, 'Hear, O well-read Paṇḍit, nine hundred thousand will I take as a *Tilak*, six hundred thousand as a dowry,§ four hundred thousand at the ceremony of *Duár púja*,|| (110) three hundred thousand when the prince puts on his sacred thread, and two hundred thousand at the ceremony of *kanhwári*.¶ On these conditions, O Paṇḍit, will I give the prince in marriage'. On hearing this, the Paṇḍit returned to the castle in the mountains, (115) into the audience chamber of his king. Up rose the well-read Paṇḍit and said 'O king, hear my petition. There is a co-father-in-law worthy of you as co-father-in-law. There is a boy worthy of your child. (120) There is a house worthy of your house, but he asks for many rupees. He asks for a *Tilak* of nine hundred thousand, for a dowry of six, for four at the ceremony of *duár púja*, (125) for three when the prince puts on the sacred thread, and for two at the ceremony of *kanhwári*. On hearing these words, O king, I agreed to the terms, and eight days hence I fixed as the day for the wedding.' (130) Up rose the proud king Báwan Súbá and said. 'Hear, O my son Mánik Chand. Open quickly the treasury and send an invitation\*\* to some of the brotherhood. Load carts with provisions. (135) Tighten the pad on Bhāwarānan the elephant,†† mount him and go to the land of Ghunghun. There offer‡‡ the *Tilak* for the prince.' Hearing these words Prince Mánik Chand departed, (140) and went till he reached the land of Ghunghun. He arrived

\* *सौदा* is goods for sale. Here it refers to the king's marriageable son. In certain castes, in which it is difficult to find a fit husband for a girl, a high price is paid to the parents of a suitable boy, to induce them to consent to the marriage. This price is made up of various items, viz., the *Tilak* &c., mentioned further on.

† *सनमनवाँ* is long form of *सनमान* 'satisfaction.'

‡ The *Tilak* is the price paid to bridegroom, on the settlement of the marriage.

§ The present given to the bridegroom after the marriage, on leaving the bride's house.

|| The ceremony of welcoming the bridegroom at the bride's house.

¶ The ceremony of presenting a loin-cloth (*kanhwácar*) to the boy-bridegroom. The name is derived from *kandhá*, a shoulder, because at the time of gift, it is laid on the shoulder of the recipient.

\*\* *नैवेत* means, in Bhojpúri 'invite.' The Maithil form is *नैथीत*.

†† *चयवा* is long form of *चत्वा* a male elephant.

‡‡ *lit.* 'lay upon the prince's (head),' the technical term for the ceremony.

at the king's doorway, and saith king Gorakh Singh, 'Hear, my son Randhír Chhattí, (145) the *Tilak* of the prince has come, haste and make the necessary preparations. Quickly give them *sharbat*, and inquire as to what will be a lucky time for the marriage.'

He called a well-read Paṇḍit, (150) 'O Paṇḍit, hear my words. Haste and look for a lucky time.' Up rose the well-read Paṇḍit and said, 'O king, now is an excellent lucky time; haste and offer the *tilak*.' (155) Up rose now Randhír Chhattí and said, 'Prince Mánik Chand, hear me, come now within the courtyard, and haste to offer the *tilak*.'

Kūar Bijai\* sate himself down, (160) with some of his relations and Mánik Chand, and now arose the (sound of) marriage songs. They now commence to offer the *tilak*, and behold, it was offered. (165) They then all went into the outer hall, and in excellent manner were called to dinner.† The whole assembly ate and drank and became ready. Excellent was the manner in which they were ready. The eighth day was the one fixed for the wedding (at the bride's house), (170) and Mánik Chand returned to his palace.

Up rose king Gorakh Singh and said, 'Hear, my son Randhír Chhattí, send invitations abroad, and in excellent manner make ready the wedding procession.' (175) On hearing these words he invited many of his brotherhood, and in excellent manner made ready the marriage procession. In excellent manner did king Gorakh Singh the mighty prince, make ready the procession and set out.‡ (180) They arrived at the country of the fortress in the mountains, and Gorakh Singh sent news of his arrival. 'Ho watchman, hear; go to the King's audience chamber and tell him (185) that the procession of the monarch has come.' The news reached the king,§ and then said Báwan Súbá, 'Hear, O my son Mánik Chand; in excellent manner escort the procession, (190) to the fortress of Jirhul.' On hearing these words Mánik Chand escorted the procession and caused them all to enter the fortress,

\* This is the name of the prince, who was the boy-bridegroom.

† बीजे is the summoning to dinner, equivalent to the English, 'Dinner is served, my Lady,' of the fashionable novel.

‡ This marriage procession is the one in which the boy-bridegroom is carried in state to the bride's house, for the wedding ceremony. After the ceremony the party return with like pomp leaving the bride with her parents. When the bride is old enough for the consummation of the marriage, she is fetched in a similar manner to the bridegroom's house. This last ceremony is called the *gaundá*, and will be referred to later on in the poem. See vv. 777 and *ff.*

§ किरहौ is a contraction of the weak genitive termination क and of the pronominal adverb रहाँ 'here'.

and there he imprisoned them.\* (195) Then was the lucky time (for the marriage). They tied the prince's (*i. e.*, the boy bridegroom's) horse under a Nim tree, sent for some of the brotherhood (of the bride), and in excellent manner the marriage takes place. (200) But all the rest of the marriage procession they imprisoned. Then up rose king Bawan Súbá and said, 'Hear, O my son Mánik Chand, put fetters on their legs, load their loins with chains, (205) and hammer spikes† under their nails.' Lo, to this condition did Mánik Chand bring them.

In the meantime the prince-bridegroom had entered the marriage shrine‡ where there was an image of the goddess Durgá. Now at this time the horse (of the prince which had been tied up under the Nim tree) thought within himself, (210) 'O goddess Durgá, hear me. Art thou the guardian deity of the Prince's childhood? All the rest of his marriage procession has Bawan cast into jail.' Behold, the horse cuts his heel ropes with his teeth, (215) he cut§ all his heel ropes. Then he went to the marriage canopy, while the prince was inside in the shrine.

Now the horse winks to him, and says, 'Hear Prince Bijai. (220) All the rest of the procession hath Bawan Súbá enticed into the fortress of Jirhul. Only (yourself) one little grasshopper has escaped. You are a fool to stay here. Leap upon my back, and ride away.' (225) The Prince leaped upon his back, and the horse Hiehchhal flew into the air,|| between the earth and sky. In the midst he described a circle. The horse traversed the ten countries, (230) and arrived at the city of Ghunghun. In this way did the marriage of the Prince take place.

\* *I. e.*, he imprisoned the procession, but not the bridegroom. The cause of this seemingly inexplicable act of treachery is the feeling of revenge which the Rajpút felt towards the man who had given his son in marriage. The giving a son in marriage is looked upon as a great compliment, and as laying the father of the bride under a heavy obligation. To this feeling Gorakh Singh added by demanding an exorbitant price for his son, knowing well that Bawan Súbá must give it, as there was no other marriageable boy fit for the bride. By imprisoning the bridegroom's father Bawan Súbá in the first place gratified his feeling of revenge, and in the second place got a husband for his daughter for nothing.

† खपचरिया is long form of खपचारी 'a nail' or 'spike.'

‡ The कोदवर is the shrine in which the married couple kneel before the tutelary deities of their houses, on the conclusion of the marriage ceremony. The reader may be reminded that both bride and bridegroom were absolute children, incapable of understanding what was going on. The prince, in fact, was too young to remember in after years what had happened.

§ √ काटि घाल = the Hindi √ काट डाल. √ घाल is frequently used as the latter half of an intensive compound in Bhojpúri.

|| *Lit.* left the solid earth, धरम is a repetition of धरती without much meaning.

Now the prince's sister-in-law\* Sonmati was sitting there, and her eyes fell upon the horse. She became mad with rage,† (235) and up she rose and said 'Hear, thou colt Hichchhal, what has happened to the procession?' Hear Lady‡ Sonmati, said Hichchhal, 'The whole procession is in jail.' (240) Up rose Sonmati and said, 'O Hichchhal, what kind of corpse have you hung to yourself?'

(Here there is a pause during which the horse tells the story to Sonmati.)

So Sonmati was fain to take the prince and console herself with him,—the one little grasshopper of the family.

After hearing all these things, (245) the Prince became twelve years older,§ and one day he went into his father's garden, where the young boys|| were playing tip-cat.¶ Up rose Prince Bijai and said, (250) 'O boys, hear my little word. I also would play tip-cat with you.' Up rose a young boy and said, 'Hear, Prince Bijai, you are the king of the city.' (255) Up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'In boys' sport, what kingship is there? As a shopkeeper's lad plays, so also would I play tip-cat.' 'Hear, O Prince Bijai, (260) in our play there will be abuse and quarrelling.\*\* If the Lady Sonmati hear, she will (kill us, and) fill our skins with chaff.' Up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'Boys, trouble not yourself about this, (265) I will answer for that.' 'Then bring your cat, and we will play with you.' Away went Prince Bijai, (270) to the *Lāl Darwājā*†† 'Hear, O sister-in-law Sonmati, I want a cat and stick.††† 'Hear, O Prince Bijai, what play is there in a cat for you? (275) Play you at gambling, or on the *chaupar*.'§§ When the Prince heard these words, he went inside the *Lāl Darwājā* and stretches a sheet over himself from head to foot. He forswears food and water, (280) 'as long as, O sister-in-law, a cat is not ready for me.' On hearing these words, she says,

\* She was wife of Randhīr who had been imprisoned with his father and the rest of the procession in Jirhul.

† खिन्धिचन is instr. of खिन्धिया which is long form of खीच 'rage.'

‡ Lit. Sister-in-law.

§ I. e., since hearing this story twelve years elapsed, or else time passed, and the prince became twelve years of age. The first interpretation is borne out by verse 385, and the second by verse 504.

|| लिका = लड़िका. मदेनवा is long form of मदेन 'young.'

¶ गुलि टांडू is a game closely resembling the English 'tip-cat,' except that the opponent attempts to catch the 'cat' while it is in the air.

\*\* मंमवा is long form of मंम 'quarrelling.'

†† The name of a part of his palace which had red doors.

††† मधवा is long form of माध, 'a yearning.'

§§ *Chaupar* is the board or cloth divided into four portions on which the game called *pachtol* is played.

'Hear, O damsel Hemiyá, go to Kusahar (the blacksmith's) shop, and quickly call him here.' (285) Away went the damsel Hemiyá to the blacksmith's shop. 'Hear, O Kusahar the blacksmith, Queen Sonmatí calls you.' On hearing these words (290) Kusahar went to the principal chamber in the female apartments, and his eyes fell (on Sonmatí) before him. 'O Lady, what fault have I committed, for never yet have I been called by you. To-day why have you called me? (295) O Lady, quickly give your order.' 'Hear, O Kusahar the blacksmith, the Prince is the support of my life. For his sake have I been patient, for he is the one grasshopper remaining in the family. (300) He it is who refuses food and water. Quickly make him ready a cat.' Away went Kusahar the blacksmith, to where Prince Bijai was. Reverently he makes salutation, (305) 'What kind of cat does your Highness want?' 'O gods! I want a cat of eighty maunds, and a staff of eighty-four, and in eight days must you make it ready.' On hearing these words, (310) Kusahar the blacksmith went home, and began to send for all his acquaintances and family. He invites all his friends and relations, and the casting of the cat began. They all set to work casting the cat and club, (315) but the cat could not be made ready by them. All the friends and relations ran away. Away ran Kusahar the blacksmith, for the cat was not made ready. Kusahar left his house and goes along. (320) On the way he meets Bikramájit.\* 'Hear, O Kusahar the blacksmith, into what difficulty have you fallen, that you are running away from here.' 'The chief man of the town is the Prince, (325) and he it is that asks for a cat to be made ready, a cat of eighty maunds, and a staff of eighty-four. He wants the cat made ready in eight days, and it is not so. If Prince Bijai hear of it, (330) on this account he will (kill me and) fill my skin with chaff. On this account I ran away.' Up rose Bikramájit and said. 'Come along to your shop, and haste and blow up the furnace.' (335) Bikramájit preceded him home, and Kusahar returned. Bikramájit touched the cat and staff, and behold they were made ready. Away went Kusahar the blacksmith (340) to where Prince Bijai was. 'Hear, O Prince Bijai, the cat is now ready.' On hearing these words the prince went to Kusahar's shop, (345) and inspected the cat and the staff. He returned to the *Lál Darwájá*, to the altar-platform of the goddess Durgá. 'Hear, thou goddess Durgá. O mother, thou hast been the guardian deity of my childhood. (350) O mother, trusting in thee have I laid this task† upon myself. Mother, I am going to play tipcat. Mother, give thou strength to my arm.' Prince Bijai went off

\* Vikramáditya survives in popular memory as a great enchanter still living in retirement.

† Lit. covered my head with this net.

to where the young boys were playing, (355) and hid\* his cat and staff. When they saw him they held consultation† and said, 'You first play against us.' On hearing these words the Prince leaped into the field (360) and began to play against the young boys. He caught all their cats on the hop, and then came his turn to play. All the boys went into the field. He called the goddess Durgá to his memory (365) 'O Durgá, be my help,' and now the prince strikes his cat with the club. All the boys who happened to be in front of it, stood senseless (with the wind caused by it). The cat fell to the ground eighty kos distant. (370) The boys began to consult together, and ran away. Up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'Hear, you base-born boys, I played against you. (375) Why do you not play against me?' On hearing these words, up rose one little boy and said, 'Hear, O Prince Bijai, He who has such strength in his arms, (380) his‡ father is at this very time in prison, and so is his brother. Had you been born in a shopkeeper's house, you would now be supporting yourself weighing§ goods. But you were born from a Chhattri's womb. (385) You are now twelve years old.¶ Shame on your life. It was at your marriage that they were imprisoned.'¶¶ When the Prince heard these words, he threw away his staff across the river Yamuná, (390) went home, and draws a sheet over himself from head to foot.

Up rose the lady Sonmatí and said, 'Hear, O Damsel Hemiyá. His Highness went to play tip-cat; (395) half an hour more than a watch of the day has passed. He will get ill\*\* if he does not get something to eat.' Hemiyá went to where the prince lay with his sheet drawn over him from head to foot. Up rose the Damsel Hemiyá and said (400) 'Your Highness, it is time to wash your teeth,†† to bathe in the Ganges, to worship the goddess, and to eat food.' Up rose prince Bijai and said, '(405) Hemiyá, then will I brush my teeth, when you tell me the name of my father and of my brother.' Up rose the Damsel Hemiyá and said 'Prince, this thing your Highness's sister-in-law knows.' (410) Away went the damsel Hemiyá to where was the Lady Sonmatí, and saw her

\* अन्ध = अन्ध, 'hidden'.

† समनतवा is long form of समनत.

‡ सेकर for तेकर is an unusual form in Bhojpúri. It is more common in Magahi. In Bhojpúri it has only been noted south of the Ganges.

§ डंडिया is long form of डंडी, 'the bar of a scale'.

¶ Cf. note to verse 245.

¶ बंधेले is potential passive.

\*\* खरार is the disease resulting from not eating at the proper time.

†† दतुशन is a tooth-brush, राम दतुशन is the ceremony of brushing the teeth.

in front of her. Up rose the Lady Sonmatí and said, 'Hemiyá. How is his Highness?' (415) Up rose the Damsel Hemiyá and said, 'O Lady, how can I say how his Highness is? The prince is speaking evil words. He is asking the name of his father and of his brother.' (420) Sonmatí went taking with her a vessel of water, and a tooth-brush. She took with her cow's milk and a bundle\* of Magahí betel, (425) and went to the *Lál Darwájá*, where prince Bijai was sleeping, and stood by his head. 'Arise, prince, brush thy teeth, and bathe in the Ganges. (430) Drink a vessel of cow's milk and chew† a bundle of Magahí betel. Give up the anger in your heart. (435) You are the support of my life; for you my whole day passes. For your sake have I been patient.' Up rose prince Bijai and said, 'Sister, I will eat food and drink water,‡ when you tell me my father's name. What happened to my brother?' (440) 'When you were yet in your mother's womb,§ your father died. The day that you were born, was the day on which my husband (your brother) took me to his house|| and on the same day your brother (my husband) died.' (445) When he heard this he said, 'If you were not my sister-in-law, I would strike even you on the head and kill you. Sister-in-law, my father went to my wedding, and now he is suffering in prison. (450) Sister-in-law, my brother went to my wedding, and now he is suffering in prison. My wife's father's name is Báwan Súbá, and it is he who has put them in prison.'

When Sonmatí heard these words (455) she began to weep bitterly, and went into the female apartments, where her friends and companions were. 'Hear my friends and companions, the prince went to play tip-cat. (460) Who has wakened up the wasp?¶ Friends, the prince remembers his father and his brother. He is going into his enemy's country. Tell me what I am to do to prevent it. How shall I cause the prince to forget?\*\*\* (465) Up rose her friends and companions and said, 'Friend, put anklets on your legs, and on every hair plait a pearl. Take unto yourself the sixteen charms of a woman; make and spread a bed, (470) and go and catch the prince's arm.' She took unto herself all the charms, and went into the *Lál Darwájá*, where prince Bijaiyá was sleeping. She caught the prince by the arm, (475) 'Prince, come with

\* डोली is a bundle of 200 leaves of betel for chewing.

† The √ कचर *lit.* 'champ', from the noise (कच कच) made by the teeth. The same root is also used for cutting grass with a sickle for a like reason.

‡ *Lit.* I will eat from food to water.

§ अतनवा is long form of अतन, 'womb'.

|| The ceremony of *Gauná* referred to in verse 179.

¶ i. e. his fiery nature.

\*\* √ भोर = Hindi √ भूल.

me to the female apartments. Of what is written in our fate there is no eraser. For you and me it is written that we shall sleep pleasantly together.' Prince Bijai went as she told him, and Sonmatí (laid herself down beside him) and slept. (480) But, behold, between them the prince lays a sword. Up rose the lady Sonmatí and said, 'the red of dawn has begun, and morn is breaking. Prince, turn and look upon my face.' When the prince heard these words, (485) he got up and stood, 'Up to to-day you have been my sister-in-law,\* but from to-day you are to me as my mother.'

Sonmatí went out followed by the prince, (490) who said, 'Sister-in-law, where is the colt Hichchhal?' Up rose the Lady Sonmatí and said, 'the horse was in its stable.' (495) Against the door of this stable she had placed a millstone. There the prince called to mind the goddess Durgá. 'O Durgá be a help to my arm.' He went and upset the millstone, and his eyes fell upon the horse. (500) The colt Hichchhal began to weep, and up he spake, full of anger, and mad. 'Prince, why have you shown me your face? Twelve years† have passed by, (505) and you have put me also into the stable.' Again he said, 'Prince thus hast thou done in thine own castle.' Up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'Hichchhal, I did not know your condition. (510) To-day have I heard it for the first time, and I came to search for you.' Then the prince took him out of the stable to his father's tank, and there he rubbed him down and made him ready. (515) He then went to his own doorway, tied up the horse under a *nim* tree, and gave him clarified butter and sweet cakes. He increased its allowance of grain, and then the horse became ready. (520) The prince went to the female apartments, where was his sister-in-law Sonmatí. 'Sister, give me a horse's saddle.' She gave him a saddle, and he brought it to the horse (525) and girthed it on. He leaped upon its back and rode upon it. Up rose his sister-in-law Sonmatí and said, 'My prince, you are going to the enemy's land, go thou first to the platform of the goddess's altar, (530) and kneel‡ before her.' He went to the platform, and prayed, saying, 'Goddess, I am going to the enemy's land, remain a help over me.' (535) Up rose the sister-in-law Sonmatí and said, 'My prince, keep the goddess Durgá in your heart. She further said, 'You are going into the enemy's land, how shall I know your welfare?' (540) Up rose prince Bijai and said 'Get a green sandal tree cut, and have it planted in your courtyard.

\* According to native custom, it is allowable for a woman to joke with her husband's younger brother. This sometimes leads to intrigues, which, when between these, are looked upon as almost venial, especially when the woman is a widow.

† See note to verse 245.

‡ Regarding ✓ घात, see note to verse 215.

As long as that sandal tree remains fresh, so long know that the prince is living, (545) when the sandal tree withers know that the prince has been killed in battle.\* Up rose sister-in-law Sonmatí and said as she wept, 'My prince, from to-day you have begun to forget me.'

(550) Away went Prince Bijai, and Hiehchhal flew away into the sky. He went and went till he arrived at the fortress in the mountains. The prince halted at Báwan's tank. (555) Up rose the goddess Durgá and said, 'My Prince, thou art come into the enemy's land. Here must you show subtilty. I am going to Báwan's castle, and will show a dream to Chalhki.† (560) Away went the goddess to Báwan's castle, to where Chalhki, the barber's wife was sleeping. The goddess took the form of a cat, 'Hear, O Chalhki, the barber's wife, Tilki's‡ father has had a tank dug, (565) and her brother has built the steps to it. Great skill§ has been shown in building it. O Chalhki, Tilki has never seen it, O Chalhki, shame upon her life'. When Debí had shown this dream, (570) she returned to prince Bijai.

O my gentlemen, now hear what happened to Chalhki. She went to where was the princess Tilki, and said, (575) 'Hear, O Princess, I was asleep in my room,|| and at night I saw a wondrous dream. O Princess, your father has dug a tank, and your brother the four flights of steps to it, (580) and you have never seen it. Come and bathe in it.' When Tilki heard these words, she went to her mother, and her gaze fell upon her. (585) 'O daughter, have you abused or quarrelled with any one, that to-day you are come to me?' 'O mother, I have neither abused nor quarrelled with any one, but my father has dug a tank, a tank of great symmetry. (590) Mother, I would go and bathe in it. Mother, grant me permission to go. For this reason am I come.' Up rose Queen Mainá and said, 'O daughter, hear my words. (595) In the courtyard will I have a tank dug. In the courtyard will I have four flights of steps built. In the courtyard bathe thou, and go, back to thy apartments. Daughter, to the tank (you mention) come merchants, and you will become enamoured of them. (600) You will get your father's name laughed at. If your father or brother hear of it, they will kill me, and fill my skin with chaff.' On hearing this Tilki (understood that) the queen had not given her leave, (605) and went away to her

\* √ जम्, 'be killed in battle'.

† The maidservant of queen Mainá.

‡ Bijai's wife, the daughter of Báwan Súbá.

§ करिगरिया is long form of करिगरौ.

|| चित सरिया is long form of चित सारौ which is said to be the same as चित्र सारौ, 'a little painted room,' but the meaning of the word is very doubtful.

own palace, where she lay down, and tightly fastened the doors. Morning and evening passed away, (610) and thither came Chalkí the barber's wife, and sees the state in which Tilki is. She went to the queen, 'Hear, queen Mainá, Tilki has passed a morning and an evening (shut up in her room), (615) now, give her leave to go.' The queen gave leave for two half-hours. Up rose queen Mainá and said, 'Chalkí, go and bathe and return, by night.' Away went Chalkí the barber's wife (620) 'Hear, princess, open your tightly shut doors. I have got you leave for two half-hours.' The princess instantly opened the tightly shut doors, and collected five or ten of her friends and companions. (625) On her legs she placed anklets, and on her arms, armlets. On every hair she plaited a pearl, and adorned herself with the sixteen graces. A garment of the south she wore on her body, (630) and a velvet bodice. The very strings of her bodice were priceless. On her forehead she stuck a silver spot, and in her eyes she placed collyrium. (She was as beautiful as) the moon of the second day of the lunar fortnight, when it rises. (635) She looked at herself in a mirror, and struck her breast a heavy blow. 'O God, why did you give me so much beauty, when my husband is so pitiless. Shame upon my life!' (640) All her friends and companions were ready and she stepped out of the first door. On her left side a crow cawed, and she drew back the foot which she had put forward;\* saying, 'Hear, O crow with lucky marks, (645) I will give you a dish of rice and milk,† if you will show me the path of my husband.' As she stepped out of the second door, the silver star upon her forehead fell to the ground. Up rose the princess Tilki and said, (650) 'Hear, O my friends and companions, twelve years have passed (since my marriage) and never has my silver star sprung up (and fallen to the ground). Consider now all about this.' 'O Princess, what can we consider about this?' (655) She passed the third door, and the strings of her bodice burst. 'O friends, why burst the strings of my bodice? Consider now all about this.' 'O Princess, your husband is come to the tank, (660) and for this reason do the strings of your bodice burst.' She stepped through the fourth door, and lo the end of her sheet which was gathered and tied up in front slipped open. 'O friends, consider now all about this.' 'Princess, you are thinking of him to whom you are married, (665) hence has the end of your sheet slipped open.' Up

\* चंगवाँ is long form of चाम, 'front'.

† These lines are constantly appearing in various songs. A crow is supposed to be able to tell the whereabouts of any person, because it is a great traveller, and because its caw is said to be टाय, टाय, 'place, place,' and hence it knows every place.

rose Princess Tilkí, and said, 'Hear, O friends and companions. You are bantering me. A falcon has carried off my husband. (670) He has probably married somebody else. If he were here now, he would have come to take me off to his own house.\* She stepped over the fifth doorway, and passed through the sixth (675) and the seventh. Behold, a flag is visible† at the tank. Up rose Chalhki the barber's wife and spoke to the Princess. (Now Chalhki was a great favourite with her.) And the friends and relations went on.

(680) In the meantime the crow flew to where the Prince was, and cawed over his head. Up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'Hear you base-born crow. Why, base-born one, did you caw? (685) Up rose the goddess Durgá and said, 'Prince, the love of your life has joined you. And on that account the crow cawed.' Up came the friends and relations and ascended the high bank of the tank. (690) Up rose the goddess Durgá and said, 'Hear, Prince Bijai, the love of your life has come. Now go and block up the *zanáni ghát*.‡ Up rose the Prince, and sat down and blocked the *ghát*. (695) Then said the friends and companions, and Tilkí, 'O Chalhki ask him who he is; and say that these young ladies want to bathe.' Said Chalhki the barber's wife. (700) 'O Princess, ask him yourself.' Then up rose Tilkí and said, 'Hear, O merchant by the tank, where is your house and home? For what place have you started?§ (705) 'My house is in Ghunghun, and I am come to the fortress in the mountains.' Said the friends and companions, 'Sir, be good enough to leave the *zanáni ghát*, for the young ladies want to bathe.' (710) Up rose prince Bijai and said, 'Young ladies, one watch will I consume in washing my teeth, the second watch in bathing, the third in worshipping the goddess Durgá, the fourth in eating, (715) the fifth in making myself ready, and at the sixth watch will I leave the *ghát*.' Up rose the Princess Tilkí and said, 'if Báwan Súbá hears this, he will fill your skin with chaff.' (720) When the prince heard this he said, 'How is the proud Báwan Súbá? I would like to see the bravery of the father-in-law.¶ Then said Tilkí, 'Hear, O merchant by the tank, what is the mother, (725) of one who hath such beauty as you, like? What is your wife like, who could for the sake of gain send thee forth

\* The ceremony of *gaundá*, see note to verse 179.

† ✓ लोक ०) लौक, 'be visible'.

‡ The *zanáni ghát* is the flight of steps at a tank reserved for *Pardá-nishín* women. Loose or impudent fellows can easily and most effectually block it by simply sitting near it, as no respectable woman will then approach it.

§ A पापुन is a dress or cloak worn by a man, which, when he is going on a journey, he sends out on the way before him at an auspicious time.

¶ ससुर is here used, like सार 'brother-in-law,' as an abusive term.

into the world? Shame upon their lives.' (730) Up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'What is *your* mother like, and what your husband like, that you whose body is lovely as a flower, (735) are allowed to wander alone in the forest. Shame upon their lives.' 'What is your Honour's father's name, and what your mother's? What is the name of your brother (740) and of his wife?' Up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'What is your Honour's father's name, and what your mother's?' Saith Tilki, (745) 'My father's name is Bāwan Súbá, my brother's Mánik Chand, and my mother's Mainá.' Saith Prince Bijai, 'My father's name is Gorakh Singh, (750) and my mother's Ghaghelwá. My brother's name is Randhír Chhattri, and his wife's name is Soumatí.' Up rose Princess Tilki, and said, 'What is the name of your wife's father, (755) and what of her brother, and mother? and what is your wife's name?' Up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'What is the name of your husband's father, (760) and what of your husband's elder brother? What is the name of that elder brother's wife, and what is the name of your husband?' Saith Tilki, 'My husband's father's name is Gorakh Singh, (765) and my husband's elder brother's name is Randhír Chhattri. My husband's mother's name is Gaghelwa, and that of my husband's brother's wife is Soumatí, but I never came to know my husband's name.' Saith Prince Bijai, (770) 'My wife's father's name is Bāwan Súbá, and her mother's name is Mainá, but my wife's name I never came to know.' When Tilki heard these words she turned back her face which had been facing him,\* (775) and Chalhki rose and said, 'Hear, my brother-in-law,† you have been talking to your wife before you have taken her to your house.‡ O Prince, you must pay the customary forfeit.' The Prince gave her a gold *mohar*, (780) and then she continued, 'O Prince, in excellent manner will I prepare the marriage platform for you, and will send for a well-read *paṇḍit*. In excellent manner will I send you home with your wife.' Up rose Prince Bijai and said, (785) 'I have taken the thirty-six gods upon my head (in a vow) that till I shall have cut my father's chains (I will not do this).' Then said the goddess Dúrgá to him, 'Leap upon

\* A woman cannot talk to her husband in public.

† A ननदाद्या is the husband of a husband's sister (ननद). A woman is allowed to banter with her ननदाद्या. Chalhki, of course, was not really married to Tilki's brother, but amongst women of the same village who are friends, it is customary to call each other sister or other blood-relations and when not of the same village, sister-in-law or other relationship by marriage. In verse 678 we have seen that Chalhki and the princess were great friends, and from this it evidently appears that they did not belong to the same village. Hence they called each other sister-in-law. And as Chalhki called Tilki her husband's sister, she exercised the privilege of bantering Tilki's husband.

‡ See note about *gaurā* to verse 179.

thy horse and ride away. These friends and companions (790) will make you forget your vow. Prince, look not behind or before.' When the Prince heard this (he leaped upon his horse), and when Tilki heard it, she seized the horse's bridle, saying, (795) 'My Lord, hear my little word. Twelve years have passed, and I have thought of the vermilion of my forehead as but a dream.\* To-day it has come back to me. O husband stay here but one night. (800) In my body a fire is rising, O husband, to-day put that fire out.' Up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'Hear me, O slender wife. How can I put that fire out? (805) I have placed the goddess Durgá round my neck, and, if I do as you desire, all the gods will be displeased with me. I would be killed in the open battle-field.' When Tilki heard these words, she began to weep bitterly. (810) 'Husband, from to-day thou hast deserted me.' Said the Prince, 'Wife, be patient in your heart. This very day will I conquer in the fight, and come to your house.' When she heard this she said (815) 'Husband, I will let go the horse's bridle if to-day you will show me some of your skill,' but the prince touched the horse's flanks with his heel, and Hichchal flew into the air.

The friends and companions returned (820) to the female apartments, to where was queen Mainá, and her eye fell upon them. 'Ye gods,' said the queen 'Hear me, Princess Tilki. (825) I gave you leave for two half hours, where have you passed the whole night, and why is your face sad?' 'O mother, the tauk was very exquisite, and I went round and round it to look at it. (830) 'Twas there that I passed the whole night. The west wind blew hard, and that is why my face is sad.' When the mother had heard this, they all went away to their own apartments.

(835) In the meanwhile, the goddess Durgá said, 'Prince, hear my words. Now is your lucky time. Your first fight will be with Mánik Chand, and your second with Báwan Súbá'. (840) So he went to the fortress of Jirhal, where flows the river Jhirjhir. He made his horse to leap into it, and behold his sword fell into the river. Prince Bijai began to lament, (845), 'Alas, I listened to no advice, but came to the prison of my own accord. My sword has fallen into the Jhirjhir, how now will I be able to show my bravery?' Lo, up rose the colt Hichchal and said (850) 'Prince, you were born from a Chhattri's womb. If you are distressed at so little as this, when the time for fighting with weapons comes, how will you bear it? Seven rivers of blood will issue forth. (855) Prince, harden now your heart.' Then said the colt 'Prince, hold the bridle tightly, and I will dive into the river Jhirjhir, and bring out the sword in my teeth' (860) and, behold, Hichchal

\* Vermilion is worn only by married women.

brought out the sword, and went along to the fortress of Jirhul. Above the fortress was planted a hedge of solid bamboos,\* and below was a clump of (thorny) *báburs*,† (865) and encircled by these was the fortress of Jirhul. He cut down the *báburs*,‡ and with his sword the bamboos; and then he entered within the ramparts. The prince went round it in all directions (870), but nowhere could he find an entrance to the inner fort. At last on one side he found a doorway, but the doors were tightly shut. Hichchhal gave them a violent kick,§ and the tightly shut doors burst open. (875) There there were two watchmen, and saith the goddess Durgá, 'Hear, Prince Bijai, now is your time, make a beginning|| here.' (880) The prince killed both of these watchmen, (and cut off) their heads, and he gave his sword blood to taste. The Prince cut through the second door, and the third door was cut through and the fourth, (885) fifth and sixth. At the last were found all the shopkeepers, and Báwan Súbá's prime-minister was seated there, casting up the account of the food given to the prisoners. (890) Up rose the goddess Durgá and said, 'Kill all the shopkeepers, and the prime-minister.' So the prince hacked till he had made a clear space and then he cut through the seventh door, (895) so that the edge of the sword became blunt. The prisoners were all still in prison, and when they saw him they began to weep. 'Is this Prince Mánik Chand, (900) or King Báwan Súbá?' And they said, 'How will the King treat us?' But up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'It is not my father-in-law Báwan Súbá. (905) My name, O prisoners, is Prince Bijai. Be patient in your hearts, and I will bring back the vermilion to your (wives') foreheads.¶ He began to cut the bonds of the prisoners. He cut and cut and made a clear space. (910) Then up he rose and said, 'Hear, O prisoners, plunder Báwan's market,' which they did, and then went to Báwan's tank. Then up rose Prince Bijai and said, (915) as he began to search for his father and his brother, 'What has become of my father Gorakh Singh, and what of my brother Randhír Chhattí? Has Báwan Súbá had them hung?' Then up rose his father Gorakh Singh\*\* (920) (saying) 'Is this a goblin or a demon?' Up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'It is neither a goblin nor a demon. I came here

\* कठवास, a kind of thin, strong, male bamboo used for fences.

† बबुरनिधा is long form of बबरानी or बबुरवानी, a *bábur* clump.

‡ घाल, see verse 215.

§ टपवा is long form of टाप, 'foot.'

|| समझत = a beginning.

¶ See note to verse 798.

\*\* Evidently Gorakh Singh and Randhír had been imprisoned separately from the rest of the marriage procession, and had not yet been released.

to the prison of mine own accord, my name is Prince Bijai.' (925) Then said his father Gorakh Singh 'Have you come of your own accord to the prison? You who are the last grasshopper of your family. You have extinguished your family by doing so. How did you escape from Sonmatí? (930) You are the support of her life.' Then the Prince called the goddess Durgá to mind, and upset the millstone (which was laid against the door of their dungeon), and stood face to face with them. Prince Bijai began to weep, (935) 'O father has the Súbá given you all these tortures?' Up rose his father Gorakh Singh and said, and he and Randhír began to weep,—up he rose and said, 'In a former life I got written in my fate, (940) the (troubles) which I suffered in Báwan's fortress.' He said, moreover, 'Go back, Prince, to your own country.' 'O father, up to now I have been but a single life, now we have become three princes, (945) and in whatever direction I can look, I will take\* possession of the fortress,' so saying he set fire to Báwan's prison and departed. He came to Báwan's tank, (950)—to the tank called Bhāwará. Just then a procession of barbers was passing by, and the Prince had them stopped and brought to him, and told them to shave all the prisoners. He then bought them clothes, (955) and prepared food for them. They all bathed, and according to the rank of each he gave them suitable apparel. Up rose Prince Bijai and said, (960) 'All you go home to your houses together, my life (*i. e.* I) will remain here alone. Do you all unite in blessing me. I myself will conquer in the fight and come home today.' Up rose the prisoners and said, (965) 'We will make a crowd behind your honour,' but the Prince said, 'No, all go to your own country.' So they all went away, only his father and his brother remained behind. (970) So up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'Hear, my colt Hichchhal, take home my father and my brother.' Away flew Hichchhal towards the sky, and arrived at the country of Ghunghun. (975) Sonmatí's gaze falls upon him, and she burns herself to ashes with anger. 'O Hichchhal, what kind of corpse have you hung to yourself? Where have you left him who is my life. Hichchhal, haste and go to the prince, (980) and be victorious in the fight and come back at once. Then will I cover your hoofs with gold'. Away went the colt Hichchhal to where the tiger (*i. e.* Bijai) is crouching and told him all that Sonmatí had said. (985) Up rose the goddess Durgá and said, 'Prince, now is your time, come to the well of Bhāwaránuan.' So he (destroyed) the tank and mixed it up with dust, and took up his station by the well. (990) Thither came some of Báwan's damsels to draw water, and he began to banter with them. 'Good sir, from what country are you a traveller? If king Báwan Súbá hear of this, (995) he will kill you and fill your skin

\* √घात, see verse 215.

with chaff.' When the Prince heard these words, he smashed all their water-jars, and tore from them their ornaments, and the damsels went away from him with their clothes torn, (1000) and came to Báwan's audience-chamber. Said they, 'Hear, proud Báwan Súbá, some king has come, and cut all the fetters of your prisoners. (1005) He has plundered Báwan's market. He has fired the fortress of Jirhul. He has mixed up your tank with dust, and he has brought us to this evil plight. Has the woodworm attacked your arm, O Súbá?' (1010) When Báwan heard these words he burnt himself to ashes with anger. 'Hear me, son Mánik Chand: make ready your army. Fasten the pad on Bhāwaránan the elephant, (1015) and seize the base-born one and bring him here. I will see what sort of man he is. I will make the base-born one cut grass.' So the Prince makes ready his army, the dust whereof reaches to heaven; (1020) and the trumpets sound the call to battle. Up rose the goddess Durgá and said, 'Prince, here is Mánik Chand's army.' So he made his horse to prance in the field, and stood up before (the army) in answer to the challenge. (1025) He stopped all the army, and the battle with weapons began. As the Prince attacked them, Durgá overshadowed (and protected him). He hacked and hewed till he had cleared the battlefield,\* (1030), and only Prince Mánik Chand survived. His nose he cut off, and then his ears and arms, and then he tied him up with his horse's heel-ropes. (1035) Mánik Chand went off to Báwan's audience-chamber, and appeared before his eyes. Báwan became filled with rage and drunk with it. Up rose the proud Báwan Súbá and said, (1040) 'It would have been better if you had been killed in the open battle-field than that you should come home with your ears cut off. You were born from a Chhattri's womb.' When Báwan had heard all this, he made ready his own army, (1045) and started, and arrived at the open field, and then again began the battle with weapons. The Prince hacked and hewed till he had cleared the battle-field, and only King Báwan Súbá survived. (1050) With hands humbly clasped Báwan says, 'Sir, hear my little word. I am your father-in-law. Spare my life.' But the Prince leaped and cut off his head. (1055) So he hacked and hewed, till he had cleared the battle-field and went off to Báwan's castle.

Now the Prince begins to feel boastful. 'If there had not been strength in my thighs, if there had not been valour in my arms, then (1060) what could the goddess Durgá have done.' At this the goddess Durgá became displeased, and the horse and Prince falls into a well. Behold, Tilki had mounted a high upper room and, her gaze falling

\* *Lit.* 'made a clear field'.

upon the Prince, (1065) she cast magic arrows\* to him. Then she and Chalkhi the barber's wife came, and pulled out the prince by the arms. They took him to the wheel of Buddhú the potter.† (1070) Up rose Princess Tilki and said, O Buddhú, if you will bring back the vermilion to my forehead, I will give you half my kingdom.

(Here the potter is supposed to bring the prince to life.) Then Chalkhi sent for a well-read pandit, and in excellent manner did the prince take her off‡ to his house. (1075) Half her kingdom he gave to the potter, and the other half did he now give to the Bráhmaṇ.

The prince went outside before the door of the palace, and there was a younger brother of Tilki's known as Suruj Mall, who said, 'It is a good thing he has come out of the house. (1080) Ho there, attack him with fiery missiles.' So (the servants) fired fiery missiles at him, and Prince Bijai began to burn. Then (Tilki) began to call to memory all the virtuous actions which she had performed in any of the three worlds. 'O my virtuous actions, unite together and be my assistance.' (1085) So she throws out magic arrows, and saved the prince. Then she took a sword in her hand, and cut off all (the enemies') heads.

She had one little brother, still at the breast, remaining. (1090) 'Him,' she said, 'I will take with me, and will thereby keep in existence the relationship of brother, for, O my husband, I will sow Báwan's castle with charcoal.'§ The prince made her ascend her litter, and started, and they halted half way on the road. (1095) (Saith the little brother) 'I will sleep in the bosom of the prince.' The prince became sleepy, and the base-born little brother had with him fifty-six knives, which he thrust into the prince's throat, and then hid himself inside the litter.

(1100) The dawn came, and the morning broke, and saith the princess, 'O Chalkhi, wake my husband.' Chalkhi went to awake him, but when she saw him, she fell fainting, and the princess Tilki began to weep. (1105) 'On neither side have I any one now, for I deserted my father's house.'

In the meantime the sandal tree in Sonmatí's court-yard withered, and her gaze fell upon it, and she fell upon the earth. (1110) Then she ran, she ran to the goddess Durgá's altar-platform. 'O Durgá, if the lad|| has committed a fault (spare him). I would never cut off my right hand.¶ O Durgá, if the Prince is victorious this time, (1115)

\* *Lit.* Indra's arrow. A kind of magic weapon.

† The prince was evidently drowned. When a man is drowned, natives lay him on a horizontal potter's wheel, which they revolve rapidly to make him vomit.

‡ The ceremony of *gaundá* see verse 179.

§ *I. e.* burn it to ashes.

|| बलका is strong form of बालक, 'a boy.'

¶ *I. e.* he is your devoted helper, and like a right hand to you.

I will thatch your temple with gold'. Then Sonmatí hastened away to the Prince, and there she called to mind her former virtuous actions. She split open her finger-nail,\* (1120) brought† the prince into life, and took him home. Then songs of rejoicings began to be played. So up rose the Princess Sonmatí, 'O Hemiyá, now is the lucky time for the prince,' (1125) and up rose Prince Bijai and said, 'O Hemiyá, tell my sister-in-law to bring to me the boys who gave me good advice.' So his sister-in-law did so, (1130) and the Prince ordered them to be clothed in apparel of honour, and had them all feasted on sweetmeats, and laughing and sporting the boys went away.

Then the prince began to live as a householder, (1135) and called upon the name of Rám. He held a great function in honour of the goddess Durgá, who was thus made very happy, (and said) 'O prince, may you live for years from age to age.'

\* Many persons are supposed to carry ambrosia in their finger, which is capable of bringing dead persons to life. Cf. song of Gopí Chand, last paragraph.

† √ घलकी see verse 215.

Fig. 1. Mandala.

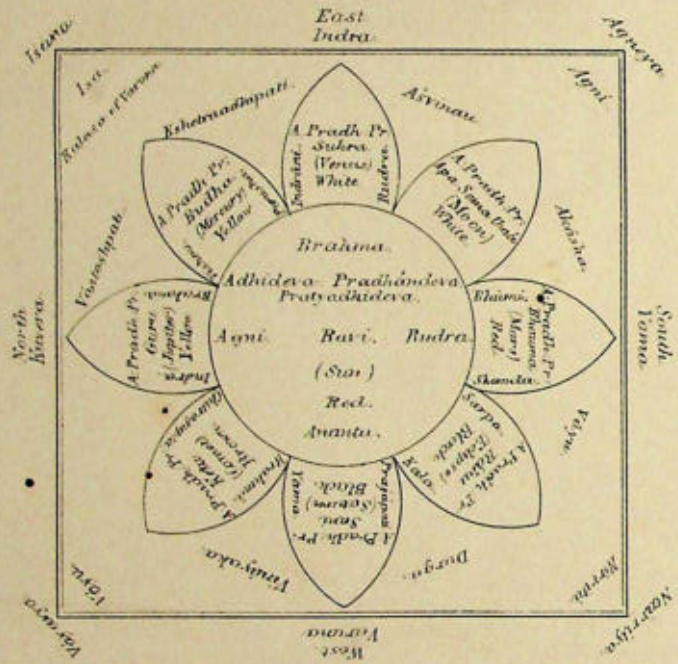


Fig. 2. Vija.

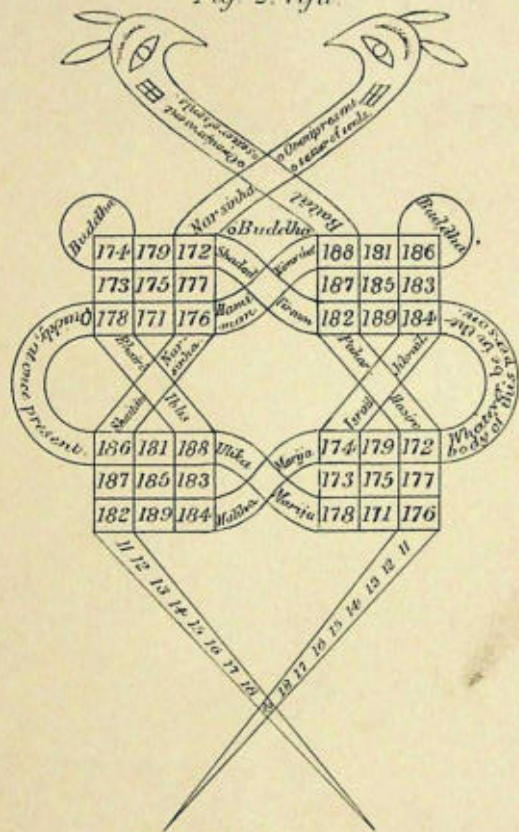


Plate II.



SELECT GOLD COINS OF THE  
GUPTA PERIOD.



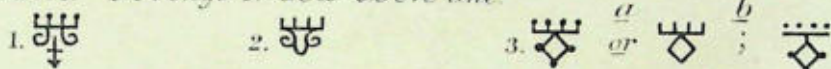
SELECT GOLD COINS OF THE  
GUPTA PERIOD.



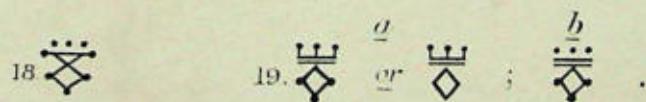
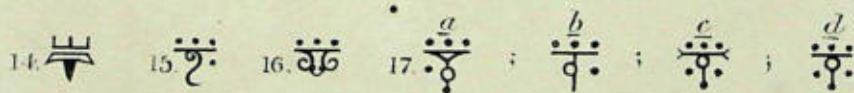
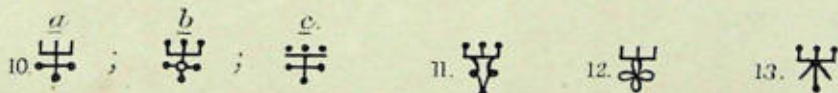
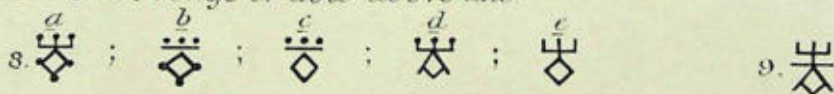
SELECT GOLD COINS OF THE  
GUPTA PERIOD.

MONOGRAMMATIC EMBLEMS.

Class I. 4 Prongs or dots above line.



Class II. 3 Prongs or dots above line.



Class III. No Prongs or dots above line.

