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SIR WM. JONES.

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XI. View of the Tower of Panduah.

XII. Entrance to the Tower of ditto.

ERRATA

in Part I, Journal, for 1870.

Page 52, line 14, after 'corruption of the Sanscrit,' supply vayás.

207, 9, Raddhati read Paddhati.
217, 6, Azadirachta read Azaddirachta.
244, 34, for चयेन read चयेन.
245, " for अनमेयज्ञान read अनमेयज्ञान.
31, for Brahman (dead) read twice born dead.
32, for Brahman read twice-born.
35, for Sudra read a Súdra.
37, for month read a month.
247, 34, for पिवृद्वक read पिवृद्वक.
249, 9, for Vaidya read Vaisya.
39, for चिलियाती read चिलियाती.
252, 11-14, for award read reward.
254, 35, for दत read दत.
258, 28, for to look read when looking.
260, 21, for तेजा read तेजा.
22, for नद्विज्ञान read नद्विज्ञान.
Translations from the Tārikh i Firuz Shāhī, by the late Major A. R. Fuller, Director of Public Instruction, Panjāb.

(Communicated by T. W. H. Tolbort, Esq., C. S.)

[Continued from No. IV. of Part I., for 1869.]

[Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 282.]* When Sulṭān 'Aláuddān had witnessed four consecutive revolts, commencing with that in Gujrāt which was raised by the new converts to Islām, up to that of Hāji Maulā, he awoke from his slumber of apathy and oblivion, and recovered from his various insane fancies. While using his utmost exertions in the prosecution of the siege of Rantambhūr, he held privy councils both by day and night, to which were convoked Malik Hamīduddān, and Malik A'azzuddān, the sons of 'Alá Dābir, and Malik 'Ainulmulk of Multān, every one of whom was an Açaf and a Buzurjmihr in soundness of judgment, as well as some other sage advisers. With these he held consultations and conferences, as to the cause of the revolts, in order that when their origins and causes had been correctly ascertained, they might be altogether removed, so that hereafter no revolt might possibly occur again.

After several days and nights' deliberation, the conclusion arrived at by these councillors was, that the cause of the revolts was comprised

* The foot notes and passages in [ ] are additions made by the Editor of this Journal.
in four things; first, the king’s disregard as to the affairs of the nation, whether they are prosperous or adverse; secondly, wine, for people are in the habit of having parties for the purpose of wine-drinking, when they disclose their most secret thoughts to each other, make confederates and hatch conspiracies; thirdly, the friendship, amity, relationship, and constant intercourse existing among the Malikis and Amirs, and their close connexion with one another; so that if any accident befals one of them, a hundred others on account of their connexion, relationship, and attachment to him, become his confederates; and fourthly, wealth, by reason of which the ideas of treason and disaffection enter their brains, and disloyalty and ingratitude come to a head; for, were people destitute of wealth, every one would attend to his own business and employment, without giving heed to conspiracies and rebellions; and were no means at their disposal, such ideas would never enter the minds of poor and impoverished folks.

Some time after Háji Maulá’s revolt, Sultán 'Aláuddín succeeded with immense toil and difficulty in capturing the fort of Rantambhúr, whereupon he put Rai Hamír Deo, and the new converts, who had fled from the Gujrát insurrection and taken shelter with him, to death. Rantambhúr, together with the surrounding country, was given to Ulugh Kháń, and whatever was in the fort became his.

The Sultán then returned from Rantambhúr to Dílhi, and being greatly incensed against the inhabitants of that city, sentenced many of the chief men to be exiled from it; and he himself would not enter the town, but took up his quarters in the suburbs.

Ulugh Kháń for four or five months during the Sultán’s absence enlisted an immense force, purposing to effect the invasion of Talinga and Ma’bar [Malabar]; but fate happened to overtake him, and he was seized with death about the time of his approach to the capital. His corpse was accordingly brought into the city, and interred in his own mansion. The Sultán was deeply grieved at the sad event [and distributed a great deal of alms to the memory of the departed].

[The Sultán 'Aláuddín* then took active measures to render revolts in future impossible. First of all, he commenced with confiscating

* Here is a blank in Major Fuller’s translation, extending from p. 283, l. 5, from below, Ed. Bibl. Indica, to p. 285, last line. The text of this portion is
the property of certain classes, and gave the order that all villages which people held as milk, or in‘ám, or waqf, should forthwith be resumed and made Imperial Domain land. The officers, moreover, were to treat the people as tyrannically as possible; they should think of pretexts for extorting money, and leave no one in possession of gold. After a short time matters had gone so far, that only in the houses of the Maliks, and Amîrs, and officers, and Multâni merchants, and... not even so much money remained ... and from his excessive demands only a few thousand tankahs.....to him in Dilhî......all pensions, grants of land,......and legacies in the whole kingdom they opened (?), and the whole people had so much to do with earning their livelihood, that no one had even time to pronounce the word ‘rebellion.’

[Secondly, with the view of making revolts impossible, the Sultan appointed informers (munhibydn), and their number was so great, that he knew the good and bad things that men did. People could not utter a syllable without his knowledge; and whatever happened in the houses of the Amîrs and the Maliks, of wellknown and great men, of the officers and collectors, was, in the course of time, brought to the full of blunders, and a few words have remained untranslated. Ed. Bibl. Ind. p. 283, l. 2 from below, for bâgesalnd bikašanand. For ibrâhîm, in the last line, read ibrâhîm has no sense, we may perhaps read ibrâhîm, or ibrâhîm, and leave no one in possession of gold.

P. 284, l. 2, sabâh is unclear to me. After án gaddre, a sentence with āsan is wanting. For khánah we expect khánah, though it is in accordance with the clumsy style of Zia‘î Barani. Maf‘ûz on l. 3 is a queer word, and should be either badrozah, or rozânah, daily allowance, the same as wazîah. Another queer word is ʿazamat on l. 14, for which we have perhaps to read ʿazamat fine, mulet. For ẓiyan on l. 4 from below, read čahâezi ẓiyan, as on p. 285, l. 2 from below. For miyârland on l. 9 of the same page (284), we should perhaps read miyârî, if dauw be the subject; for the plural miyârland in the following line is used honoris causâ of the Sultan. The word ʿazam is doubtful.

The word dauw is evidently the name which ‘Alâuddîn gave his corps of spies, and is the same as naubat, a watch, a patrol.

On p. 285, l. 13 dële and before ākâ An amusing alteration by the printer’s devil and his ‘superintendent’ may be found on p. 287, l. 3, where for fitnah. angezi, we read fitnah i Augrezi!!
Sultan. Nor did he treat indifferently (faru naguzasht) whatever information was brought to him by the patrol (duar), but he made the patrol responsible for it. The spies were so intruding, that the Malik's in Hazar Situn could no longer say a single word openly, and if they had to say anything, they made use of gestures. Day and night they trembled in their houses, lest the patrol of informers should come; and they no longer spoke, nor did they do anything which might subject them to reproof, fines (gharimah), or punishments (ta'zir). Every Bazár news, sales and purchases, and the doings of the people in the markets were reported by the watch, and inquired into by the Sultan.]

[Thirdly, with the view of preventing revolts in future, the drinking and the sale of wines were prohibited. Afterwards the Sultan also prohibited baggni and hemp (bang), as also gambling. Great exertions were made to carry out the prohibition of the sale of wine and baggni, and special wells were constructed to serve as prisons. Drunkards, gamblers, baggni-vendors, were driven out of the city into the country, and the enormous taxes which the state had derived from them, had to be struck off the revenue books. The Sultan, first of all, gave the order to remove from the social assembly rooms of the palace all decanters, ma'baris, the porcelain vessels painted with gold, and the glasses and

* Ta'zir (تعزير) is a punishment not fixed by the Qurán, and is opposed to hadd (حد) when the Qurán fixes the punishment, as stoning for adultery. In the former the judge may use his discretion, and control the degree of the punishment according to circumstances.

† I do not know why the 'superintendents' of the Ed. Bibl. Ind. have written bagni. The word is only given in the Majma'ul'furs by Sururi (vide J. A. S. B., 1868, p. 16), who has—

From this Burhan has copied, though he has left out the form pagni, which has also come under Sururi's observation.

‡ The text (p. 284, l. 1) has معبرى, a word not to be found in our dictionaries. From the context it is clear that a vessel for holding wine is intended. It may come from معبر ma'bar, Malabar.
bottles. All were smashed, and the broken bits were thrown in heaps before the Badaon gate. The bottles of wine were also taken from the assembly rooms and poured out, and the quantity of wine thus thrown away was so great, that pools and puddles were formed as in the rainy season. The Sultan ‘Ala‘uddin also discontinued his wine-assemblies, and he told the Maliks to mount elephants and go to the gates of the city, and into the streets and the districts, the bazârs and sarâis, and proclaim that it was his order that no one should drink or sell wine, or have anything to do with wine. Decent people gave up wine drinking as soon as the order was published, but shameless ill-disposed wretches, pimps and panderers, erected stills (Hind. bhaṭṭī), and distilled spirits from sugar, and drank and sold wine in secret; or they filled leather bags outside the town with wine and put them between loads of grass or fuel, or had recourse to other tricks of conveying wine into the city. The spies made strict inquiries, and the guards at the gates and the runners (barâd) posted there examined every one, and seized the wine and the owners, and took them before the Palace. It was then ordered to give the wine to the elephants of the Imperial stables to drink; and such as had sold it, or smuggled it into the city, or had drank any, were beaten with sticks, and fettered, and put into prison, where they were detained for some time. But as the number of the prisoners increased very much, they made wells before the Badaon gate at a place where all people pass by, and into these wells all were thrown that drank or sold wine.]

Some from the distress and misery they suffered in the wells died there, while others who were released after a time, came out half dead, and it took ages for them gradually to recover their health, and pull up strength. Many, therefore, through fear of imprisonment, abjured the use of wine, and if they were unable to control their appetites, they used to go [to the fords] of the Jamnah, and the villages ten or twelve kos off, and drink it there. In Ghiaaspur, however, and Indarpat,* and Kiluk’hari, and the villages four or five

* Ghiaspur and Indarpat are portions of Dihli. Kilkok’hari had been noticed before. Ghiaspur is that portion of Dihli where Nizamuddin Aulia lies buried. It is also called Mughulpur, from a party of Mughuls that were converted to Islam and settled there; Baddoni I. p. 173, l. 4. I am not quite sure whether this Mughulpur is not the same as Afghânpur, mentioned before (J. A. S. B. for 1869, p. 214, note) ; for the pargana and the town of Afghânpur in Sambhal also were called both Afghânpur and Mughulpur.
kos away, as well as in the Saráis outside the town, the sale and purchase of liquor was no longer feasible. It is nevertheless certain that some reckless individuals continued to distil wine at their own houses, and to drink and to sell it; and ultimately suffered disgrace and infamy, and were cast into prison.

When the prohibition of the use of wine began to press too severely, the Sultan gave orders that, if any one distilled spirits privately, and drank the liquor in seclusion, without having a party or assembly, and without selling it, the spies were not to interfere with him, nor enter his house, nor apprehend him.

From the day that the use of wine was interdicted in the city, treasonous conferences and conspiracies began to decrease, and thoughts and ideas of rebellion were no longer agitated by the people.

Fourthly, with a view to obviate the causes of revolt, it was directed that the Maliks and Amírs, and all the noble and confidential officers of the crown, should not go to one another's houses, and give parties and entertainments, nor should they, without first reporting the matter before the throne, enter into family alliances with one another, nor permit the people to have constant intercourse with them at their houses.

This order also was enforced with such strictness that not a stranger was permitted to stay in the houses of the Maliks and Amírs; and feasts and entertainments, when a great concourse of people would be gathered, were altogether stopped.* The Maliks and Amírs, though fear of the patrols, behaved most cautiously, and never held an assembly, nor uttered an imprudent expression, nor allowed any rebellions, infamous, or disaffected character to come near them. When they repaired to the palace, moreover, it was no longer possible for them to put their heads close to one another's ears, and to utter and hear whispered conversations, nor could they sit down in close proximity at one spot, and give vent to the sorrows of their hearts, and to complaints against the world.

* So perhaps in Major Fuller's MS. The last line on p. 286, of the Edit. Bibl. Indica has no grammar. Page 287 of the same edition is dreadfully disfigured by blunders and typographical errors. Line 3, read angezi for angrezí. For mushattití with a б, we expect mushattiti, with a ω. Line 15, for áwardán read áwardánd. Line 17, for khúdan read khúdárvá. Line 18, for yá read tá. Line 19, for chará, read chará; for bistándá read bistándánd; and sukúmatzari should not be broken up. Line 20, for ghubbate read ghabane.
Owing to this prohibition also, no information of a treasonous conference ever reached Sultan 'Ala'uddin, nor did any revolt again occur. After settling the above regulations, Sultan 'Ala'uddin requested his counsellors to suggest some rule or regulation, whereby the Hindús might be ground down, and their property or wealth, which is the source of rebellion and dissatisfaction, might no longer remain with them; and that one law respecting the payment of revenue might be instituted for all of them, whether landlords or tenants, and the revenue due from the strong might not fall upon the weak; and that so much should not be left to the Hindús as to admit of their riding horses, wearing fine clothes, and indulging in sumptuous and luxurious habits.

In furtherance of the above object, which is indeed the chief of all objects of government, they suggested two regulations. First this, that whatsoever the Hindús cultivated, whether great or little, they should give one half agreeably to the measurement and [the full value of the produce per biswah], without any distinction, and that they should leave the landlords nothing beyond their proprietary rights [?]. Secondly, that they should levy a grazing tax on every animal that gives milk, from a cow to a she-goat, and that they should collect them in a fold in rear of every dwelling house [?]; so that no opportunity might be left for

* The text has خوطة وبالهران. Lower down we find خوطة وبالهر. Baláhar may be Hindúsáni, and signify a low-caste servant. Khúf is a rare Arabic word signifying a fine, strong man. From the passages below it is quite clear that these terms mean the strong and the weak, and most probably landlords and tenants, as translated by Major Fuller. If I did not know that Major Fuller's MS. had with a خوطة وبالهر — he says in a foot note that the words خوطة وبالهر are unintelligible to him —, I would say that خوطة was a blunder for فوطة, with a ف.

I have never seen these terms used in any other book.

† The text has bahukin i masádat o wajid i biswah bikunand,—very unclear terms. Major Fuller left a blank. 'Aláuddin wants to grind down the Hindús; they are to pay taxes amounting to one-half, i.e. 50 per cent., and their lands are to be measured, and not even a biswah of their grounds is to escape taxation.

The words from without distinction to dwelling house, with all due deference to a scholar like Major Fuller, are wrongly translated, though I am not sure whether the following is absolutely free from objections. Translate—

First this, that they (the officers) should measure, and tax to the full value, even the last biswah, whatever grounds the Hindús cultivated, whether great or little; and that the Hindús should pay 50 per cent. without distinction, and that there should be no difference between the powerful and the weak, and that they (the officers) should remit the powerful nothing of the sums due by them for their wealth. Secondly, they should levy a grazing tax on every
translations belongs is Katehar Qayini,* Nâib Wazir of the Empire, who had not his equal in the art of caligraphy throughout the whole Kingdom, and was conspicuously distinguished for his judgment and ability and his elegant composition, was several years employed. He used the greatest efforts, until he made all the villages around the capital, the towns and districts in the Duâb, from Biyânah to Jháyin, from Pâlam to Deopâlpûr, and Lûhûr, all the territories of Samânâh and Sunnâm, from Rewâri to Nâgor, from Karah to Kânodî, and Amrohâh, Aghânâpûr, and Kâbar; from Dabhâi to Bâdàon, and K’hârak, and Koelâh, and the whole of Katehar;†—until he made all these places, with regard to the payment of revenue, subject to one standing regulation of measurement and [the full value of the produce per biswâh, and of a house tax, and] the grazing tax, as if they were but one village.

He carried out the system so well too, that contumacy and rebellion, and the riding‡ of horses, carrying of weapons, wearing of fine clothes, and eating of betel, went out entirely among the Chowdries, animal that gives milk, from a cow to a she-goat. And this grazing tax was established. Also, for every house, they should demand a dwelling tax, so that no opportunity, &c. The difficult words are as pos i har khânah sukhânât- garât takab numâyand. Zîâ, as shall be shewn below, is a most miserable writer, as far as style is concerned. His language is Hindi literally translated into Persian. Even in his work on the History of the Barmakides his style is very poor. Az pos i har khânah is idiomtic Hindi or Hindûstânî, har g’har ke pîchhe, behind every house, i.e. for every house, per house. That a new tax is meant is clear from p. 288, l. 10 and p. 323, l. 10, where is either करही (करही) or गरही (गरही), or गरही, a house.

* So according to Major Fuller's M.S. Qâyîn (قیان) is the well known in Persia.
† Samânâh and Sunnâm occur often together. They belong to the Sirkâr of Sârhind; Dabhâi (دیبہی) or with a nasal دیبہی), belongs to the Sirkâr of Kol, and must not be confounded with دیبہی, (now Dahmah) in the Sirkâr of Ghâzîpûr. Kânaudâh, or Kânaoudâh, belongs to the Sirkâr of Nârman; Katehar is Rohâlcund. Kâbur is in Sambhal; another Kâbur belongs to the Sirkâr of Bihâr in Bîhâr. Amrohâh lies in Sambhal. For Major Fuller's M.S. had کیزک (؟).
‡ Compare J. A. S. B., 1869, I., p. 121, l. 15.
landed proprietors, and other opulent men. In collecting the revenue he made one law applicable to all of them, and to such a degree did their obedience extend, that a single constable of the revenue department in exacting the taxes would seize some twenty landed proprietors, chief men, and agents, and minister kicks and blows to them. It was not possible in fact for a Hindú to hold up his head, and in their houses not a sign was left of gold and silver [and tankahs and jetsals], and articles of luxury, which are the main incentives to disaffection and rebellion. In consequence of their impoverished state, the wives of the landed proprietors and chief men even used to come to the houses of the Musalmáns, and do work there, and receive wages for it.

The same Sharaf of Qáin, the Náib Wazír, also carried out the business of investigating and recovering the embezzlements of all the superintendents, overseers, revenue officers, and functionaries, agents, and collectors, to such an extent, and effected such a close scrutiny, that every jetal standing against the name of each of them was extracted from the ledgers (bahi) of the patwáris (or village accountants), and in accordance with that, the sums were levied from them under pain of torture. It was no longer possible, therefore, for any one to take one tankah or any single thing indeed from either a Hindú or Musalmán by way of bribe.*

He thus reduced the revenue officers, collectors, and other functionaries to a state of poverty and destitution; for he used to commit them to prison, and kept them for years in irons for the sake of a thousand or five hundred tankahs, so that these appointments were regarded with greater disgust by the people than a plague. The office of revenue clerk too fell into bad odour, so that no one would give his daughter in marriage to such a person, while the post of superintendent would only be accepted by one who had no regard for his life; for these officials and collectors passed most of their days [on suspicion] in confinement, suffering from blows and kicks.

* In the Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 289, l. 3 dele the words varishvat before chíze. On l. 9, the word شک has either the meaning the jail situated in the shiqqah of a shiqqár (?), or it is blunder for دار shakk, and دار shakk means on suspicion.

In Shakespear's Hindústání Dictionary I find شک shiqqár given in the sense of perplexing, uncertain; but surely, this is a mistake, or an Indian spelling, for شک shak, doubt.
Sultán 'Aláu'ddín was a monarch, who had not a particle of education, and had never cultivated the society of intelligent persons.

On attaining to the sovereignty, he formed the opinion in his own mind, that the business of ruling and governing was a totally distinct affair from giving efficacy to the statutes of religion, and that royal mandates appertained to Kings, but the commandments of the law of the Prophet to Qázís and Muitís. In accordance with this idea, therefore, whatever measure in the course of government pleased him, or appeared advantageous to the State, that he invariably adopted, no matter whether it was consonant with the precepts of religion or not; and never, in the transaction of state affairs, did he ask for an ecclesiastical verdict or decree on the propriety of any measure. Very few intelligent persons had frequent intercourse with him; but of those who used to visit him were, first, Qázi Zia'uddin of Biyánah; second, Mauláná Zahiruddin Lang; and third, Mauláná Mushayyid of Guhrám.* [They were ordered to sit at the table, and sat together with the Amirs outside]. Qázi Mughísuddín of Biyánah also had constant communication with the Sultán, and used to attend both at public and private audiences.

One day, about the time when a great deal of trouble was being taken with regard to levying heavier taxes, and imposing fines and recoveries on revenue officers, Sultán Aláu'ddín told the Qázi Mughís that he intended asking him for his professional opinion on several subjects, and required him to state the exact truth in return. Qázi Mughís said in reply: “It seems as if the hour of my death were near at hand;” whereupon the Sultán enquired, “Why should you think so?” “Because,” exclaimed the Qázi, “when your Majesty asks my opinion on religious points, and I state the truth, your Majesty will get enraged and put me to death.” “Rest assured,” said the Sultán, “that I will not harm you; only reply with truth and sincerity to whatever questions I may put to you.” Qázi Mughís answered, “Whatever I have read in theological works, that will I assert.”

The first question proposed by Sultán 'Aláu'ddín to the Qázi Mughís was: “Under what circumstances can the epithets of Khirúj-

* Guhrám is a town and parganah in the Sirkar of Sarhind. In Elliot’s works, also in Prof. Dawson’s Edition, the name is wrongly spelt Kohrám.
dōh, and Khirāj-guzár be properly applied to a Hindu?" The Qázi replied, "By the ecclesiastical law, the term 'Khirāj-guzár' is applicable to a Hindu only, who, as soon as the revenue collector demands the sum due from him, pays the same with meekness and humility, coupled with the utmost respect, and free from all reluctance; and who, should the collector choose to spit in his mouth, opens the same without hesitation, so that the official may spit into it, and under such circumstances continues to pay him homage. The purport of this extreme meekness and humility on his part, and of the collector's spitting into his mouth, is to shew the extreme subservience incumbent on this class, the glory of Islam and the orthodox faith, and the degradation of false religion. God Almighty himself [in the Qorán] declares with regard to their being subjected to degradation 'an yadīn wahum ḍaghirīna,* and thus he expressly commands their complete degradation, inasmuch as these Hindus are the deadliest foes of the true Prophet. Mustafá, on whom be blessing and peace, has given orders regarding the slaying, plundering, and imprisoning of them, ordaining that they must either follow the true faith, or else be slain and imprisoned, and have all their wealth and property confiscated. With the exception of the Imám i A'zám [Abú Hanífah], whose doctrines we uphold, we have no other great divine as authority for accepting the poll tax (jazyah) from a Hindu; for the opinion of other learned men is based on the [Hadīs] text, "either death, or Islam." Sultan 'Aláuddin burst out laughing at Qázi Mughús's answer, and said: "I know nothing of the subjects that you have been talking about; but it had often struck me, that the landed proprietors and chief men used to ride fine horses, wear handsome clothes, shoot with the Persian bow [i.e., cross bow], fight among themselves, and follow the chase, and yet never paid a jetaal of their taxes on lands, persons, flocks and herds, although they took their proprietary share of the produce separately, and that they were further in the habit of having parties and drinking wine; yet some of them would never come to the collectorate, whether summoned or not, nor pay the least respect to the revenue officers. My anger was roused at this, and glowing with passion, I said to myself: Here am I desirous of conquering other countries, and bringing more realms under

my subjection, while a hundred classes, in my own Kingdom, do not shew that obedience to my rule that ought to be shewn; how can I then expect to bring other countries properly under my subjection? For this reason I have established laws, and made my subjects thoroughly submissive, so that under fear of my commands they would all escape into a mouse hole; and now you tell me that it is inculcated in the divine law, that the Hindú should be made obedient and submissive in the extreme. You are a learned man, O Maulání Mughís, but you possess no experience; while I have no learning, but a vast stock of experience. Rest assured, that the Hindú will never be submissive and obedient to the Musalmán, until he becomes destitute, and impoverished. I have, therefore, directed that so much only shall be left to my subjects as will maintain them from year to year in the produce of the ground, and milk and curds, without admitting of their storing up or having articles in excess.”

The second question proposed by Sultán 'Aláuddín to Qáží Mughís was this: “As to the robbery, embezzlement, and bribery, going on among officials, and the way in which they falsify accounts and defraud the revenue; is this mentioned anywhere in the divine law?” Qáží Mughís replied: “It has never occurred to me, nor have I ever read in any book, that when officials receive a sufficient salary, and yet rob the money of the public treasury, which contains the aggregate of the national income, or receive bribes, or defraud the revenue, they cannot be chastised by their superiors, either by fine, imprisonment, or other infliction as may seem most advisable; but for such a delinquent, who robs in his official capacity, amputation of the hand has not been authorized (i. e., the recognized sentence awarded to a common thief.)”

The Sultán said: “Well, I have ordered the revenue commissioners to recover by means of various kinds of torture whatever sums may appear on investigation against the names of the agents, superintendents, and other officials; and ever since they have been called so strictly to account, I hear robbery and bribery have greatly diminished. I have, however, also directed, that the salary of superintendents, and other officials shall be fixed at such a rate as to allow of their living respectably; and if, notwithstanding this, they still commit frauds, and decrease the actual sums received, it shall be
recovered from them with stripes; and accordingly you yourself can see how it fares in the present day with persons holding these appointments."

The third question proposed by the Sultán to Qází Mughís was this: "As regards the wealth that I brought from Deogír with so much trouble, on my gaining the sovereignty; is that wealth my private property, or does it belong to the national treasury of all Musulmáns?" Qází Mughís replied: "I have no option but to speak the truth before the royal throne; the wealth that your Majesty brought from Deogír, was gained by the force of the army of Isláám; and whatever is gained by such means, becomes the national treasure of all Musulmáns. Had your Majesty acquired the wealth from anywhere by yourself, it would be a satisfactory reason according to divine law, and the wealth so acquired would be Your Majesty's private property."

The Sultán getting testy with Qází Mughís, then exclaimed, "What is this you say? and are you thoroughly aware of what you are speaking about? How can the wealth, for which I staked my own life and that of my followers, and which at the time of my gaining the sovereignty I took from certain Hindús, whose name and designation even were not known at Dihlí, reserving it for my own use without placing it in the royal coffers; how can such wealth (I say) belong to the national treasury?" Qází Mughís replied: "Your Majesty has proposed a question in divine law to me, and if I speak not agreeably to what I have read in the Scriptures, and your Majesty should, by way of test, enquire of other learned men also, and they give a different opinion to what I have given, while I speak in accordance with the royal inclination, how could your Majesty retain any confidence in me, or enquire of me as to the statutes of the divine law?"

The fourth question proposed by Sultán 'Aláuddin to Qází Mughís was this: "What portion of the national treasury belongs by right to myself and my children? Qází Mughís exclaimed: "Surely my hour of death has arrived;" to which the Sultán replied: "Why should your hour of death have arrived?" "Because," said the Qází, "if I answer this question which your Majesty has put to me, according to the truth, your Majesty will get into a passion, and put me to death; and should I tell an untruth, on the day of
judgment, I shall have to enter into hell." The Sultan replied: "State whatever is authorized by the divine law, and I shall not harm you." Then said Mughis: "If your Majesty intends following the example of the virtuous Caliphs, and desires the highest honours of a future state, you should take for your own use and that of your family just as much only as you have assigned to each of the soldiery, viz., 234 tankahs. But if your Majesty prefers following a middle course, and considers that that sum would not suffice to maintain the dignity of your exalted position, you might take for your own use and that of your family as much as you give to the chief dignitaries of your Court, such as Malik Qiran, Malik Qirbak, Malik Naib Wakilidar and Malik Khac Hijib. Or should your Majesty adopt the opinions of the sages of the world, in taking a sum from the national treasury for your own use and that of your family, you should take a portion that is larger and better than that of other nobles of your Court, in order that a distinction may be drawn between yourself and others, and the dignity of your exalted position may not be lowered. Whatever your Majesty takes from the national treasury however, in excess of these three modes which I have represented, and for all the lakhs, and krons, and gold jewels you bestow on your family, you will have to answer for at the day of judgment."

Sultan 'Alauddin flew into a passion, and exclaimed: "Do you not fear my sword, that you dare to say, all the wealth which is spent on my family is unauthorized by divine law?" Qazi Mughis replied: "I dread your Majesty's sword (I assure you), and lay before you my shroud, which is my turban; but your Majesty having asked me a question on divine law, I have replied to it according to what I know. Were your Majesty to seek information as to its political expediency, I should say that whatever is expended on your family should be increased a thousand fold, in order that the royal dignity might thereby be enhanced in the eyes of the people; for this enhancement of the royal dignity is essential to political expediency."

After discussing the aforesaid questions, Sultan 'Alauddin said to Qazi Mughis: "After the way in which you have stigmatized my acts as contrary to divine law, listen to this: I have even established a fine of three years' pay for every horseman, who does not stand muster; I cast into prison all who indulge in wine or sell it; when any one
commits adultery with another's wife, I cut off his (offending) organ and put the woman to death; in revolts I slay both the good and the bad; embezzled money I recover by means of various kinds of torture, and keep the delinquents in prison and in chains so long as one jetal of the sum remains unliquidated, and revenue defalcators I make prisoners for life. Now, do you mean to say all these acts are contrary to divine law?"

Qázi Mughísuddín then rose from his seat, and advancing to the foot of the throne, bowed his head upon the ground, and cried in a loud voice: "O monarch of the world! whether you permit your poor slave to live, or whether you order me, this instant, to be removed from the world, I must declare that all are contrary to divine law; and in the tradition of the Prophet, (on whom be peace!) and in the doctrines of the learned, it is nowhere stated that a sovereign may do whatever he chooses with regard to the promulgation of orders."

Sultán 'Aláuddín offered no reply on hearing the above speech, but, putting on his slippers, retired into his private apartments. Qázi Mughís also returned home, and next day, having taken a final adieu of his family, dispensed alms, and performed ablutions, entered the royal Court, and came before the Sultán, prepared to undergo execution. Sultán 'Aláuddín, however, summoning him to the front, treated him with great kindness, and giving him a robe and a thousand tankahs, said: O Qázi Mughís, although I am not versed in learning, yet for many generations have my ancestors been Musalmáns; and in order that insurrections may not occur, in which so many thousands of Musalmáns are constantly destroyed, I adopt such measures towards the people, as seem most to their advantage. The people, however, shew a rebellious and contumacious spirit, and will not fulfil my commands; and I am, therefore, compelled to make such severe laws as will reduce them to obedience. I know not whether these laws are sanctioned by our faith or not; but whatever I conceive to be for the good of the State, and whatever appears expedient to me at the time, that I order, and as for what may happen to me on the approaching day of judgment, that I know not."

[But stop, O Mauláná Mughís! One thing I do not forget in my prayers to God, and I often say, "O God, thou knowest that my kingdom suffers nothing, if any man sleeps with the wife of his neigh-
bour; or that it is no loss to me, if any one drinks wine; and that I feel no grief, if any one commits a robbery, for he won't steal anything from my inheritance; or that if any one takes advances of money and does not go to his work, the work will yet go on, even if ten or twenty people are lazy. With regard to these four things I certainly act according to the orders of the Prophets. But the people of these times, from one to a lac, nay, to five hundred lacs and one thousand lacs, do nothing but talk and boast, caring neither for this world nor the world to come. Now I am ignorant and do not know how to read and write; in fact my whole knowledge consists in saying an Alhamdu (the first chapter of the Qurán), a Qul huwa-Nâhu (Qor., Sur. 112,) the prayer Qurüâ (as described in law books), and the formulæ of blessing the prophets; but it is I who have given the order in my realm that a married man who commits adultery with the wife of another, shall be castrated; and yet, notwithstanding this harsh and bloody order, several men stand before the Palace who have slept with the wives of others.]

[And those who take advances of money and then do not go to their work, are made liable to refund advances of three years.* But in every employment there are hundreds, two hundreds that are made liable to refund three years' advances, and yet people will take money and not work, and prefer to live broken down in the jails. And for thefts committed in the city, I have reduced to beggary about ten thousand clerks and collectors; nay, I have made their flesh so sore, that worms eat up their bodies, in order to see whether that bad lot will keep their fingers from stealing; for keeping accounts and stealing at the same time is what a clerk, in these days, is born to.]

[And as regards selling and drinking wine, I have killed and am now killing people in the wells. What do they care for being inside? What is a jail to them?—They will drink wine, they will sell it. No one has ever managed God's 'pious subjects,' and I can't either.]

[In the same year in which the Sultan 'Aláddín asked Qázi Mughis on some questions of the law, Maulána Shamsuddín Turk, a very

* On p. 296, Ed. Bibl. Indica, 1. 15 read bá zan i yake for zan i yake, and kunad for kunad; on 1. 18, read bistánad for bistánand, and bandízdá for namzodí.

Bád i berift zadan (1. 12) is said, of men, to boast; of women, we say bád i gesh zadan.

The whole page is about the most difficult and doubtful page in Baraí.
excellent and learned teacher of the Hadis, had come to Multan, bringing with him a collection of four hundred works on the Hadis. He would not go beyond Multan, because he had heard that the Sultan said no prayers, nor attended the Friday-prayer in the mosque. Fazlullah, son of Shaikhul Islam Qadruddin, became his pupil. This learned man, while at Multan, wrote a commentary on the Science of the Hadis, which he sent, together with a pamphlet in Persian, to Court. In the preface, he had said much to the praise of the Sultan. In the pamphlet the following passage occurred. 'I have come from Egypt with the wish of seeing your Majesty and the city of Dihli, and my intention was there to establish a school of followers of the Hadis,* and to deliver the Musalmans from acting upon the traditions of learned but irreligious men. But when I heard that your Majesty says no prayers, nor attends the mosque on Fridays, I returned from Multan. However, I heard of two or three qualities which your Majesty possesses in common with pious kings, and I also heard that your Majesty has two or three qualities which do not belong to religious kings."

['Now, the good sides of your Majesty are these. I am told that the wretchedness and the misery and the despicable condition and the worthlessness of the Hindús are now so great, that Hindu children and women will go about begging at the doors of the Musalmans. Hail, king of Islam! the protection which thou affordest the religion of Muhammad (God's peace rest on him!) is such that, if for a single act done by thee to the glory of Islam, a measure of sins filling Heaven and Earth be not forgiven thee, thou mayest grasp the hem of my garment on the morrow of resurrection."

[Secondly, I have heard that thou hast made grain and apparel and other things so cheap, that no one could improve matters by the breadth of the point of a needle; and it is a matter of astonishment how in this important matter also, which interests all men on earth, and which other kings of Islam have striven to bring about by labours extending over twenty, thirty years, and yet have failed, thou, O king of Islam, hast so well succeeded."

* I. e., the Maulaná rejected the decisions of the early lawyers, unless based upon the Qurán and the Hadis.
["Thirdly, I have heard that your Majesty has banished everything that intoxicates, and that the lust and the lying of the lusty and the liars have turned bitterer than poison. Hail, hail, bravo, bravo, O king, that thou hast brought about this result."]

["Fourthly, I have heard that thou hast driven the trades people with their voluble tongues into mice holes, and hast taken the cheating, and lying, and falsifying out of them; and yet thou thinkest it little that, in this regard also, thou hast managed bázár-people as no king ever has done since the days of Adam. O king, bless God that thou sittest for such deeds in the company of the prophets!]

["But the other things which I have heard of your Majesty, are such as neither God, nor the prophets and the saints, nor even the rationalist, can approve of. First, for the office of Qázi of the realm (a most critical office which suits no one, except he despise the world) thou hast appointed Hamíd of Multán, whose family from the times of his grandfather and father have lived on usury. Nor dost thou carefully enquire into the belief of thy other Qázis, and thou givest the laws of the Prophet into the hands of the covetous, the avaricious, and the worldly. Be on thy guard, lest thou shouldst not be able to bear thy sinful drowsiness on the morrow of resurrection."

["Secondly, I have heard that people in thy city give up walking after the tradition of the Prophet, and walk after the sayings of the wise. It is difficult for me to understand why thy town, the people of which have the tradition but do not follow it, has not long ago become a heap of rubbish, or why the visitations of heaven do not pour down upon it."

["Thirdly, I have heard that ill-starred, black-faced, learned men in thy town sit in the mosques with abominable law books and decisions before them, making money, and perverting the right of Musal-máns by interpreting, and cheating, and adopting various ways of swindling. They drown the accuser and the accused; but they too shall be drowned."

* On p. 298, in Bibl. Ind. edition, l. 4, read hamanâdî for mandî', and on l. 11, mishumârî for mashumârî. It looks as if mishumârî had been taken in the sense of mashumârî, because the same grammatical blunder is perpetrated three times on p. 327.
On p. 302, l. 8, read lashkar for shukr; l. 11, nágirîft for ū gîrîft; l. 17, az for ar.
['But I have also heard that these two last things are not brought to thy notice, on account of the impious and shameless Qāżī who stands near thy throne; else, thou wouldst never give thy sanction to such a rebellion against the religion of Muhammad.'][

Now the book and the pamphlet written by this teacher of the Hadīs came into the hands of Bahāuddīn, the Counsellor; and Bahāuddīn, the ungrateful Counsellor, gave the book to Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn, but the pamphlet he did not give and kept it hidden, on account of his partiality for Qāżī Hamīd of Multān. But I, the author of this book, have heard from Malik Qirā Beg that the Sultan learned from Sa’d, the logician, that such a pamphlet had arrived; and he called for the pamphlet, and he wanted to make away with Bahāuddīn and his son, because he had not given up the pamphlet, and the Sultan was very sorry that Maulānā Shamsuddīn Turk had returned from Multān disappointed.] (Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 299.)


Not long after Sultan 'Alāuddīn had returned from Rantambhūr to Dīhī, and begun pursuing this parsimonious and cruel conduct towards the people, and had thrown open the gate of fines and chastisements; Ulugh Khan fell sick, and while proceeding to the Capital, he died at one of the halting-places on the road.

Malik A’azzuddīn Abūrja, [Būr Khan (?), Ed. Bibl. Ind.] was appointed Wazīr in [Shahr i Nau (Jhāyin)] the revenue of which was now levied, like that of the environs of Dehli, according to measurement and the exact value per biswah.

Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn then took the army away again from the Capital, and marching to Chitor, invested that fort, and speedily reduced it, after which he returned to the Capital. Just about the time of his return, an invasion of the Mughuls took place; for the Mughuls had heard in Māwaramahr, that Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had marched with his army to a distant fortress, and was engaged in besieging it, and that Dīhī was consequently unprotected. Ṭurghi accordingly got together two or three tumāns of horse, and reached Dīhī by a series of rapid marches with the utmost celerity.

During this year too, in which the Sultan had proceeded to capture the stronghold of Chitor, Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā Dādbak i hazrat, and
Malik Jhujhú, Jágírdár ["mugta"] of Karah, the nephew (brother’s son) of Naṣrát Khán, together with all the Amírs of Hindústán, had been dispatched to Arangul; but by the time they arrived there, the rains had begun to descend from the sky, and the season became most unpropitious, so that the army of Hindústán could effect nothing at Arangul, and ultimately returned about the beginning of the cold weather, totally disorganized, and with all its stores and equipments lost and ruined.

It was during this very year, when Súltán 'Aláuddín had returned to Dílhi after the capture of Chítor, and the army that had started along with him, had lost all its stores and equipments during the rainy season, and a month had not elapsed since the time of the Súltán’s return, so that the soldiery had not yet been mustered, nor their kits renewed, that the invasion of the Mughuls took place, and the accursed Turghí, advancing swiftly with 40,000 horsemen, encamped on the banks of the river Jamnah, and blockaded the roads of ingress and egress of the city.

A strange incident was this that befell the soldiery during this year; for Súltán 'Aláuddín, after returning from the capture of Chítor, had not sufficient time to provide the army with horses and arms after the loss of equipments they had sustained at Chítor, and Malik Fákhr-uddín Júná, the Dádbak, having returned with the army of Hindústán broken and disorganized from Arangul into the provinces, not a horseman or footman out of it could force his way into the city, on account of the blockade kept up by the Mughuls on all the roads, and the piquets they had stationed. In Multán, Sámanáh, and Deópálpúr, moreover, there was no force of sufficient strength to overthrow the Mughul army, and join the Súltán’s camp [at Sírí]. The army of Hindústán was summoned to advance, but in consequence of the hostile presence of the Mughuls, they remained at Kol and Barán. [The Mughuls moreover had occupied all fords (of the Jamnah)].

Súltán 'Aláuddín, therefore, with the few horsemen that he had at the Capital, came out of the city, and fixing his head quarters at Sírí, pitched his camp there. The Súltán was then under the necessity of having a trench dug round the camp, and palisades, formed of the planks of house doors, erected along side the trench, whereby he prevented the Mughuls from forcing an entrance into the camp. He
also kept his troops ever alert and vigilant, and constantly on the guard and watch, and in every [trench, alang] under arms ready to receive any assault of the Mughuls; but he deferred engaging in a pitched battle. With each division and in each trench too, were stationed five elephants incased in armour, and a party of infantry to keep guard and watch over them. On the other hand the Mughuls used to go round and round the camp, longing to make a sudden irruption on it, and destroy it.

So formidable an invasion of the Mughuls as this, had never before been witnessed at Dihli for many ages; for did Turghi remain but a single month longer on the banks of the Jamnah, he would inspire such dread, as to create utter desolation in Dihli. During the present blockade, however, whereby the supply of water, forage, and firewood was rendered very difficult for the people, the entrance of caravans of grain totally prevented, and the dread of the Mughuls so widely spread that their horsemen used to advance up to Chaurah Segani, [Bibl. Ind. Subhani, as on p. 320] and Murdodhi [Morí and Hadhi, Bibl. Ind.], and the reservoir, and alight at these places, and drink wine there; grain and stores were sold at a moderate price out of the royal depôts, and no great scarcity was felt.*

On two or three occasions desultory conflicts and skirmishes occurred between the outposts on either side, but neither party gained any decided advantage. By the grace of God, Turghi found himself unable to force his way by any means into the Sultan’s camp; and by virtue of the supplications of the poor, after a period of two months, the accursed wretch marched off with his army, and made the best of his way back to his own country.

This occasion, on which the army of Islam had received no injury from the Mughul force, and the city of Dihli had escaped unharmed, appeared one of the miracles of the age to all intelligent persons; for the Mughuls had arrived in great force quite early in the season, and had blockaded the roads against the entry of reinforcements or supplies; and the royal army was suffering under the want of proper equipments, while they were in the most flourishing and hearty condition.

* Vide a plan of 'Ala‘uddín’s Intrenchment in Campbell’s ‘Note on the Topography of Dihli,’ J. A. S. Bengal, 1866, Pt. I., p. 217.
As soon as the danger threatened by Turghi, which indeed appeared most appalling (for the time), had passed away, the Sultan awoke from his lethargy, and gave up carrying on wars and sieges. He built a palace at Siri, and took up his abode there, making Siri his capital, and rendering it populous, and flourishing. He also directed the fortress of Dihli to be built up, and issued orders that the forts on the line of march of the Mughuls, which had gone to ruin, should be repaired, and that new ones should be erected wherever they were required, and distinguished and able governors appointed to all these strongholds in the direction whence the inroads of the Mughuls occurred. He further commanded that they should make up numerous warlike engines, enlist expert marksmen, establish magazines for arms of all kinds, and accumulate stores of grain and fodder after the manner of granaries, within the ramparts; that numerous picked and chosen troops should be enrolled at Samānah, and Dēopālpur, and kept ready for service, and that the districts in the direction of the Mughul inroads should be confided to experienced nobles, and firm and energetic chiefs.

Administrative Measures of 'Alāuddin. (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 303 to p. 326.)

After Sultan 'Alāuddin had taken care to make these preparations against another inroad of the Mughuls, he used to have discussions with his councillors both by day and night as to the means of effectually resisting and annihilating these marauders; and on this point he was most particular in procuring the best advice. After prolonged deliberation, it was agreed and determined by the Sultan and his advisers, that an immense army was required for the purpose; and that all the troops should be picked and chosen men, expert archers, well armed, and well mounted; so that they might be always fully equipped and [well-mounted.] With the exception of this one plan, none other appeared feasible for resisting the Mughuls.

The Sultan then took counsel with his advisers, every one of whom was unequalled and eminently distinguished, saying: “To maintain an immense picked and chosen force well mounted, so that they may be fully equipped and efficient at all times, is impossible, without the expenditure of vast treasures; for one must give regularly every year
whatever sum is fixed upon at first; and if I settle a high rate of pay upon the soldiery, and continue to disburse money to them at that rate annually, at the end of a few years, notwithstanding all the treasure I possess, nothing will be left, and without treasure it is of course impossible to govern or deliberate."

"I am accordingly desirous of having a large force, well mounted, of picked and chosen men, expert archers, and well armed that will remain embodied for years; and I will give 234 tankahs to a Murattab and 78 tankahs to a Du-aspah; from the former of whom I shall require two horses with their corresponding equipments, and from the latter one* with its usual gear. Consider now and inform me how this idea that has entered into my mind about raising a large force, and maintaining it permanently, may be carried into execution."

The councillors, endowed with abilities like those of Aṣaī, exercised their brilliant intellects, and after some reflection unanimously expressed the following opinion before the throne: "As it has entered into your Majesty’s heart, and become implanted† there, to raise a large force and permanently maintained on small allowances [ba mawájib i andāk.] such can never be accomplished unless horses, arms, and all the equip-

* I. e., one horse. The Edit. Bibl. Ind. has yak aspah, one horseman.

This passage is unfortunately unclear and useless, because Barānī has not supplied a commentary. First, it is clear from the following that the wages of 78 and 234 (i. e., 78 X 3) tankahs were unusually low, and Barānī has not stated what the ordinary rates were. Secondly, it is also clear that 'Alāūddīn takes the terms Murattab and Duaspah in a new sense, because he defines them for his councillors, and Barānī has not stated what their usual meanings were. The word Murattab does not appear to occur in later histories; it may mean equipped, though Murattab would give a meaning too. To call a man duaspah, because he joins the army with one horse, is extraordinary, and against the meaning which the word has in the Akbarnāmah, Baḍāonī, the Pādishāhnāmah, &c. Vide the annotator’s note on Akbar’s Mawcabs (Xin translation, p. 238 to 247). Thirdly, we expect in the wages a proportion of 1 : 2, not 1 : 3, because 'Aláūddīn’s Murattab furnishes two, and his Duaspah one horse; but this difficulty may be explained away (vide Xin translation, p. 251, l. 3, where also the rates are given which Akbar gave his Yakaśpashs.

Baḍāonī’s interesting remark that Akbar’s Dég̣h-lāw had been the rule under 'Aláūddīn i Khillī and Sher Shāh (Xin translation, p. 242, and J. A. S. Bengal for 1869, p. 126) was but little be verified by a reference to Zia’s work, though the word Dég̣ḥ (in Akbar’s sense) occurs on p. 319, l. 2 from below (Ed. Bibl. Ind.), and p. 477, l. 6, (Muhammad Shāh’s reign)—also an interesting page for the military history of India, inasmuch an army of 350,000 troopers is mentioned, a statement which may advantageously be compared with Xin translation, p. 215.

† The text has jég̣ir, which is taken in its etymological meaning of jég̣-giṛ-tah, having taken a place, having taking root, vide Xin translation, p. 256, note.

The earliest passage at present known to me, of jég̣ir being taken in a sense
The Sultan then consulted with his trusty and experienced counsellors and ministers, as to what he should do, in order that the means of livelihood might be made exceedingly cheap and moderate, without introducing capital punishment, torture, or severe coercion. The Sultan's ministers and advisers represented, that until fixed rules were established, and permanent regulations introduced for lowering prices, the means of livelihood would never get exceedingly cheap. First then, for the cheapening of grain, the benefit of which is common to all, they proposed certain measures, and by the adoption of these measures, grain became cheap, and remained so for years.

These measures were as follows: a fixed price current; a magistrate (to carry out the provisions) of the law; royal granaries; prohibition against all sales at enhanced prices; consignment of the caravans of grain into the hands of the magistrate of the market; sale of grain by the cultivators at their own fields; publication of the price current daily before the throne.

By the adoption of the seven measures detailed above, whatever was the price current determined before the throne, it never rose a dang, whether there was an excess or a scarcity of rain.

[For the last two paragraphs, the Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 304, l. 4 from below to p. 305, l. 10, has the following:—

Regulation I.—The price of grain to be fixed before the throne.

approaching its later (Indian) meaning of lands assigned to military commanders, occurs in Barānī (Ed. B. I., p. 40, l. 13)—

چهار هزار سوار چاگیر و بداون اقطاع داشت

‘he had 4000 troopers as jāgīr, and held Badaon as aqtā; for which later Historians would say

چهار هزار سوار منصب و بداون چاگیر داشت

The word mançab, like zamīndār, is old, and occurs even in the Tābakāt i Nācīrī.

It is of interest to watch the changes of meaning which the word jāgīr has gone through.
Regulation II.—The Sultan to store a large quantity of grain in granaries.

Regulation III.—To appoint a Shihnah (inspector) of the market (mandi) and trustworthy men with full power and dignity.

Regulation IV.—The merchants (kārwānān) of all parts of the empire to be registered in a Daftar. They are to be in charge of the Shihnah i Mandī.

Regulation V.—The revenue of the Duāb and the country to a distance of 100 kos so to be settled, that the subjects cannot even lay by 10 mans of grain, and the subjects to be ground down to such an extent, that they sell the grain on the fields to the merchants. (For Ṭubbûn, I. 2, p. 305, read Ṭubbûn!)

Regulation VI.—To take certificates from the Collectors [kārkūnān]* of the country to shew that the merchants get the grain on the fields. (For ḳārkūnān vālīt, as is clear from p. 307).

Regulation VII.—To appoint a trustworthy travelling agent (barīd) who, together with the Shihnah, is to report to the Sultan on the state of the market.

Regulation VIII. For rendering produce cheap.—In times of drought, no produce, not even for a dāng, uselessly to be sold in the markets.

In consequence of these eight rules, the price of grain did not rise a dāng, whether there was an excess or a scarcity of rain. (The last regulation is not enumerated separately on p. 308 of the text.)

The first regulation was of this description—Wheat, 7½ jetales per man; barley, 4 j.; gram, 5 j.; rice, 5 j.; māsh, 5 j.; and mot’h, 3 j.† The above prices held good for years, and as long as Sultan 'Alaūddin was alive, grain never did rise a dāng above that, either during an excess or a scarcity of rain, and this establishment of a fixed price in the market was considered one of the wonders of the age.

* We should not forget that Kārkūn was the title of a class of Revenue officials under the 'Amil, or Collector. During the reign of Akbar, the 'Amil, had two bitikkhās or 'writers' under him, whose titles were Kārkūn and Khāż-nawāis. Abulfazl specifies their duties in the Akbarnāmah (beginning of the 27th year).

The Barīd (pr. 'runner,' from the Latin veredus), in time of Baranī had to perform those duties which the Waqṭ-ahmawāts under the Mughuls had to perform. Vide my Ain translation, p. 258. Abulfazl, indeed, says that the office of the Waqṭ-ahmawās was an innovation by Akbar; but from Baranī (Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 40, l. 6 from below) it is quite clear that the office existed as early as in the reign of Balban, though the 'Waqṭ-ahmawās' was called barīd. Hence news agent would be perhaps a better term than travelling agent.

† Professor Cowell, I think, observes very correctly that these price lists would be more interesting, if the coins and their value were better understood. But they may be compared with the price lists in the Ain, p. 62.
The second regulation for effecting a cheapness in the price of grain was, that Malik Qabúl [a servant of Ulugh Khán], who was a wise, discreet, and trustworthy noble, was appointed magistrate (shihnah) over the market. The official in question was granted a large estate, and a large body of cavalry and infantry to support his power and consequence. A deputy, shrewd and experienced, was also appointed from the throne, out of the circle of his friends, and a distinguished travelling agent [barid] with a due sense of respect for royalty was also installed in the market.

The third regulation for the same purpose was, the accumulation of vast hoards of grain in store-houses. Sultan 'Aláuddín gave orders that throughout the crown lands in the Duáb, they should take the grain itself in place of money payments for revenue, and send it into the royal granaries at the capital, while in [Shahr i nau] and its adjoining territory, they should take a moiety of the royal share in kind, and that in Jháyín and its several districts also, they should form dépôts for grain, and forward it by the caravans to the capital. In short, so much of the royal grain reached Dihlí, that there was scarcely a street, which did not contain two or three of the royal store-houses filled with it; and when there was a scarcity of rain, or the caravans, from some cause or other, failed to convey sufficient grain into the market, they used to bring it into market from the royal stores, selling it at the regulated price, and supplying the people according to their wants, while in Shahr i nau they used to consign the grain out of the royal dépôts to the caravans. By these two arrangements, there was never a dearth of grain in the market, nor did it ever rise one dángh above the regulated price.

The fourth regulation for the same purpose was, the consignment of the caravans to (the charge of) Malik Qabúl, magistrate of the market. Sultan 'Aláuddín gave orders, that the whole of the caravans from all parts of the kingdom should be subject to the magistrate of the market, and their leaders should be [fettered and chained]. The magistrate also was directed to keep the leaders of the caravans [fettered and chained] ever present before him, until they became of the same mind, and agreed to sign a deed on mutual security, and that until they brought their wives, children, cattle, and property with them, and set up their abodes in the villages bordering on the Jamnah, where the
jurisdiction of the magistrate would extend over them and their wives and children, and the caravans would be completely subject to him, he should not remove the chains from their necks. By the establishment of this regulation, so much grain began to pour into the market, that there was no need for the royal stores, and the price never rose a dang above the fixed rate.

The fifth regulation for the above purpose was, the prohibition against the hoarding up of grain and selling it at enhanced prices. This check was so rigorously enforced during the 'Aláí reign, that it was not possible for any one of the various classes of merchants, traders, grain-dealers, &c., to hoard up a single man of grain, or sell it secretly at their own houses for one dang or diram above the fixed price; and if any hoarded grain was discovered, it became confiscated to the crown, and the proprietor was fined. Written agreements were also taken from the superintendents and agents of the territory lying within the Duáb, binding them not to permit any one within their jurisdiction to hoard up grain, and engaging that if anybody was detected at this practice, the officials themselves should be considered at fault, and have to answer for it before the throne.

Owing to the enforcement of this prohibition therefore, the price current in the market never rose a single dang or diram either during the greatest superabundance or scarcity of rain.

The sixth regulation for securing the cheapness of grain, was the taking of written agreements from the superintendents and agents of districts to this effect, that they would cause the grain to be delivered to the caravans by the cultivators at their own fields. Sultán 'Aláúddin accordingly gave orders, that at the chief office of revenue, written engagements should be taken from the magistrates and collectors of the country lying within the Duáb, which is nearest to the city, binding them to exact the revenue due from the cultivators with the utmost rigour, so that it might be impossible for them to carry off any large quantities of grain from the fields to their own houses, and hoard it there, and that they might thus be induced to sell it to the caravans at the fields at a cheap rate.

By the establishment of the above regulation, no excuse was left to the caravans for not bringing grain into the market, and constant supplies consequently were continually arriving, while the agriculturists also found it to their own advantage to convey as much of their
grain as they could, from their fields to the market, and sell it at the regular price.

The seventh regulation for the above purpose [consisted* in this that reports had to be furnished of the prices current in the Bazars. The continuance of the prosperity of the Bazars was ascertained in three ways. First, the Shihnah i Mandî had to furnish a list of prices and report on the condition of the Bazár. Secondly, the Barid i Mandî, reported on the quality of the articles. Thirdly, the informers who had been appointed for every Bazár made reports. If there were discrepancies between the reports of the informers and that of the Barid and that of the Shihnah, the Shihnah got for it what he had to get. But as the officers appointed in the Bazars knew that the Sultán got his reports on the transactions and the state of the market from three sources, it was impossible to deviate, even in the least, from the Bazár regulations. Experienced people that lived during the reign of 'Alāuddin were astonished to see how firm the prices of articles remained; for though it is nothing uncommon to see prices remain firm during years when the season is good and there is plenty of rain, it was most remarkable that during the reign of 'Alāuddin no famine occurred at Dihli, not even in years when there was a draught and people thought a famine unavoidable. Neither the grain of the Sultán, nor the grain of the merchants could indeed rise a single

* Here is a blank in Major Fuller's translation, extending from p. 308, l. 3, Ed. Bibl. Indica, to p. 312, l. 4 from below. On page 308, l. 5 from below for بیشکان/Băishkān read بیست یکان/bast yakān Page 310 l. 5 read کول/Shokūla for /[{کولنا} Kūlna]; the Hamzah cannot be left out, as the word is an adjective; l. 7 dele the Hamzah, and read سییام سه و نهم/Se'yām se ve nem for سالگذتی/Salāgdāti for سالگذتی/Salāgdāti l. 12 read for شکرت/šokrāt l. 14. for سر/ser, and and for دوستی/dustī l. 19, for بیماین/ibāmanād;l. 6, dele the Hamzah of أطشاش/āṭaṣṣaše; l. 13, dele for l. 18, read of Shushtar or Shustar) for ششتری/Sheshtrī Page 313, l. 3, read سهمی/Sāmī for سهمی/Sāmī; and compare lines 14 and 15 with l. 20. Page 314, l. 6, Line 10, read کردن/krđn for کردن/krđn l. 11, لنمایند/lanmaīānd for لنمایند/lanmaīānd; l. 12, dele the Hamzah of میزان/ma'żān and بیش/ʾibš; l. 19. for بیش/Bīš; Page 315, l. 10, read میزان/ma'żān maliciously; last line, میزان/ma'żān for میزان/ma'żān; رحمت/Rahmat and مهر/maḥrāt for مهر/maḥrāt. The pages from 308 to 332 of the Bibl. Indica Edition look like uncorrected proof sheets.
Translations from the Tārikhi Firuz Shāhī. 29

dāng, and it is certainly a matter of astonishment that no other king besides ʾAlāuddīn ever did effect such results. If even once or twice the Shīhnah-i Manḍi petitioned the Sultan to raise the price of grain by half a jetal on account of a season of draught, he got twenty lashes.

[In seasons of draught, the merchants of each quarter of the town received daily a supply of grain according to the number of the inhabitants in each quarter, and they issued grain to the common people at a rate not exceeding half a man per individual; but rich people also and notables, who were not in possession of villages and lands, got grain from the Bāzār. If during a season of drought poor and helpless people crowded to the Bāzārs and got crushed to death, and the officers neglected to pay attention to the influx, the matter was immediately reported to the Sultan, and the Shīhnah had to suffer for it].

[Five regulations were also given to keep all articles at low prices, as cloth, common sugar, refined sugar (nabāt), fruits, grease, oil; and on account of the continuance of these five regulations, the cheapness of the articles continued. The prices fixed by the king did not rise, and the people got what they wanted. These five regulations referred to

1. The establishment of the Sarāiʾ ʿAdl.
2. The fixing of prices.
3. The registration of all merchants in the Empire.
4. Advances made from the Treasury to rich and respectable Mul-tānī traders, who were put in charge of the Sarāiʾ ʿAdl.
5. Passes to be given by the chief of the town (raʾis)* to great and rich people when they wanted to purchase costly articles].

[The first regulation for keeping the prices of articles low, consisted in the establishment of the Sarāiʾ ʿAdl. The open space inside the Badāon Gate, in the direction of the Koshak-i sabz, which for years had not been used, was called Sarāiʾ ʿAdl, and ʾAlāuddīn gave the order that no article belonging to the Sultan or to merchants of the town and the country, should be stored up in any other place but the Sarāiʾ ʿAdl. Every article should there be sold at the price fixed by the Sultan, and if any one should store up wares in his own house, or sell them, or sell them a jetal dearer than was

* Perhaps the Divvān, as below, in the third regulation, Barānī uses Raʾis as equivalent to Divwān-i Riyāsāt.
fixed, such wares should lapse to the Sultán, and the owner should be liable to severe punishment. On account of this regulation all wares were deposited in the Sará i 'Adl, whether in value from one hundred, or from thousand to ten thousand tankáhs.]

[The second regulation for the above purpose fixed the prices of sundry articles. Thus the prices of silk, &c., were as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dihlí Khazz Silk</td>
<td>16 Tankáhs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange coloured, raw silk, Khazz i Kauylak</td>
<td>6 T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half silks mixed with hair, as prescribed in the Muhammandan law, fine</td>
<td>3 T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red striped stuffs</td>
<td>6 Jetals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common stuffs</td>
<td>3½ J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red lining as woven at Nágor</td>
<td>24 J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coarse lining</td>
<td>12 J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirín bást, fine</td>
<td>5 T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., Middling</td>
<td>3 T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., Coarse,</td>
<td>2 T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siláhatí, fine</td>
<td>6 T. (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., Middling</td>
<td>4 T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., Coarse,</td>
<td>2 T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long cloth (Kirpás), fine</td>
<td>1 T., for 20 gaz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do., Coarse,</td>
<td>1 T., for 40 gaz.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, White sugar                              | 2½ Jetal, per ser. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Light brown sugar (shakar i tar)</td>
<td>1½ J., Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown sugar</td>
<td>1½ J., for 3 sers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grease, of different animals</td>
<td>1 J., for 1½ s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesame oil</td>
<td>1 J., for 3 s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>1 J., for 2½ mans.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Regarding Khazz silk, vide Ain translation p. 92, note 4. The word كَوْنَةٌ must be written with a hamzah above the ٍ, as in all other adjectives denoting colour; e.g., بِسْتَال pistál, looking green like the pistachio nut, نَقرٍ nqarál looking like silver, شَتيْرَةٌ chihrál pink, &c. Vide J. A. S. Bengal, for 1868, p. 41.

Hence كَوْنَةٌ, looking like a كَوْنَةٌ (Hind. an orange), as raw cocoon silk looks.

† The price mentioned is very high. The stuff which people now-a-days call Sildhatí is a kind of cloth made of cotton, and was even at the times of Akbar very cheap. Ain translation, p. 95. Compare the above list with Briggs I, p. 356.
[The prices of other fine and coarse articles may be inferred from those which I have given].

[The Saráí 'Adl was open from early morning till the time of the last prayer. People thus got what they needed, and no one returned disappointed].

[The third regulation for the above purpose was this that the name of the merchants of the town and the country had to be registered in the book of the Diwán (rais). The Sultan 'Aláuddin ordered that the names of all merchants, whether Musalmáns or Hindús, of the Empire should be registered in the book of the Diwán (Diwán i riyásal), and further that a regulation should be made for all merchants in the town and outside. According to this order a regulation was made, and merchants had to sign engagements, whereby they were compelled to bring a certain quantity of wares to town and to sell them at the rates fixed by the Sultan. When the latter provision of the regulation was carried out, the articles which the Sultan had to furnish, fell off in number, and the merchants that came within the regulation, brought a great deal of wares to the Saráí 'Adl, where they were stored up for a long time without being sold].

[The fourth regulation for the above purpose provided that advances from the Treasury should be made to Multáni traders, so that they might bring articles to town, and sell them in the Saráí 'Adl at the rates fixed by the Sultan. The Sultan 'Aláuddin ordered that advances within twenty lacs of tankahs should be made to rich Multání merchants from the treasury, who were to be put in charge of the Saráí 'Adl; and he told the Multánís to bring articles from all parts of the Empire, and sell them at the rates fixed by the Sultan in the Saráí. Whenever merchants did not bring articles to town, this regulation was applied, and articles remained cheap].

[The fifth regulation for the above purpose consisted in this that the Diwán (rais) was ordered to grant passes for the purchase of costly articles. The Sultan 'Aláuddin ordered that no man should be allowed to buy in the Saráí 'Adl costly stuffs, as Tasbíh, Tabrízí, embroidered, cloths with gold threads, Díhli floselle silks, kamkhábs, Shushtar silks, Harírí silks, Chinese silks, Bhíram (?) silks, Deogir silks, and other stuffs which common people do not use, without first obtaining a pass from the Diwán, and writing out a receipt for them. The Diwán then}
used to give Amírs, Maliks, great and well known men, passes according to his knowledge of their circumstances; but if he knew that some of them, though not merchants, had merely applied to him for permission to take costly stuffs from the Saráí 'Adl, in order to sell them in the country at four or five times the price at which they had got them from the stores of the Sulṭán, he refused to give passes. The very reason why the pass system had been introduced, had in fact been this, to prevent merchants, both in and outside the town, from obtaining costly stuffs from the Saráí'Adl at the rates fixed by the Sulṭán, and then taking them to the country where they could not be had, and selling them at high prices.

[In consequence of the continuance of these five regulations, all things remained so cheap in Dihlí, as to astonish old experienced people. Politicians of the age used to ascribe the low prices prevailing during the reign of 'Aláuddín to four reasons; first, the harsh way in which he enforced his orders, from which there was absolutely no escape; secondly, the oppressiveness of the taxes and the rigour with which they were exacted, so that people had to sell grain and other articles at the rates fixed by the Sulṭán; thirdly, the scarcity of money among the people, which was so great that the proverb got en vogue, 'a camel (may be had) for a dāng; but where is the dāng to be had?' fourthly, the impartiality and consequent harshness of the officials, who would neither take a bribe, nor pay regard to the rank of any man].

[Four regulations also were given to maintain cheap rates for horses, slaves, and cattle. They were introduced in a very short time. These four regulations were—]

Specification of quality, and its corresponding price; prohibition of purchase by dealers and monied men; coercion and castigation of brokers, dealers, and monied men; investigation into the sale and purchase of each market at certain intervals before the throne. By the institution of the four laws mentioned above, at the end of a year or two, such a reduction in the prices of horses, slaves, and cattle ensued as was never witnessed subsequent to the 'Aláí reign.

First, with respect to the specification of quality and the corresponding price of a horse, it was determined thus. Horses coming under the designation of taxable animals, were divided into three qualities, with
fixed prices [?]**; that of the first quality varying from 100 to 120 tankahs, the second from 80 to 90, and the third from 60 to 70; while such as did not pass through the custom house [or rather, the Diván’s muster], were called tattos (ponies), averaging from 10 to 20 tankahs.

The second regulation for securing the cheapness of horses was the prohibition of dealers and monied men from purchasing animals in the market, or employing any one to purchase on their account. Sultan 'Aláuddin directed, with regard to the establishment of the above regulation, which is the very basis of all laws for the cheapening of horses, that no dealer should be allowed to go about the horse market. Such strictness was observed in carrying out this regulation, that no dealer was accordingly permitted to frequent the horse mart, and several of them, who for years had been getting a profit and gaining a livelihood by traffic in horses, and were in league with the chief brokers of the market, were fined, and overthrown, and both themselves and the chief brokers were banished to distant fortresses. By the establishment of this regulation for the suppression of purchasing on the part of dealers, the current price of horses began to be very much reduced.

The third regulation for the above purpose, was the coercion and castigation of the chief horse brokers, who were a most arrogant, rebellious, and audacious class of people. These they treated with immense rigour and severity, and expelled some from the city, until the price of horses began to get cheap; for these chief brokers are in reality the rulers of the market, and until they are brought into order by coercion and castigation, and cease taking the bribes which they receive from both parties, and abstain from mediating between the buyer and the seller, the price of horseflesh can never fall. It was a matter of some difficulty to bring these bare-faced brokers into order, nor would they have behaved themselves properly except through fear of the Sultan’s

* I do not know what Major Fuller’s MS. had. The Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 313, l. 3, has (reading aspái for the absurd asámī)—

‘Horses which under the designation of hasham (i.e. fit for war) passed the muster of the Diván, were divided into three classes, and (pattern horses) were shown to brokers with the prices fixed for them.

The passage may be compared with my Ain translation, p. 234, bottom.

Akbar also prohibited the export of horses (Bud. II, 390, l. 4 from below); but he encouraged the import by wise regulations (Ain, p. 133).
harsh disposition, whereby it was no longer possible for them to prevaricate and tell falsehoods.

The fourth regulation for the above purpose was, the investigation into the quality and price of horseflesh before the throne. Every month or six weeks, Sultan 'Alá'uddin used to summon before him [for a day or two] a specimen* of all these qualities of horses, together with the chief brokers, when he both examined and tested the quality of the animal, and ascertained its prices. If any variation appeared between its sterling worth, and the specification of its quality and price, the brokers suffered penalties and punishments accordingly. Owing to this scrutiny, insomuch as the chief brokers were liable to be summoned quite suddenly before the throne, it was impossible for them to set up a price and quality of their own, or to take any thing from the buyer and seller, or to enhance or diminish, or to exceed the standard [and yet pass in muster before the throne].

The institution of laws for cheapening slaves and cattle was managed on the same principle, as that which I have just written regarding the cheapening of horses. It was not possible for dealers and monied men to go about the market, and shew [get a glance even at the hair of] a slave in any way. The standard value of a working girl was fixed at from 5 to 12 tankahs, and the price of a singing girl at from 20 to 30 or 40, while one or two hundred tankahs was a price seldom fetched by any slave; and should a slave, such as is not to be pro cured in these days for a thousand or two thousand tankahs, appear in the market, who was there that could buy him for fear of the watch? The price of a handsome young slave boy† ranged from 20 to 30 tankahs,

* Major Fuller's MS. seems to read نومین (?) which the Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 314, l. 6, has.
† Major Fuller passes mildly over the obscene phrases of the text (p. 314, the last six lines.) Kanízak i kínári means, of course a girl for embracing (kinárah), a concubine, not necessarily a singing girl. The words Ghuhdán i kárkordah and bachágán i naukári, which Major Fuller translates 'working men' and 'ill-favoured boys,' have another meaning. Kárkordah is the same as maf'ul, not 'working,' but worked upon,' a catamitus; hence ghuhdán i kárkordah, slaves that are practised and may be used by sodomites. Ghuhdán bachágán i naukári, who fetched of course less money, are 'novices in the art.'

To the great joy of Barani, 'beardless slaves, beautiful eunuchs, pretty slave girls fetched (during the next reign) 500 to 1000 Tankahs, and even 2000 T.' vide Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 384, where, passing, we have to read on the last lines arzishkádi (prices) for the absurd az (on one line) and rishtahádi (on the other line.)
and that of working men [?] from 10 to 15, while ill-favoured boys [?] were procurable at 7 and 8.

Such penalties were inflicted on the chief brokers, that life even became distasteful to them; and they longed eagerly for death.

In the cattle market, by the introduction of these regulations, the price of the best beasts of burthen which in these times fetch 40 tankahs, was 4, or at the outside 5 tankahs. A cow for slaughtering fetched a tankah and a half, while a milch cow was valued at from 3 to 4. The price of a cow buffalo in milk averaged from 10 to 12 tankahs, [one for slaughtering, from 5 to 6 tankahs], and that of a fat kid from 10 to 12 [and 14] jetals.

The cheapness of all the three markets mentioned above was so securely established, that it would be impossible to improve upon it; and as further precaution, police men were stationed throughout the three markets, who used to take cognizance of all the good and bad, obedience and disobedience, and fair and unfair dealing that was going on in them, and were bound to furnish daily reports of the same to the Sultan. Whatever therefore reached the Sultan through the reports of the police, it was impossible that it could escape the most rigorous scrutiny and investigation, nor could the culprit's guilt fail to be brought to light, and punishment to be inflicted upon him. From fear of the police, people both high and low, whether belonging to the market or not, became very careful of their behaviour, obedient, and submissive, and subdued with fear and awe; nor did any one dare to swerve a needle's point from the letter of the law, to increase or diminish any of the royal standard prices, to indulge in vain desires and excesses of any sort, or to accept anything from buyers and sellers.

In the establishment of laws for the market people, which belongs to the financial department [diwan i ri'yasa] of the State, and for the establishment of the price of articles sold in the stalls of the market, a great deal of trouble was taken; and with immense toil, everything connected with the markets, from caps to socks, combs to needles, sugar cane to vegetables, [Harisah to broth, Çabuni sweatmeats to Rooris,* cakes and baked bread to rice bread and fishecakes, from pàn-

* Röör is perhaps familiar to all in India. For Harisah, we have Abulfazl's recipe, Nin translation, p. 60, l. 18; and p. 33, Note.
leaves] to betel nuts, roses, and greens, was put thoroughly in order.

Sultán ’Aláuddín effected this and reduced everything to cheapness by instituting of his own accord the following measures: the appointment of a superintendent of ability and judgment, with a stern, relentless disposition and parsimonious* character; the strict supervision and control over the traffic of every person in the market; the appointment of a magistrate in every market on the part of the finance department; and the severe coercion, intimidation, and castigation of the market people, even to the cutting of the flesh of both cheeks.

For the establishment of regulations for the public markets too, the advantages of which extend to the whole population at large, Sultán ’Aláuddín made strenuous efforts, and was constantly employed in appraising every article, however slight it might be, such as needles, combs, slippers, shoes, cups, pitchers, and goblets; and the prices of all these he determined according to the estimated cost of the articles, with a fair profit to the seller; and schedules of the prices fixed before the throne were given into the office of finance.

The first measure for establishing the cheapness of articles, pertaining to public markets, was the appointment of an able superintendent, and a stern harsh-tempered magistrate; [for the people of the markets are shameless, bold, cunning, and debauched, they ‘burn’ fools and lie, and ......(?)] they arbitrarily fix the prices of articles themselves. Kings have been unable to reduce them to obedience by laying down price lists, and ministers have failed to devise laws and regulate the transactions of this forward set of people. After much reflection, ’Aláuddín appointed Ya’qúb, the superintendent (názír), to the new office of Díván i riýásat; for he knew the whole town, and the transactions and the sales and purchases of every class, and was not only a trustworthy and upright man, but also ill-tempered, hard and close, cruel and coarse. But on account of the respect in which he was held, and the obedience which people shewed to his orders, the Sultán gave him the riýásat, in addition to his duties as názír, and the Muhtasibship of the Empire. Such a rás conferred indeed every honor on the office. From the numerous corporeal punishments which he inflicted and had inflicted, from the imprisoning and fettering, and the

* Kotahdast.—Barani means a man who will not take a bribe.
ignominies which he heaped on the bazár people, every one of them stood in awe of him, and sold his things cheap; but notwithstanding all severities and scoldings, they could not keep from giving less, or shewing purchasers one thing as a pattern and then giving something inferior, or from burning fools, and cheating and falsifying.

The second regulation for keeping bazár prices low was this, that the Sultan should continually make enquiries; for if a king wishes to regulate the doings of bazár people who never were subject to regulations, he should not befriend ... nor neglect continually to enquire into their doings; for kings of olden times have said that it

* The misprints in the Ed. Bibl. Indica are again so numerous, that it is difficult to get any sense at all. P. 316, l. 6, read ضرایط for ضرایط; l. 11, for ایلی for ایلی; l. 14, (an estimate) for دربارورد; l. 18, & for ایلی; ستفه for سطه سوزنده; l. 20, نصب for رئیس; هر Bazarr حاکم; 6. is a word, which very likely has no meaning. P. 317, l. 5, read for با راست نیست; l. 9, for شدت امکان و تكلیف; l. 10, and for وجیه; l. 11, and for وجیه; l. 14, either is wrong, or a word has fallen out before it, as باد غفلت و نافع نماد; l. 15, read نمایید for نمایید; l. 17, نیازمند for نیازمند; l. 19, استفسای for استفسا; l. 20, and dele for کار نرخ ارازی; l. 22, and for پیش; l. 23, the word is twice written with ایه, though no adjective follows; l. 4, for read نیابد and خریدگان for خریدگان; l. 6, the whole line has no sense; l. 7, again with an impossible يی; l. 16, کبیر is doubtful; l. 20, the first word is ghuldm-bachagdn. P. 319, l. 1, read بیارکس for بیارکس; l. 3 dele the first; and for l. 4 dele read بیارکس; l. 5, read with a and ایه; l. 8, dele for داده; l. 9, put the words اورا at the end of the line, and dele the after دگران, which is moreover a bad Indian spelling for دگران; l. 12, dele ایه has received a Hamzah, the editors being doubtful as to the propriety of a final يی; l. 15, for حزار read حزار; l. 16, for ایه, dele and ایه; l. 17, read بیست و ماهه and dele the; l. 21, dele و. The sentence, moreover, is either one of Barani's bad sentences, as there are two different subjects, Sultan 'Alá'ud'din, and on p. 320, l. 1, the Mughuls; or the editors have not looked up the MSS. P. 320, l. 1 dele and after میکرون; l. 10, the before علی has no sense; l. 11, dele for جنگر; l. 13, for نابک read as on p. 241; but the chance is that even that is
was an easy matter to clear the outskirts of a jungle, and subject distant nations, but it was difficult to clear a jungle from within and suppress rebellious bazar people. But Sultan 'Ala'uddin inquired personally so carefully into the sales and purchases of the articles of every bazar as to astonish every one; and in consequence of his minute examination of the prices, the prices of the bazar—a very difficult matter—did get low.]

[The third regulation for keeping prices low referred to the appointment of Shihnahs on the part of the Diwan i Riyasat. Ya'qub, the Nazir and Ra'is of the town, selected and appointed Shihnahs for each bazar, gave each Shihnah a copy of the price lists which had emanated from the throne, and ordered them, whenever bazar people should sell things, to write down the prices at which they had been sold; and should they have no opportunity to write down the sales, the Shihnah should always enquire from the purchasers how much they had paid for anything. Should then a marketman be found out to have sold things at a price not sanctioned by the price lists, he should be taken before the Ra'is, and the responsibility of that bazar which if they give less weight...... (?) the Shihnah ...... (?). The appointment of a Shihnah for each bazar was very conducive to keeping prices low.]

[The fourth regulation calculated to keep prices low, was this, that the Nazir Ya'qub should illtreat and beat the people of the bazars and cut off pieces of flesh from their cheeks, if they did not give proper weights. Young and old people in the city were unanimous that no Diwan i Riyasat, in any age, could have been harsher than the Nazir Ya'qub; for in every bazar he used (daily) ten, twenty times to enquire into the prices at which articles were sold, and at each enquiry he discovered deficiencies in weight and lashed the tradespeople mercilessly, and illtreated them in every possible way. But notwithstanding his harshness and his lashes and punishments, the bazar people would not desist from giving short weight; for though they sold things at the

wrong, for on p. 323, l. 17, the editors have put Tdtak; l. 15, read ترتاک for ترتاک as on lines 10 and 18, unless again both are wrong; l. 17, read بحرگا for بحرگک; l. 21, read إدریبت for حرمگک. P. 321, l. 1, dele the Hamzah, which is against Persian Grammar; l. 7, dele و; l. 15, read راهپایی for راهپایی; l. 17, read راگیر for راگیر; l. 20, بدن for بدن.
fixed rates, they would cheat in the weights and decrease the quantity of the wares (?), and would 'burn' the buyers, especially such as were simple or young. When the Sultan 'Aláuddin enquired and saw that the people of the bázár would not be submissive as behoved them, and did not desist from giving short weight, falsifying, and 'burning' the simple and the young, he called sometimes simple slaves from his pigeon houses, gave them ten or twenty dirhams (i.e., tankahs), and told them to go to the bázár, ordering one to bring bread and roast-meat, and another to fetch bread and Takhni, a third to bring Halwâ, a fourth to bring Reoré, a fifth, melons, a sixth, cucumbers, and so on; and when the boys returned with the things they had bought, the Sultan sent for the Rais, and had the articles brought by the boys weighed in his presence. Whatever was found to be deficient in the articles the boys had brought, was given to the Rais, and he went and stood before the shop of the fraudulent seller, cut a quantity of flesh equal to the deficiency from his two cheeks, and then kicked him out of the shop. These punishments were continued for some time till, at last, the bázár people become quite submissive, and discontinued giving short weight, and cheating and falsifying, and burning inexperienced purchasers and cheating the young; nay, they even gave so much and so correct weights, that on enquiry it was found out that they had given above the fixed quantity.]

[But this rule, these enquiries, the strictness with which the orders were carried out, and the punishments inflicted on the bázár people, came to an end with the death of 'Aláuddin, and of all the thousand regulations of the 'Aláí reign, his son Sultan Qutbuddin could not enforce this regulation.]

_Effect of 'Aláuddin's Administrative Measures._ (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 319 to 326.)*

[As soon at the prices had become low and things were cheap, a Murattab (p. 23) could be enlisted for 234, and a Duaspah for 78]

* The following errors occur on pp. 322 to 325 in the Ed. Bibl. Indica:—
P. 322, l. 2 read الایه نزدة; l. 6 read جزیر; l. 9 the name is wrong (vide below). P. 323, l. 1, we expect لدیل قلم; l. 6 read جزیر; l. 12 read جدیل؛ەیا دهار گذه; l. 13 read ایالت گذه یا جدیل یا ایالت گذه, and l. 14 read for عدد یا جدیل یا ایالت گذه. ل. 17 read for عدد یا جدیل یا ایالت گذه, ل.
tankahs, and the army was numerous and was never disbanded. The recruits also of the whole empire in passing muster before the 'Arz i Mamálik were examined in archery, and such only were entered (ga'hík shudan) as were archers and had good armours. By order of the Sultán also, the prices of horses and the brand (dágh) were regulated."

[As soon then the cheapness of all necessaries of life had been secured, and a large standing army could be entertained, the Mughuls were defeated each time they invaded Dihlí or the Dihlí territory, and were slain, or captured, and the standard of Islám obtained one signal victory after the other over them. Several thousand Mughuls with ropes on their necks were brought to Dihlí and trampled to death by elephants. Of their heads, they formed a large platform (chautarrah), or made turrets of the Mughul skulls, and the stench in the city of the dead bodies of such as had been killed in battle or had been executed in Dihlí, was very great. The army of Islám gained in fact such victories over the Mughuls, that a Duaspah would bring in ten Mughuls with ropes on their necks, or a single Musalmán trooper would drive one hundred Mughuls before himself.]

[Thus on one occasion 'Ali Beg and Tarták (?) who were the leaders of the Mughul army (the said 'Ali Beg was supposed to be a descendant of Chingiz Khán, the accursed), occupied with thirty, forty thousand Mughuls the foot of the hills in the district of Amroháh, and Sultán 'Aláuddín sent against them Malik Atábak(?), the master of horse. He attacked them in the confines of Amroháh, and God gave the army of Islám the victory. The said 'Ali Beg and Tarták were both caught alive, and the greater part of their army was slain and completely overthrown; on the battlefields heaps were erected of dead Mughuls, and a rich harvest (a blunder which goes through the editions of Barání and Bádáoní); according to Fuller's MS., is a mistake for \( \text{پير} \) and write \( \text{kábr} \) for \( \text{كبير} \); l. 21, insert a after \( \text{ترابي} \); l. 324, l. 9, dele after \( \text{نابي} \), which, like \( \text{ذخوات} \), is very doubtful for \( \text{ذذوات} \); for \( \text{نابي} \) read \( \text{نابي} \); l. 16, \( \text{دکنیست} \), \( \text{ترام} \), and \( \text{ذذوات} \) is absurd. P. 325, l. 5, read \( \text{عيد} \) for \( \text{عید} \); l. 10, read \( \text{تیر} \) for \( \text{ظیر} \) only; l. 11, read \( \text{عالی} \); l. 12, read \( \text{کب} \); l. 13, read \( \text{捺ت} \) for \( \text{متعد} \), or \( \text{متتذ} \) \( \text{میتذ} \) (many); l. 22, dele the \( \text{و} \) before \( \text{حصار} \), where the apodosis commences.
was brought in. 'Alí Beg and Tarták and several others, with ropes on their necks, were taken before 'Aláuddín, who had given orders for a splendid darbár to be held in the Chautarah i Subhání, from which place as far as Indarpát the army stood drawn up in two lines. The crowds that were present were so great, that on that day people gladly paid twenty jetals, and half a tankah, for a goglet of water. 'Alí Beg and Tarták, together with the other captives and the spoils, were brought to this Darbár and marched past the throne, and all the captives were trampled to death by elephants in this very Darbár, and torrents of blood flowed along.

[On another occasion, in another year, the army of Islám engaged the Mughuls under Gung (?) the accursed, at Khekar (on the G'haggar? vide p. 45, l. 12,) and God again gave the Musalmáns the victory, and Gung, the accursed, was captured alive, taken before the Sultán, and trampled to death by elephants. On this occasion also, a great number of Mughuls were killed, both on the battle field and in the town, and of their heads a tower was raised before the Badaon gate, at which tower people look at to the present day and think of Sultán 'Aláuddín.]

[In the following year, three or four commanders of tumáns fell blindly with thirty, forty thousand Mughuls over the districts in the Sawálík Hills, plundering and carrying off spoil. 'Aláuddín sent an army against them, and ordered it to occupy the roads by which the Mughuls would return, and to encamp on the banks of rivers, in order to chastise them on their return, when want of water would bring them to the rivers.] The army of Islám seized the roads by which the Mughuls would have to return, and bivouacked on the banks of the river. By the will of the Almighty, it chanced that the Mughuls having overrun the Sawáliks, and performed a long journey from thence, arrived at the river bank with their horses and themselves both parched with thirst, and disordered. The army of Islám, who had been looking out for their arrival for several days, thus gained a most advantageous opportunity over them; and the Mughuls putting their ten fingers into their mouths, begged for water of the army of Islám, and the whole of them, together with their wives and children, fell into the hands of the latter. A glorious victory accordingly fell to the lot of the army of Islám, who carried several thousands of the Mughuls as prisoners to the fort of Naráinah, and conveyed their wives and children to Dihlí, where
they were sold in the [slave] market, like the slave boys and girls of Hindūstān. Malik Khāc, the Hājib, was deputed from the throne to proceed to Narainah, and on his arrival there, the whole of the Mughuls were put relentlessly to the sword, and their polluted blood began to flow in torrents.

Next year Iqbalmandah headed an invasion with a large body of Mughuls, and Sultan 'Alauddin despatched an army to repel them. On this occasion also the army of Islām joined battle with the Dardmandah force of Amīr Alī [*] and gained the victory over them. Iqbalmandah himself was slain, and some thousands of the Mughuls fell a prey to the sword. Such of the Mughul Amīrs as were [commanders of one thousand or one hundred] and were taken prisoners alive, were conveyed to Dihlī, and there trampled under foot by elephants.

After this victory, in which Iqbalmandah was slain, and not one of the Mughuls managed to return alive, they conceived such a dread and terror of the army of Islām, that the desire of invading Hindūstān was altogether erased from their hearts; and until the close of the Qutbī reign, the Mughuls never again allowed the name of Hindūstān to escape from their mouths, nor did they wander about the frontiers. Through fear of the army of Islām, in fact, they could not enjoy a satisfactory sleep; for during sleep even they used to see the swords of their adversaries hanging over their heads.

The incursions of the Mughuls were thus totally removed from Dihlī, and its adjoining districts, and perfect peace and security prevailed throughout the country, so that the inhabitants of those quarters which were usually invaded by the Mughuls, engaged to their hearts' content in farming and agriculture.

Sultan Tughluq Shāh, who in those days was called Ghāzi Malik, acquired a great name and reputation in Khurāsān and Hindūstān, and became, until the close of the Qutbī reign, the great bulwark against the advance of the Mughuls in [his] districts of Deopalpur, and

* So Major Fuller. The Ed. Bibl. Indica (p. 322, 1, 9) has joined battle at a place called تندہ ء امیرعلی ورہم, which has no sense. If Badāonī is correct, we might expect a phrase to avenge the death of Amīr 'Alī Beg. My MS. of the Tabaqāt, however, has at دہندہ امیرعلی ورہم. Dihandah (Bad. I, p. 274, 11.) was the name of a river near Ajodhan (Patan i Panjāb), S. W. of Deopalpur, Ghāzi Malik's aoqd.'
Láhor. He was appointed in the place of Sher Khán, the former* commander, and every year during the cold season he used to march out of Deopálpúr with a select force of his own, and advance to the Mughul frontiers, and there publicly challenge† them to an engagement; while the Mughuls could not even approach their own frontiers for the purpose of guarding them. Such security prevailed at last, that not only did no outbreak of the Mughuls occur at Dihlí,‡ but their name even never passed any body’s lips.

** Note by the Editor.

[Synopsis of the Mughul invasions which took place during the reign of 'Aláuddín, according to Zíá i Barání, Nizám i Harawi, Badaóní, and Fírishtah.

Barání'.

(Major Fuller’s translation in J. A. S. B. for 1869, and 1870.)


6. (p. 41) ? ? Gung (?) Khekar (?) (on the G’haggar ?)

* The words of the Text (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 323, l. 1) ba jái Sher Khán qadím o mustaqím gashtah have no sense. If the o is correct, we must read gavín for qadím. Fuller leaves out the o, and reads Sher Khán i qadím, ‘Sher Khán the former Commander;’ but this is doubtful.

† Or rather, he advanced to the Mughul frontier, and having kindled the lamp, he searched for the Mughuls (an Indian phrase for searching carefully for anything), and the Mughuls found it impossible to approach their own frontiers by way of visiting them.

‡ So perhaps Major Fuller’s MS. The Ed. Bibl. Indica reads, not only did outbreaks of the Mughuls occur to no one (dar díle—not dihlíₐ—míyuzásht), but their name, &c.
Translations from the Tārīkh-i Firuz Shāhī.


8. (p. 42) ? ? Iqbalmandah. ?

Besides these, there were several attacks made by Ghāzi Malik (later Sultan Tughluq) on the Mughuls near the Indus.


7. (p. 364) 706 ? Ghāzi Beg Tughluq Iqbalmandah. ?

Badaoni’.

(Ed. Bibl. Indica, I., p. 184 to 186.)


5. ? Malik Náib, and Iqbalmandah, Malik Tughluq, and Kapak, to avenge No. 4. ?

Niza'm i Harawi'.

Nizám, in his Ṭabaqát i Akbarí, follows Baráni. The first expedition, according to MS. 87 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—a very fair MS.—took place at Járan Majhúr (sic) in Sind (!). The names of the Mughul commanders of the second, third, and sixth expeditions are given as Čádít and Qutlugh, son of Dáuíd, and Kapík or Kábík. He calls 'Alí Beg (fifth expedition) the grandson (nábíšah) of Chengiz Khán. For K'hékar (sixth expedition), he has K'hák'háräh, in all probability the river G'haggar near Patiála (Sarhind); and he says that the river mentioned in the seventh expedition was the Ráví (Láhor).

Thus we see that Baráni and Nizám have more than eight, Fírishtáh has seven, and Badaóní five invasions. Fírishtáh agrees more with Zíá i Baráni than Badaóní. The Mughul leader Kapák, in expedition No. 5, is evidently the same as Gung in No 6 of Baráni, as and only differ in the diacritical points. As Badaóní's events differ materially from those of the other two historians, I subjoin a translation of Badaóní (I., pp. 184 to 186).

'In 698, Chataldí (sic), a leader of the Mughuls crossed the Indus, and invaded Hindústán. Ulugh Khán and Tughluq Khán, governor of Dípálpúr (Panjáb), who is the same as Gházi Malik, were sent against him. They met him in the confines of Járan Manjúr, defeated him, killed some, and captured others, and 'Aláuddín's army returned victorious with much plunder.

'The second time Qutlugh Khwájah, son of Dáuíd, came from Máwaránnahr with countless hordes to conquer Hindústán, and came as far as the environs of Dihlí to Arah (?) ; but he did not ravage the districts. In Dihlí things got very dear, and the condition of the inhabitants was miserable. Súltán 'Aláuddín appointed Ulugh Khán and Zafár Khán commanders, and sent them with a large army to fight the Mughuls. A battle took place at Géli (Kilí), in which Zafár Khán was killed. In his death also 'Aláuddín saw an advantage. Qutlugh Khán fled to Khurásán, where he died.'
'The third time Ṭurghi Mughul, who belonged to the markanán (?), i. e., unerrring archers, of his country, came with a lot of foot soldiers, and 20,000 intrepid and renowned horsemen, occupied the foot of the hills and the districts lying there, and advanced as far as Baran, whose governor Malik Fakhruddin, the Mir Dád, shut himself up in the Fort. Malik Tughluq* was sent to his relief from the capital, when Malik Fakhruddin left the Fort and effected a junction with Malik Tughluq. Both fell upon the Mughuls at night, defeated them, and captured Ṭurghi, who was taken by Tughluq to Dihlí.'

'The fourth time, Muhammad Taryáq (? , Tartáq ?, Tarqáq ?) and 'Alí Beg, who were princes royal of Khurásán, advanced with a large army, one corps of which plundered Nágor, and the other occupied the Sirmúr mountains as far as the Bayáh, or Kálí, river. Sultán ’Aláuddin sent his slave Malik Mánik (?), who is the same as Káfúr Náib Hazár Dínári, and Malik Tughluq, governor of Dípálpúr, towards Amrohah; and when the Mughuls with their cattle and spoils arrived at the Rahab, Malik Mánik fell over them from the rear. A great battle ensued; both princes fought bravely, but were at last captured and exeected. Most of these accursed invaders were killed, and those that escaped fled in a wretched condition to their country. The heads of the two leaders were fixed on the battlements of the Fort at Badáon. The following Rubá’í was composed by a poet of that time, and may now be seen inscribed on the southern gate of that town (Badáon)—

O Fort, may God's protection be thy friend,
And may the conquests and the victories of the Sháh be thy standard!
The present King has built thee up again,
May Ṭurghi also, like 'Alí Beg,† be thy prisoner.'

'And Mir Khusrau also has described the war of Malik Mánik, who had now received the title of Malik Náib, in his history entitled Khazáinulfsútuh, the language of which is a miracle and exceeds human power, though, in fact, every thing written by this Prince of poets, is of the same kind, so that it would be idle and wrong to make distinctions and preferring one poem to another.'

'The fifth time Iqbalmandah and Kapak (?) collected an army of

* The Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 185, l. 9, has wrong Malik Tughluq and Gházi Malik. It is one and the same man.
† The text has wrong 'Alí Beg. Besides, did Tughluq release Ṭurghi, whom he had captured in the third Expedition?
Mughuls, and invaded Multán, to avenge the death of Muhammad Taryáq (?) and 'Ali Beg. 'Aláuddín sent this time also Malik Náib and Malik Tughluq against them. When the Mughuls returned, 'Aláuddín's army followed them in forced marches. Kapak was caught in the fight, but he was exchanged for the prisoners and the spoils which had fallen into the hands of the infidel Tátárs.'

'The desire of invading Hindústán grew cold in the hearts of the Mughuls, and the teeth of their rapaciousness were all on edge.'—

Of the five invasions mentioned by Badaóni, the third is not to be found in any other historical work. It is a matter of surprise that Baraní should have said nothing about it, as Baraní was the centre of the expedition. For the fourth invasion also, Badaóni has a few new particulars.

I have not seen a MS. of Khusrau's Khánisín Islfutah, though it would be of interest to examine that book as also his Qirán 'usá'ádáin from a historical point of view.

Brigg's Firishtah has only a few differences in the proper nouns, and his variations might be increased by comparing the Bombay and the Lucknow editions.

Badaóni complains that 'historians, in narrating these invasions, have let the thread of chronology slip from their hands;' but it is not only the chronology which is unsatisfactory: the geographical details of this period have been as much neglected by the historians, as in other parts of Indian History. From Firishtah and from p. 327, l. 1, of Baraní's text edition it is, however, clear that the Mughul invasions all took place before A. H. 708 or 709.]

Thus had Sultán 'Aláuddín eradicated the Mughuls, and stopped up completely the road of their invasions, while the soldiery from the establishment of a cheap price for every military equipment, and article of consumption, were in a flourishing condition. The provinces in every quarter were under the administration of trusty nobles and worthy courtiers, the rebellious had become obedient and submissive, and the system of imperial taxation* [according to measurement, and

* 'Aláuddín's house tax (gharí) and grazing tax (eharád) corresponds to the Khánahshvándrí and Góshvándrí of later reigns. Both taxes were looked upon as illegal and odious. Vide my Aín text, p. 301, l. 5.
the house-tax] and the grazing duties having entered into the minds of all the people, all ideas of rebellion vanished from their hearts, and they pursued cheerfully their several avocations and trades. Bantambhur, Chitor, [Mandalgadh], Dhur, Ujain, Mándú, ’Aláípúr, Chanderi, Írij, Siwánah and Jálor,* which are all strong places beyond the limits of the empire [*] had fallen under the control of various provincial governors, and jágírdárs [muqta’]; while the territory of Gujrat flourished under Alan [Alp?] Khán, Multán and Sístán under Tájulmulk Káifír, and Deopálpúr and Láhor under Gházi Malik Tughluk Sháh, Sámánah and Sunnám under Malik Akhurbak Nának (?), Dhur and Ujain under ’Ainmulk of Multán, Jáhýin under Fakhirmulk of Mírat, Chítor under Malik Abú Muhammad, Chanderí and Írij under Malik Tamar, Badáoon, Koeláh, and K’harak under Malik Dinár, superintendent of elephants, Audí under Malik Takir [Ed. Bibl. Ind., Baktán], and Kárah under Malik Naçiruddin Sautéliyah. Kol, Baran, Mírat, Amroháh, Afgánpúr, Kábar, and all the districts lying within the Duáb, were under the influence of the same law, as if they were one single village; they were crown lands, and applied to the support of the soldiery. The entire revenue was paid into the treasury, even to the last dáng and diram, and in the same way was pay issued to the soldiery from the treasury, and the expenses of all establishments defrayed.

In short, the imperial administration of Súltán ’Alándín had reached such a state of perfection that vice and crimes were totally expelled from the capital, and the safety of the highways throughout the provinces had become so great, that the Hindú landed proprietors and tenants [Magaddimán o Khátán] used to stand on the highroads, and keep watch over way-farers and caravans, while travellers with goods, fabrics, cash, or any other property used to alight in the midst of the

* Mandalgarh (the Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 323, l. 13, has wrong Mándálk’hór) is the name of a town and Parganah in Chítor. Siwánah or Siwánd (سيوانا or سوان) is the name of a town and Parganah in Jodhpúr. For Mándú, Major Fullers has Mándú and Káhór(?), and the Ed. Bibl. Indica has Mándór; but Mándalgarh is the same as Mándú or Mándú.

For ’Aláípúr the MSS. of the Ain have ’Alápúr. It is a town with a fort, and also a parganah, in the Sirkár of Gwáliár. Abulfázl says that before the time of ’Aláundín it had another name; but none of the thirteen MSS. in my possession gives the old name legibly; the MSS. have سهر ’Akhar, and سهر and Kárír, ’Akhar, and the limits of the Empire, are scarcely correct. Translate, which do not belong to mazbút districts, i.e., they were not yet under Musalmán Zábít or Governors.
plains and deserts. From the excessive rigour of his rule, the good and evil, favorable and unfavorable transactions of the inhabitants in the capital, as well as the affairs of the whole of the residents in the provinces, were never unknown to him. The hearts of all his subjects both high and low were deeply impressed with awe and reverence for his severe rule and harsh disposition, and the royal seed* having settled in the breasts of the public generally, the roots of his empire had sunk deep.

It never crossed the minds of people on beholding this state of things, that the sovereignty would pass away from his house so speedily, and revert to another family; and when by the aid of the accidental luck and good fortune, which attended him, the measures of his government turned out satisfactorily, and his enterprises, both premeditated and unpremeditated, were accomplished as speedily as he could wish, worldly-minded persons, who consider greatness to depend upon the attainment of worldly prosperity, and the success of one's designs, attributed the favorable results of Sultan 'Alauddin's measures to his consummate ability, and imagined that the expressions which used to fall from his lips regarding the execution of state affairs, and the victories and triumphs of his armies, proceeded from inspiration. Those, however, learned in civil and religious law, and versed in the irresistible decrees of God Almighty, [and those] whose far-seeing judgment penetrates the realities of things, and whose conclusions are more certain that the revolution of the heavens, and the immobility of the earth, used to remark on beholding the frequency of Sultan 'Alauddin's victories and triumphs, and the constantly successful issue of his undertakings, that every triumph and victory which accrued to the standard of Islam in his age, and every undertaking of his and of all his subjects which turned out well, and every measure of advantage and improvement which was apparent throughout the kingdom, arose from the virtues and benedictions of Shaikhul Islam Nizamuddin of Ghiaspur. He, (they said) is the beloved and chosen of God, and on his head the divine grace, bounty, and beneficence is being constantly showered; and in consequence of the continual favours that are pour-

* Verbally, the hearts of men were generally ('amatan) settled regarding his rule, and the roots of his kingdom which he himself had caused to sink (into the hearts of men), on beholding them (the roots), it never crossed, &c. This is one of Barani's bad sentences.
ing down upon his head, and owing to the blessings of his auspicious existence, which has been eternally and perpetually the object of divine affection, the undertaking of both the rulers and the ruled of this government have been accomplished satisfactorily, and the standard of Islám has been exalted time after time with celestial victory and triumph; whereas what relation can virtue and divine inspiration have to Sultán 'Aláuddín, who is polluted with so many sins, both active and passive,* and from indulgence in cruelty and bloodshed, has become a habitual and bloodthirsty murderer. All the comforts, general prosperity, and perfect peace and security of people from perils of every kind, and the inclination of the people to obedience and devotion, have arisen from the blessings of Shaikh Nizámuddín.

The author's object in noticing the stability which Sultán 'Aláuddín's government had acquired, and the satisfaction he enjoyed from the success of his undertakings, is this, that as soon as the Sultan's state affairs and negotiations were settled, and his mind was satisfied with the condition of every quarter that belonged to him, he [built Fort Sirí and peopled it. Sultán 'Aláuddín then] engaged in territorial conquests. With the view of overthrowing the Hindu chieftains and lords of other principalities, and carrying off wealth and elephants from the kingdoms towards the south, he organized and equipped another force besides the one which he maintained for the Mughul inroads.—(Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 326.)

(Here ends Major Fuller's translation.)

* * Barani then proceeds to narrate 'Aláuddin's expeditions to the Dak'hin, which extend from p. 326 Edit. Bibl. Indica to p. 337. The text is, however, so carelessly edited that without the help of several MSS. it would be useless to attempt a translation. On p. 327 alone, there are sixteen blunders, grammatical, historical, and typographical. The following list of corrections may prove acceptable.

P. 326, l. 20, read zist for zabast; l. 22, khilmátihá for khilmát; and for dwáwwum (the second) we have probably to read dwáwáwwum (the twelfth).

P. 327, l. 1., tis'a wa tatis'amiyah (909 A. H.) is nonsense, as 'Aláuddín lived 200 years earlier; perhaps we should read tis'a wa sab'a miyah 709, or better samdún wa sab'amiyah, 708; l. 2, read Arangul for Aratgul; l. 5,

* Ma'dqî i lázimah o muta'addiyah, 'active and passive,' inherent and passing on to others. Crimes are lázimah when they are لازم, i.e. attach to the sinner himself; and muta'addiyah, when a man causes others to sin.
nabáshi for nabáshi; a grammatical blunder which is repeated four times on this page in different verbs! l. 9, read mudrát for mudrat; l. 10, napardzái for mapardzái; l. 12, dele kih; l. 13, read nayyad for biyáad, which would be the opposite; khidmatihdi for khidmatihá; and put a Hamzah over the last letter of this line; l. 16, read khul for khái, as required by Persian grammar; l. 17, a waw has been omitted before nek; and read nabáshi for nabáshi; l. 19, read ta'arruz for ta'azzuz, or tanaghghuz; l. 20, read chand for chatad; l. 22, spell Harkara Harka.

P. 328, l. 1, read dar for do; l. 2 for bá hamchunán read hamchunán yá; l. 5, for Rápri read Raprí; l. 10, khidmatihá for khidmatihái; l. 22, yahdju for yahditju; and for rishtah on p. 328 and qdb the first on p. 329, read rishtatái!

P. 329, l. 15, read bá for az; l. 20, for nairah read naizah; l. 21, for bastand read bisitand.

P. 330, l. 2, read khidmatihái for khidmatihái; l. 11, Jhráin for Jhráin; l. 16, darángáh kih for darángáh; l. 22, dele the first waw, and put kih after ánájá.

P. 331, l. 10, read bakhstah for bikháståh; p. 14, insert a rá after Nizánmudán.

P. 333, l. 2, read Rápri for Rápri; l. 5, read lagámrez for lagámzár; l. 6, st o shash; l. 8, raftaná has no sense; l. 9, for the absurd qaranhá read qaranhá; l. 11, strike out either andázah or banyán; l. 12, for bdd read baddan; l. 19, for namikán read nánján; l. 22, read bándah as ast.

P. 334, l. 15, for j read only y; and for hákim read hukm; l. 20, dele the waw.

P. 335, l. 3, read migoyand for migoyad; l. 12, minkád for minumád; l. 17, darám for darám (a clever spelling); l. 18, mutuwánim for mutuwánim.

P. 336, l. 3, dele j; l. 7, the word bádkán has no sense; l. 11, read 'aláí for 'aláí; l. 14, dele the two u vowel signs, they are wrong; l. 17 read 'aláí for 'aláí; and naddshdt for naddshánt; l. 18, farêb for qariyat; l. 19, for the third time on this page, read 'aláí for 'aláí.

P. 337, l. 3, Here read 'aláí for 'aláí; l. 4 and 5, Qeyini for Qánini; l. 11, here read 'aláí for 'aláí, and dele the waw before yanj; l. 16, read again Qeyini for Qánini, and perhaps riysat for riysát; l. 17, a few words are left out after inshd; l. 19, the Arabic word is lá yušikh, with the Persian plural, a ā not a kh.
Rejoinder to Mr. Beames, by F. S. Growse, Esq., M. A., B. C. S.
(See Vol. XXXVIII. for 1869, p. 176.)

Mr. Beames in replying to my criticisms on his translation, has evidently written under great excitement; but at this I am not surprised; it must be very annoying for a translator of Chand to be convicted of not knowing some of the commonest Hindi words. I am aware that nisán will not be found in Forbes, or any similar dictionary of modern Hindústání; but it occurs repeatedly in the Rámáyana of Tulsi Dás, and in the glossary appended to most native editions of that poem is explained by the words nagíra and dánká. The derivation is no very recondite mystery; since the root is simply the Sanscrit swán (Latin sonare) with the prefix ni. In the same glossary, Mr. Beames will also see the word bais explained by avasthá, and the Hindi form is so evidently a corruption of the Sanskrit, that I should have imagined the fact would be obvious to the merest tyro in philology. But to discuss Mr. Beames’s reply in detail:—

I.—I am dissatisfied with his reproduction of the text, since I detect in it several conjectural emendations. I should much prefer to have seen it precisely as it stands in the MS. and with the words undivided. I also miss the concluding stanza, which I was particularly curious to see, as the English version of it is anything but lucid.

II.—Mr. Beames’s sarcasms are quite innocuous, being mainly directed against the imperfections of my text. I always stated it to be a mere fragment, never vaunted its accuracy, and am even willing to follow Mr. Beames in stigmatizing it as a ‘bad, faulty garble and jumble.’ Still the question remains, which of the two translators has made the better use of his materials? And further, if the differences are so exceedingly great, how comes it that I at once discovered in my copy the parallel passage to Mr. Beames’s specimen? The difficulty ought to have told equally against both of us.

III.—Assuming my text to be faulty, my translation of it at least appears to be tolerably correct. Mr. Beames, with natural anxiety to discover the joints in my harness, has hit only upon four vulnerable points, which I now proceed to examine.

1st.—He says Bijay, or subijay, as it stands in his text, (su being merely an expletive) cannot be a proper name as I translate it, but
must be an epithet, since the king's real name is given lower down as Padam-sen. To this I reply that Padam-sen is not the king, but the king's son, as is sufficiently indicated by the title 'Kunwar,' a title which is never given to the head of a house, but always to one of its subordinate members.

2nd.—He says mahābhuj (as it stands in his text) cannot mean, as I should translate it, 'very exalted,' but must mean 'long-armed.' To this I reply, 1st, that the Sanskrit for 'arm' is not bhuj, as Mr. Beames imagines, but bhujā; and though a palatal at the end of a word is liable to be changed into a guttural, a palatal in the middle of a word and with a vowel following it is not so liable. 2nd. One of the MSS. reads abhag: now this rhymes neither with dury nor drug, and has all the appearance of being a gloss: it is a very good gloss on mahābhuj in my sense, but not at all so of mahābhuj with the sense of 'long-armed.' 3rd. Whether my text correctly represents the original or not, it is certain that the copyist intended the words to convey some meaning. Now bhuj, as a corruption of bhris' fits in equally well with either reading; with Mr. Beames's interpretation of the word, my text would be absolutely untranslateable. 4th. Whether in this particular case, bhuj really represents bhris' or not, it is certain that by the recognized rules of Prākrit formation, it might represent it. Even Mr. Beames will scarcely deny this, when he reflects that buddha is the Hindi equivalent for the Sanskrit vriddha, and dis' is as often as not represented by dig. If the above explanation be not accepted, I fall back upon my old alternative and take bhug in the sense of bhagat; forming it from hhu precisely in the same way that khag is formed from kha. Thus his charge of 'simple nonsense' recoils upon himself.

3rd.—He says sevahin must be a dative plural, and is exceedingly amused at my regarding it as a verb. To this I reply, by merely taking a copy of the Rāmāyana and opening it at random. On the very first page that presents itself, I find the following line—

बर्ततार बल्टीर संदहारी मधातारी —करती

And again a little lower down—

पुर प्रक्षाज बर्ततिदि करिव करती चल्तरा गाल

May I ask Mr. Beames if bhentahin, karahin, barahkahin are also datives? If so I should be glad to see his rendering of the lines quoted.
There is of course a dative with a similar ending of very common occurrence—thus on the very same page of the Rámáyana सिंह रामचंद्र खसपीः: but if तo servants' were the meaning intended, the word would have to be not sevakin, but sevakhin from sevak, as seva means not तo servant,' but 'service.' Certainly my respect for Mr. Beames's scholarship (in spite of his reference to Lassen) is not enhanced by his remarks either here or on the word bais. I strongly advise him to adhere to his resolution of not again attempting to answer my criticisms.

4th.—He says with regard to the line in my MS.

"Your text as it stands is not intelligible, and I should like to know by what process you get your English out of it," and proceeds to be facetious about my expression 'shimmering like a fish in a stream.' I reply that the text to my simple intelligence appears tolerably clear. It admits of two constructions, but both yield precisely the same sense. If jhakh jotl be taken as a compound adjective, its most literal translation possible is 'shimmering like a fish;' the words 'in a stream' were added simply because, according to English usage, it would not be considered complimentary to style a woman 'like a fish.' If jhakh and jotl be regarded as two distinct words, jhakh must be taken with hir, kîr and hans as forming the subject of the verb chhárat which will then govern jotl, and mánu will stand for the imperative máno; whereas under the alternative construction, it stands for the substantive mán.

These are the only four blots which Mr. Beames flatters himself he has detected in my translation: it has not been very difficult to dispose of them.*

IV.—On reading Mr. Beames's text, I find that the verbal differences are more considerable than I had anticipated (the number I imagine would be reduced, were the conjectural emendations expunged).

* Referring again to Mr. Beames's onslaught, I find there is yet one more point on which he attacks me. In line 4 of my text I translate prabal bháp by 'puissant chiefs;' upon which my critic writes, "The puissant chiefs of Mr. Growse's translation are evidently a creation of his own brain, or of his Pandit's, for I do not see how he gets it out of his own text even." It is difficult to answer a remark of this kind; however much Mr. Beames may disparage his own intelligence, I cannot believe him to be so utterly unversed in the language, as to be ignorant of the meaning of two such ordinary words as prabal and bháp.
The general sense remains the same in both MSS, and thus I have been to some extent misled, and in several places have too hastily condemned the translator for carelessness and inaccuracy. All such criticisms I very gladly cancel. Still it is only the minor premiss of my argument that requires modification, the conclusion remains unaltered. Thus, taking Mr. Beames's text as he gives it me, and comparing it with his translation, I find in the very short space of 19 couplets (even after omitting the lines which his alterations have made obscure or unintelligible) the following formidable list of errors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>True meaning</th>
<th>Mr. Beames's rendering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nisán</td>
<td>a kettle drum</td>
<td>a standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sevalin</td>
<td>they serve</td>
<td>to servants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nag</td>
<td>a jewel</td>
<td>a horse's hoof !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khanjan</td>
<td>a wagtail</td>
<td>(omitted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rás</td>
<td>a heap or bundle</td>
<td>perfection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kok</td>
<td>a swan (<em>anas casarca</em>)</td>
<td>a lotus !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sudes</td>
<td>well arranged</td>
<td>fair to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pik</td>
<td>betel juice</td>
<td>a koil !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bay sandh</td>
<td>girlhood</td>
<td>(omitted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makarand</td>
<td>nectar</td>
<td>god of love.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further, on Mr. Beames's translation of his 7th stanza, I would observe that as *ang* is often used to denote the numeral 6, I hesitate to believe that Chand speaks of 14 *angs*. He might speak of 14 *vidyás*. If Mr. Beames will look at his text again, I think he will find that what he has printed as *chatur das* is in the MS. *chatur dis*.

Again, the obvious purport of Mr. Beames's 10th stanza is, that the princess began teaching the parrot to say Rám Rám. The translator declares that this cannot be. Why? Simply because he has been pleased to render the words 'Gai khel sab bhúl' by 'she went to play forgetting all about him.' Surely he must see that the words quoted can, with equal grammatical propriety, be translated 'she forgot all her play'—and as this is the only translation which harmonizes with the context, it must be the correct one. Again, in his concluding stanza, after the word *pik*, the mistranslation of which I have already noted, comes the word *sad*, which he explains by 'voice.' My impression is, that there is no such word in the language as *sad*:
but, however, that may be, it is quite certain that the word here intended is red, the teeth, and if Mr. Beames will only look a little more closely, he will probably find it in his MS.

In Mr. Beames’s own phrase, ‘Is not this enough?’ Yet one word more: since he speaks of me as a self-constituted interpreter, let me remind him that the MS. was in the first instance made over to me by the chief authority in these Provinces. Subsequently I received a requisition from another quarter that the book might be sent to Calcutta to be photographed. As soon as it reached Calcutta, Mr. Beames volunteered to edit it, and I have since seen no more of it. Whether of the twain, I would ask, seems to be rather the self-constituted interpreter? Still, if the literary world are satisfied with Mr. Beames’s proficiency, I have no wish to interfere with him; and if he will only stay quiet for a year or two, and in the mean time extend his knowledge of old Hindi by reading a few books of the Rāmāyana under the guidance of any intelligent native—whether Brāhman or Baniya, it matters not—I see no reason why he should not eventually produce a very creditable performance.

Mainpuri, Dec. 29th, 1869.

Postscript.—Within the last day or two I have had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Beames’s new edition of Sir H. Elliot’s Supplementary Glossary. The additional matter supplied by the editor, is not very considerable; but under the word Gahlot, I notice that he quotes 4 lines from Chand, and refers the passage to the place which it occupies in his MS. of the Prithirājras. Singularly enough, it happens that these very 4 lines, with some verbal differences, were included in a specimen of the Hindi text given in an article of mine contributed to this Society’s Journal in February, 1869. I mention the coincidence, because Mr. Beames has excused himself from criticising my translation by saying that the Hindi, from which I translate, is not traceable in either of his copies. It is of course quite possible that Mr. Beames may not have seen the parallel passage as quoted by me, and may not have read any part of my article (since I have no pretensions to rank among European scholars) but, under the word Chandel, he apparently quotes from the very article, though without acknowledgment.
Since the immediate subject of discussion at the present moment is Mr. Beames, as a translator of Hindi, it may not be out of place to notice a few more specimens of his skill. In the original edition of the Glossary occur several curious local proverbs, which were nearly all left untranslated. Mr. Beames, in his new edition, has very properly essayed to supply this omission; but his explanations are scarcely so brilliant or even so accurate as the public has a right to expect from a scholar of European celebrity. Thus in the couplet

\[ \text{Nának, nanhá ho raho jaisa nanki dúb} \]
\[ \text{Aur ghas jat jaenge dúb kháb ki kháb.} \]

to translate the last words by "dúb remains fresh and fresh" seems neither literal nor idiomatic. It should rather be 'the dúb remains fresh as ever.' This, however, may be a mere question of taste and style; but (under the word gúma) to translate the words \textit{sab rang ráti} by 'all coloured red' is absolutely wrong.

Again, the lines—

\[ \text{Des Málwá gathir gambhír,} \]
\[ \text{Dag dag rofi, pag pag nér.} \]

are translated by Elliot correctly enough, while Mr. Beames renders them thus: "The land of Málwá is deep and rich; at every step bread, on every path water;" apparently confusing pag with pagdandi. I would suggest the following equivalent:—

Rich and deep is the Málwá plain;
At every step water, at every foot grain.

Again, "Hairy ears
Buy these, do not let them go"
is certainly rather a feeble representation of the lines

\[ \text{Kár, Kachhauta jhabre Kán} \]
\[ \text{Inhen chhándi na líjiye án} \]

Which might be rendered thus—

When buying cattle, choose the black,
With bushy ears and hollow back.

And, to conclude, under the heading \textit{akhtíj} occur two lines, which Mr. Beames leaves unaltered in their original obscurity and does not attempt to translate:

\[ \text{Poí mávas múl bin, bin rohini khetij,} \]
\[ \text{Sravan salono bári kyún bakhre bíj.} \]
Note on a Circle of Stones.

It may help him over the difficulty to suggest that the first word चारे should be corrected to चार.

Mainpuri, March 9th, 1870.

F. S. Growse.

Addenda.—In the 40 Hindi verses occurring on pages 162, 163 of Part I. of the Journal for 1869, correct as follows:—

Line 5, for सज्रि बज्रि read सज्रि मत्रि, saijje bayje; 16, for या read यार, aru; and for चार read चारि, chhárat; 19, for सी read चारि, rachi; 20, for चारि read चारि asi; 27, for चारि read चारि, chhárat; 28, for चारि read चारि chhá buyan; 31, for चारि read चारि khalu; 32, for चारि read चारि chhá buyo; and for चारि read चारि phuli; 37, for मत्रि read मत्रि, mutti; 38, for सुकु read सुकु, sukhun; and for सुकु read सुकु hori.

Note on a Circle of Stones situated in the District of Euusoofzye, by Colonel Sir Arthur Phayre, Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (With a plate.)

(Vide Proceedings A. S. Bengal, for January, 1870.)

About fifteen miles east of Murdan, the head quarter station of the corps of guides, in Euusoofzye, near a place called Sung Butté, is a remarkable circle of tall upright stones. These stones, or masses of rock, consist of rough slabs of granite, with a few squared, or otherwise worked pillars of the same material. Only ten of what appear to be of the original size, are now in an upright position. The rest lie upon the ground, some broken and some half buried in the ground. Two or three though still upright are the mere stumps of the original stones. The accompanying plate will render detailed description unnecessary, but a few remarks may be acceptable.

The circle has been over fifty feet in diameter. The highest of the pillars which remain upright, is about eleven feet. The largest of the rough slabs, which have the appearance of being in the state in which they were quarried from the rock, is about the same height, two and a half feet broad in its broadest part, and two feet thick.
The squared stones are from twelve to fourteen inches square. The stones are placed from three to four feet apart. There is no appearance of any stones having been placed across the tops of the uprights. On the north side, two short upright stones are placed against the taller ones, as if to mark an entrance to the circle. In the centre of the circle, there has once stood an upright pillar, now thrown down and half hidden with earth. A hole some four feet deep shows that this pillar has been undermined, probably in search of treasure.

There are traces of an outer circle of smaller stones having once surrounded that now described, at a distance of fifty or sixty feet. The people of the country call this stone circle in the Pushto language Lukki Tiggi, signifying, I am informed by Colonel Keyes, C. B., Commanding the Guides, "Upright stones."

The only tradition or legend they have regarding the fabric, as far as I could learn is, that the members of a marriage, while passing over the plain, were changed into these stones, by some powerful magician, or malignant demon. Within a mile or two there are indications, in the shape of granite slabs, smaller than those in the large circle, lying about in the fields, of other similar monuments having once existed. It may be mentioned also, that many Muhammadan tombs in the vicinity, have unusually high slabs of stone, placed at the head and foot of the grave. Some of these slabs, though thin, are from eight to ten feet high. Whether any of these have been appropriated from ancient circles is doubtful; but in an adjoining village I saw two massive squared granite pillars about five feet high, put up as gate posts to a house. These apparently had once belonged to a smaller stone circle, such as those already alluded to.

The country of Eusoofzye is full of Buddhist remains, such as ruined stone monasteries, topes, idol temples, carved images, and so on. These stone circles are believed to be in no way connected with them, and they probably existed before the Buddhist era. The present population is almost entirely Muhammadan. They take no interest in the ruined buildings or monuments of the Káfirs, and cannot help the enquirer with trustworthy traditions.
A Covenant of 'Ali, fourth Caliph of Baghdad, granting certain Immunities and Privileges to the Armenian nation.—By Johannes Avdall, Esq., M. A. S.

[Received 23rd September, 1869.]

An authentic historical document is extant, originally written in Cufic characters, and purporting to be an Edict or Covenant of 'Ali, the Lion of God, fourth Caliph of Baghdad, and son-in-law of the Prophet, bestowing certain immunities and privileges on the Armenian nation. The Edict was given in the year of the Hijrah 40, or A.D. 660, just a year before 'Ali's death. It was first translated into Armenian by Gregor Campan, on the 15th January 1767, in Astrachan, and afterwards by M. Saragian, authenticated by Joakim Gregor Bagratuni of Constantinople in the year 1804.

I was in possession of a copy of the original document, written in Cufic characters, which I lent some years ago to the late Henry Torrens, Esq., Vice-President of the Asiatic Society, for translation and insertion in the Journal. It appears that this rare piece of antiquity was lost or mislaid among his unpublished papers. The following is a correct and faithful version from the Armenian translation of the Edict or Covenant of the Caliph 'Ali.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE BENEFICENT AND THE MERCIFUL FROM WHOM WE SOLICIT HELP.

"Praise and thanksgiving to the Creator of the universe, and blessings upon the great chief and benign Muhammad and his sacred tribe.

"After all this, it is the purport of the translation of the Covenant, which was written by Háshim, the son of Athap,* the son of Valas,* according to the command of the blessed chief of the Arabians, and of the Lion of God, of the holy of the holies, of 'Ali, the grandson of Abútalib, the exalted, in Cufic character, in the celebrated domicile of Kharanthala,* in the magnificent palace, in the month of Çafar, in the fortieth year of Hijrah.†

"Whereas certain of the Armenian nation, men of distinction, famous for their erudition and honoured for their dignity, namely, Jacob

* So in the Armenian text. For Háshim the Armenian has Hásham, according to the Persian pronunciation of all Arabic Part. Present.
† June, July, 660.
Sayyid 'Abdul-Shuyûkh, and the son of Sahan, and Abraham the Priest, Bishop Isaiah, and several others, forty in number, having communicated with me, and being present in the enactment of this Covenant, solicited me to do this, and have rendered every assisance in their power to our agent whom we had sent to our forts and frontiers, (which was the occasion of our conference and the enactment of this Covenant)—Therefore I have made this Covenant with them on my behalf, as well as on behalf of all tribes of Islám, from east to west. To this end they are, in reality, fully under my fostering care and protection, as long as I live, and after my death, so long as the religion of Islám shall prevail, and the doctrine of Christianity shall continue. It shall be the duty of all potentates and of all princes, and of all men to carry out our Covenant by the help of God, so long as the sea shall be capable of wetting wool, tufts and briers, and rain shall descend from heaven, and grass shall grow from the earth, and stars shall give light, and the moon shall rise upon aliens and strangers. No man shall dare to violate or alter this my Covenant, nor increase and decrease or change the same, because he that increases it, increases his punishment, and decreases our patience.

"And those who violate this Covenant, shall be considered intriguing infringers of that which I have bestowed on them (the Armenians), and in league with those who do not profess loyalty to me. They also become transgressors against the divine ordinance, and thus incur the just indignation of the only God.

"Moreover, the testimony of the Sayyid (Arch) Bishop and of the others, whose names have been written above, is a binding and sufficient authority. Because the principal followers of Christianity requested me to establish a Covenant and a treaty among all the Christians, placed under the shadow of the rule of the Musalmáns, now, by virtue of this Covenant, there shall be perpetual peace and tranquillity between Christians and Musalmáns. The contents of this Covenant are indubitable and true, and I have given it to them (the Armenians) of my own accord and with a cheerful countenance. I shall abide by this Covenant and act accordingly, so long as the Armenians shall be faithful to me and continue in their loyalty to my government, and take no part in opposing the religion of my people."
If they remain steadfast in the observance of this Covenant, they shall resemble the Musalmáns and the Múmins.

"Moreover, I have convened together the grandees of the Musalmáns and the leading men of my elders and dignitaries, and in their presence have established my Covenant, which the Christian nation requested of me and desired to possess. I have written down and recorded for them conditions and stipulations, which are hereafter to stand firm and remain in force. Should, in future, any monarch or prince, or any person of rank and authority, oppress them and treat them with cruelty, they should produce and present this record of my Covenant, because it is incumbent on monarchs, and on all Musalmáns to act according to our behests; but the Armenians also, by acts of fidelity and loyalty, should comply with our mandates and obey our will, in conformity with the contents of the treaty which I have made and established with them. There shall be no disobedience or opposition to my commands and wishes. Moreover, it is politic and expedient, not to molest and oppress the Christians, so that by the adoption of a conciliatory course, they might be induced to comply with the stipulations contained in this my Covenant.

"This my Covenant is a burden and an obligation to its recipients, and wearisome and irksome to maliciously disposed and evil-minded persons, and I desire that there should be no contention between the Christians and my exalted nation. But if any one shall act against all that I have written concerning the Christians, who have proved themselves worthy of my favor and benevolence, such a person acts against the will of God, who inspired me with grace to do this act of goodness to that nation and to save them from troubles and vexations; for I have entered into a Covenant with them, because they requested and solicited it from me and from all my friends. I have thus given them a divine Covenant, a Covenant of patriarchs, of prophets and of all holy men from the first to the last. And the word of God to the holy prophets, which was brought down from heaven by the angel, enjoins obedience to the laws and performance of duties, and also faithfulness to this my divine Covenant. Because the Christians under my authority are my subjects, and I am ruler over them, it is my duty to have a paternal eye over them, and to protect them from all evils and
troubles; and thus a good reward shall be given in heaven both to me and to my nation which is scattered in different parts of the world.

"And the scale of taxation fixed by me for these nobles should be strictly adhered to. No demand should be made from them beyond what has already been written down and sanctioned. They should not be molested or oppressed. Their country should not be taken from them. They should not be alienated from their country. The priests should not be deprived of their holy calling. The Christians should not be converted from Christianity. The monks and hermits should not be disturbed in their solitudes, nor removed from their monasteries. Their preachers should not be prohibited to preach. Their habitations and their hereditary lands should not be devastated. Their property should not be meddled with when they build Churches: Nobody should remove or to pull down the bells from the steeplest of their Churches. This is the law which I have made for them. But, those who shall infringe my Covenant, by disobeying my behests, shall be transgressors of the ordinance of God, and shall suffer severe punishments and eternal penalties.

"Let no crowned head or man of authority of the Musalmáns or believers, compel the Christians to profess the religion of Musalmáns. Nor let them hold any controversies with them on matters of religion, but let them treat them with kindness and tenderness; and, under the shadow of their mercy and clemency, protect them from all sorts of oppression and tribulations, wherever they may be found or wherever they may reside. And if the Christian people be in want of money or in need of pecuniary help for the building of Churches and monasteries, for their national and social assemblies, and for their civil and domestic purposes, the Musalmáns ought to assist them and supply them with the necessary means, by granting them a portion of their superabundant and disowned property. And this should be done not by granting them a loan, but by way of charity. They should also aid them by good advice and suggestions in their transactions, because doing so is pleasing and acceptable in the sight of God and his apostle. But, if any one should infringe the contents of this my Covenant, he is an unbeliever and an apostate from the divine prophet, and he will assuredly be deprived of his merits, and the prophet shall look upon him with anger and
displeasure. If the stubborn and refractory shall prove themselves unfaithful and disobedient to the Covenant which I have established, they cannot remain faithful and obedient to the son of Abútálíb, the exalted. For, whatever he may command and ordain, it is the duty of Musalmáns to carry out his orders, by succouring and commiserating them (the Armenians) at all times, so long as this world shall last. Glory to the Creator of the universe!"

The tragical events of the last twelve centuries, recorded on the pages of the history of oriental nations, and in the ecclesiastical chronicles of eastern Christendom, sufficiently testify how far the contents of this Covenant of the pious and humane 'Alí, fourth Caliph of Baghdád, have been kept inviolate by his successors and his co-religionists.
Memorandum on and tentative reading of the Sūe Vihār Inscription from near Bhāwulpūr.—By E. C. Bayley, Esq., C. S. I., C. S.

With two plates.

I enclose a tracing of an inscription and the accompanying note from Major Stubbs, R. A.

The place 'Sūe Vihār' in which this copper-plate inscription was found, is situated about sixteen miles S. W. of Bhāwulpūr, and the plate formed the bottom of a small arched chamber in which the vertical shaft which pierced the tower, terminated at the level of the summit of the mound.

Major Stubbs says—

'The name of the place, where the tower stands, is Sūe Vihār. Its present height is about 45 feet; but report says that 6 or 8 feet have recently fallen. Upon approaching it from the north, it is seen that but half of it is standing, having been cut, as it were, right down the diameter, passing from N. E to S. W. Half the exterior height is made up of a mound; and about 20 feet above the place where the tower rises from the mound, there are the remains of a large square chamber, about 8 feet square, its sides facing the cardinal points. Above the floor of this, the walls rise at present about 11 feet size. In the centre of the floor, there is a square hole of 16 inches, opening
into a shaft of the same size down to the top of the mound. This shaft is quite exposed from about 3 feet of the floor down to the top of the mound, by the falling away of half the tower, whenever that occurred. The tower is built of very large sun-dried bricks, 17 × 13 × 3.5". But in this chamber was formerly a flooring of burnt bricks of the same size as the sun-dried ones, laid in lime cement with the copper-plate bedded in the middle, while round the plate on the four sides, walls of the same kind of brick and mortar were raised, about 2 feet high, forming a sort of chamber with the copper plate at the bottom. In this, the coins, mixed with some pieces of iron, a few beads, fragments of ornaments, all mixed up with ashes and earth, were found. The men who were charged with the clearing out of this, unfortunately pulled the whole of the masonry down.'

'The mound upon first sight appears to be merely a heap of earth covered with the débris fallen from the tower; but upon closer examination, it turns out to be a regularly built tower, formed wholly of the sun-dried bricks above described.'

'When we arrived on Monday about noon, such was the state we found it in, the workmen already assembled had dug a few holes here and there in the mounds, and had come upon some loose bricks (pucca) at the S. E. After some consideration, we divided the men into two companies, and thinking there might be a second chamber at some distance under where the first was found, as in the tope of Manikyala, we set one of the companies to sink a trench at the middle of the mound, carrying it right at the centre of the tower as shewn by the dotted line in the plan. (Vide Pl. III.) The others were set to work to excavate the mound where the bricks had been discovered. The result of the two days' labour was the cutting of the trench into the heart of the tower to a depth of 10 feet below the original level, or 25 feet below the floor of the chamber, but as yet some 10 or 12 feet to the ground level remained unexplored. Nothing, down to this, had been found. The whole had been remarkably well built of sun-dried bricks of unusual compactness. The other work proved more interesting by uncovering a considerable portion of a piece of well built foundations arranged as shewn in the plan, consisting in some places of a double wall, 35 feet thick, with a
space of 1 foot between them. These were built of burnt bricks of the same size as the others, but not cemented with mortar. Excavation at this place was very difficult, owing to the quantity of loose and broken bricks which overlaid the foundation. Three fragments of curved bricks were found among these.'

'I hear that there is another tower similar to this in another part of this state about 100 miles still S. W. of this, at a place called Noshera.'

I read the first nine words as follows (vide Plate II)—

Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Kanishkasa samvatsaré ekadaše (here follows the cipher for eleven, as to which more hereafter) Dāisikasa Masasa. That is "In the eleventh sambat of the great king, the king of kings, the god-born Kanishka,—of the month Dāisik."

Then follows the number of the day of the month, written in cipher. The tracing here is not clear, and I have failed to read it.

So much for the first line. The important points are, first, the use of the samvat of Kanishka. I have long thought that the frequent occurrence of this king’s name evidently in connection with a date, betokened the existence of a Kanishka aera. It seems clear now that it does. The question is, what was it? Was it the year of his reign only, or was it a new aera? Was it the Saka aera which dated from the death of a Saka king? Perhaps the coins found with the plate, might help; they show at least what coins were current in the eleventh year of the aera.

Next comes the symbol, evidently standing for ten. This is the symbol which has been hitherto conjectured to stand for a contraction of "Samvatsure." This discovery will render needful correction of some dates as hitherto read, in this class of inscriptions.

Lastly, the name of the month, evidently the Macedonian "Døesius," or an attempt at it, confirms Cunningham’s conjectural reading of the month on the Taxila plate, and shows that in some parts of India, the Macedonian months were in use. I now read the name of the month in the Wardak inscription as "Athwami-siyasa for "of Artemisius."

This is one argument, I think, fairly deducible from the first line. The second line I attempt to read as—Atreswarasa Bhichusa
Memorandum on and tentative reading of the

Naganatasa Dhakha kélisa átreyura matravisishitasá átreyubhrate
prasishitasa yatri éva puyae iha Dámane (third line) vihar,—and
tentatively I would read this as follows:

"This vihár, in Dámana, for the religious advantage (puyae)
equivalent to a pilgrimage (yatri éva..yatra-iva ?) of Dhákakélis
(Dhákukelis ?) the .... excellent mother and .... very excellent
brothers of the Bhikshu Atreshwara of Naganata."

The verb must come in the third line, which I have not as yet
had time to work out; but I do not like to keep the papers longer.
I will copy out the tracing, however, and if I can make any further
probable guesses, will send them afterwards. The only impor-
tance which attaches to the second line is that which is derived
(if my reading is correct) from the mention of pilgrimages, as show-
ing that they were in use among the Buddhists of the early date
to which this inscription apparently belongs (not later than the
first century, A. D.), and that they were considered as conferring
religious merit.

If the Society publish the inscription, they should, I think, get a
loan at least of the plate. It is much more satisfactory to read from
the original than from the best tracing or copy.

May 1st, 1869.

Major Stubbs having kindly sent me the original copper-plate
found at Súe Vihár near Bháwalpúr, I am now in a position to
add somewhat to the tentative readings before submitted to the
Society, though I regret to say that I am still unable to complete
the whole inscription. This mainly arises from doubts as to the
value of certain characters which appear to occur here for the first
time. If my readings, however, are right as far as they go, they
seem to indicate that the pillar was set up as a quasi expiatory
offering by some one who had at some period of his career lapsed
into heresy, or into the commission of some grave crime. The
only other point of importance brought out is the date of the day
of the month, which is clearly the nineteenth; but as will be seen,
there is some difficulty as to the cypher for this, which hardly accords
with that given for the date of the year eleven. The first figure

\[ \underline{3} \]

is either a contraction for \( \underline{123} \) (11), or else there is
some omission in the engraving.
INSCRIPTION found at SURE VIHAR, near BHAWALPUR.
The Tower at Sūr Vihār near Bhaivalpur
The transliteration which I would now propose is as follows:

1st line.
Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Kanishkasa sanxvatsare ekadase, 11. Daisikasa masasa divase anullvimsate ?? ?? 19 ??

2nd line.
Atreshwarasa bhichhusasa Naganatasa Dhakhabhlisa. Achhaya matata vasishtusu achhayu bhrataprasishtasa yati evu puyae iha dāmane

3rd line.
Vihara samine upāsika anānanda. Swa si — — — lajaya matata chha imraya vipatita anupatrimra anupatitata, dadati sarva budha

4th line.
Strasa sukhaya bhavatu.

Translation of the 1st line.
The translation of the 1st line cannot be mistaken, I think. It is merely “On the 19th day of the month Daisik (Δαισίκος) in the 11th year of the divinely descended great king, king of kings Kanishka.”

2nd.
“For the religious benefit (equivalent to a pilgrimage) of Dhakhabhalisa the good the excellent mother and of the good and pre-excellent brother of Atreshwara of Naganata the religious mendicant, (this) for the holy lord (“samine” for swamine) the vihar, this worshipper gives (dadati), turned back (vapatita) from his maternal (virtue?)—fallen away (anupatitata) from his ancestral . . . .? May it be for a cause of happiness to all Buddhism (?)”

In the second line, I have some doubts as to the reading of the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 9th and 10th words, and my version of the 5th and 7th is purely conjectural. It may be a corruption of the word “ācharyya,” or more probably perhaps from the same source as the Hindi term for “good.”

3rd and 4th lines.
The third line is extremely dubious both as to reading and version, but the last compound letter of ananānda is new, though “d” evidently enters into the compound, and the other letters may
well be "n." The letter next after ananánda, I can only guess at. One seems an "n" or "m." The word "irma" or "imra" (most probably the latter), may have some connection with "amrit" which becomes in some Hindi dialects "imrit."

The end of the third and the fourth line contains a common Buddhist formula employed at the end of dedicating inscriptions; the word which I have rendered "Budhastrasa" is alone doubtful.

I am sorry to have the version so incomplete, but send it so rather than detain the plate longer, as I have no prospect of being able to give that attention to it which a more complete version would necessitate.

1st April, 1870.

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Notes on Old Delhi.—By J. D. Tremlett, Esq., M. A., C. S.
[Received 12th March, 1870.]

In the present paper I purpose restricting my remarks to such ancient Hindu and Pat'han buildings as have a historical or architectural interest, and are situated in or around the site of old Delhi. As, moreover, I intend these notes to be merely supplementary to the learned Paper of General Cunningham on the same subject, published in Vol. XXXIII. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I pass over in general all matters therein discussed.

The Tank of Súraj Kunḍh.

For the reasons given in the previous paragraph, I omit alluding to the two Pillars of Asoká, the iron pillar at Mihrauli, and the Hindu period of Indrapat (Puráná Qil'ah). As, however, Cunningham's description of the tank of Súraj Kunḍh is confined to a few lines (p. xix) and that of Sayyid Ahmad in his Asár-ugzanádid contains one or two inaccuracies, it may be well to dwell on this in some detail.

Sayyid Ahmad attributes the construction of this tank to Súraj Pál, the fifth son of that Rájah Anekpál, who was the first king of the Tunwar dynasty, about 676 A. D. General Cunningham, however, holds that the popular date should be referred to the Balabhí era, which would give A. D. 1061, during the reign of the second
Anekpál or Anangpál who restored the city of Delhi, making it again the capital of his kingdom.

The tank which is situated on high ground in the Delhi Hills a mile or so south of 'Adilábád, is not round as stated by Sayyid Ahmad, but is rather in the shape of an arc of a circle, since the west side is a straight line for very nearly its whole length, until at its north end it turns with a re-entering angle, and is continued a short distance towards a gorge which here meets the tank, and pours into it the drainage of the hilly ground. Except at this corner, where the stone-work probably was entirely discontinued to receive the hill streams, the tank is surrounded by a series of steps formed by large blocks of smoothed stone. These steps for a height of nine or ten feet are about the ordinary width of tank steps, but higher up, the space between successive steps becomes much wider, and the floor between is covered with cement, so as to form a succession of spacious terraces, running one above the other round the water; the upper terrace which was on a level with the adjacent country, being surrounded with a massive stone wall. In the centre of the western wall, is a broad staircase with side walls of simply sculptured stone leading to the Fort, or fortified Hawelí rather, of the constructor of the tank. The ruins of this building are still distinctly visible, occupying the hill top, which is here of no great size. The outer wall which crowns the crest of the ravine at the North-West corner of the tank before referred to, is very thick, and seems very singularly to be constructed as two walls standing side by side and forming one a lining to the other. In one spot on this face, I observed the ground had been taken advantage of to build a circular projecting tower. Immediately opposite the staircase leading to this fort, a precisely similar one was carried up to the top of the tank enclosure, where stands what is now a confused ruin of no great size, but probably once was a temple. Towards the northern portion of this curved side, is a sloping way for the use of cattle.

Although this fine work now stands in a desolate and apparently hopelessly sterile portion of the hilly range, there are numerous wells and relics of ancient buildings scattered around, showing it was once a populous locality. Do not the broken or dried up wells and ruins found so frequently in the Delhi hills, where the
country is now seemingly sterile as well as deserted, point to a process of desiccation going on there, or in the country at large, and felt the sooner in these Highlands?

The Great Mosque of the Quṭb.

The Colonnade.

The features of the colonnades in the mosque of Quṭbud-dīn, as detailed by General Cunningham are, I conceive, such as to settle finally the question that the pillars are not in their original positions, but have been removed by the Muhammadans, as recorded over the eastern gateway, from the Hindū temples of the town. The fact that these beautiful Hindū columns were covered with plaster by the idol-hating conqueror does not rest on an inference from the presence of one or two groups of sculptured figures, as Cunningham appears to put it at p. xlix of his Paper, but in sheltered spots the plaster can even now be picked from the more deeply carved stones: besides the columns, and especially the capitals, are constantly adorned with human or divine figures which although usually mutilated in the face must still have stunk in the nostrils of Quṭbud-dīn and his savage hordes.

In reference to Cunningham’s remark at p. x, that “a single pillar amongst the many hundreds that now form the colonnades of the Quṭb Manār, may perhaps belong to the old city, that is the town anterior to the Tūnwar dynasty, as it bears a figure either of Buddha the Ascetic seated in contemplation, or of one of the Jain hierarchs,” I would remark that in the south colonnade, and in the roofs of the S. E. and N. E. galleries, are several figures of seated Buddhas, or figures which answer exactly to the seated Buddhas of Benares and Ceylon, (I add this as I have unfortunately no knowledge of Jain sculptures). I should therefore be inclined to believe that, besides the column alluded to in the foregoing extract, no less than six of the lozenge-shaped roof compartments belong to the Buddhist period of Delhi. The pillars from the temples to which these roof compartments belonged, probably stood in that portion of the south cloister which has now been destroyed.

The sculptures on these Hindū columns give us some light, although but little, on the garb and appearance of the people of
Delhi at the time of the Muhammadan conquest. The capitals of
the columns are frequently formed by female figures which spring at
the waist from the pillar, and with their heads support the roof: 
these figures appear to wear the same covering for the breasts
which is still in use (angiya), and a waist cloth, the stomach being
bare; they wear as ornaments bracelets, armlets, chains round the
neck, often with lockets attached, and a singular looking chain
passing from the necklace over the left breast and reaching to the
waist covering; also waist chains, and in one group, of dancing girls
apparently, pendant chains depend from this waist chain over the
thighs. These female figures have usually a kind of coronet on
their heads, but I am inclined to think this was added to give a
larger space of support to the beam above. The workmanship of
the ornaments is very varied, and many of the patterns are highly
artistic. The men appear to wear dhotis, with the end hanging
down in front. Elephants covered with a pad and horses are seen
ridden; the head-gear of the latter is much like that now in use,
but the riders seem to have no stirrups; there are chains round the
animals’ necks like the chains of white shells still in fashion. The
riders on the elephants are strangely enough depicted as riding
across the creature’s back, as if it had been a horse. Over the
north gate is a car with a heavy, clumsy wheel. I have observed
no instance of a camel being introduced. Among the articles of
furniture, may be seen round earthen pots and beds like those now
in use, and round ottomans apparently of open cane-work. If I be
right in identifying certain pyramidal carvings as temples, they also
were in shape much like those erected now-a-days; that they were
low buildings, the height of the columns now standing in the cloisters
clearly shows. So far therefore as these glimpses of a past age
serve us, the subjects of Prit’hví Rájah differed little in appear-
ance from their descendants of to-day.

Before quitting this subject I would mention that besides the
two slabs described by General Cunningham at page xlix, there
are numerous similar narrow slabs containing groups or processions
built into the wall or roof, but usually so mutilated or filled with
plaster, that it is difficult to discover their meaning; perhaps though
the greatest difficulty is caused by our ignorance of the occurrences
or history of which these are the dumb records.
On the construction of the Mosques.

At p. xlviii General Cunningham speaks of Quṭbūd-dīn’s mosque as a wall pierced by a line of seven arches. This must surely be a *lapsus calami* for five, which is the true number; the colonnade being carried into the mosque by a continuation of the straight roof of the arcade.

A great difficulty I conceive with regard to these buildings is the manner in which the body of the mosques was roofed over. Enough, however, remains to show clearly that the line of the roof cut the arches, and that even columns stood in, and on the line of the open arches. Barbarous as it may appear that these noble arches should have their beauty marred, by being cut at about half their height, by the line of the roof of the room behind, there can be no doubt from an inspection of the ground, that such was the case; and it should be remembered, that there is no connection between the arts of sculpture and architecture, and that it is in no sense improbable that the men, who could carve the pillars of the so-called ‘But-khānah,’ and cover the mosque wall with its elaborate and delicate tracery, would be still quite incompetent to attempt the feat of raising the body of the mosque to the height required to correspond to the lofty wall which the conqueror directed to be built: in fact, the whole mosque is clearly the work of men who did not know how to extend the appliances and skill which sufficed for Hindū temples, low in height and limited in area, to the more difficult task now imposed on them; while many proofs can be drawn from the early Pat’hān buildings to show that at the time of the conquest they had to depend on their Hindū subjects, and that the glories of Pat’hān architecture were the results of the subsequent progress of a race now enjoying the wealth of India, and the leisure which such fortune brings. One other question anent the roof remains; *viz.*., whether the mosque itself was a two-storied building or not. On mature consideration, I am inclined to believe not, as in one place, a dome still remains above the first floor, which is coated on the outside in the same manner as the other domes are, which were exposed to the weather; whereas, if a second floor had been superimposed, this would probably have
been left without a special coating in the midst of the material intervening between the roof below and the floor above; and secondly, I am not aware of any case of a story being built above the story on the Court level. The only thing to support the theory of a double story is the bad effect of arches opening below into a room and above to the sky; and a block of stone projecting on the back of the front wall of the north mosque at a height above the level of the roof, and looking as if it belonged to the support of a roof or other erection at that higher level. As to the first of these reasons, the remaining features of the building, as already discussed, show how unsafe it would be to apply our notions to the way in which these arches were treated; and as to the second point, although I have no theory even to offer as to the purpose to which the projecting stone was applied, it seems less difficult to admit this than to hang on it alone the anomaly of an upper story.

Extent of the Mosques of Shams-ud-din Altamsh.

From the language used by General Cunningham at p. 2, it is clear that he considers the whole of the longer and outer southern cloister as belonging to these mosques. With all deference to his authority as an archaeologist, I more than doubt whether the cloisters of Altamsh extended further than the Quṭb Manār itself, and the portion to the east, I believe, belongs to a later period, probably that of 'Alá-ud-dīn Khilji. I found this on four reasons; first, the pillars to the west of the Manār are all of one pattern, and this the same as in the fragmentary colonnade before the east door of the lesser mosque, which I consider belongs to this erection, while the columns to the east of the Manār, which are also all alike, are of a different pattern; secondly, the line of the columns to the east and west of the Manār is slightly different; thirdly, the stones facing the wall at the east end are larger and better cut than those in the west part; and lastly and principally, the windows in the wall near the mosque are oblong, and generally resemble those in Quṭb-ud-dīn’s building, whereas to the east from the Manār downwards they are arched and filled in with trellis work in red sandstone, and closely resemble the windows in 'Aláud-dīn’s porch. I infer therefore that Shamsud-dīn’s north and south walls reached only
to the line of the Manâr, and were connected by a triple colonnade without a wall, which was probably omitted owing to the close proximity here of the east wall of the inner mosque. Considering, however, the admirable taste with which the ground was cleared by Major Smith of rubbish (†!), to make way for paths and flower-beds, it is possible that a wall may have stood at this end, of which all traces are now gone. I conceive that 'Alâud-dîn added, not only his gateway, but also enlarged the cloisters by the columns to the east of the Manâr, possibly altering or pulling down a little of the S. E. corner of Altamsh's arcade, in order to join on his new additions.

Sultân Ghârî.

About three miles to the N. W. of the Quṭb are some remains of considerable historical interest, known in the neighbourhood as Sultân Ghârî. The principal building is said by Sayyid Ahmad to be the tomb of a prince Sultân Nâcir-ud-dîn Mahmûd, the eldest son of Altamsh, who died in his father's lifetime, and by whom this tomb was erected in his honor in 1229, A. D. The tomb is approached by a lofty flight of steps which leads to a door surrounded by an inscription in white marble in the old Kufic character. This gate enters on a small court; in the centre of which stands a large octagonal vault rising about four feet above the yard, the outer sides being coated with slabs of marble; in one side is a small door which opens on a flight of 15 steps leading to the bottom of the vault. This crypt which is only lighted from the door is faced with the stone of the neighbourhood, and supported by massive columns of the same. In it are the tombs of three adults and one child, all massively built, and covered with chunam, in the style of those in the mausoleum at Tughluqâbâd. At the west end of the court, is a marble qiblahgâh, handsomely carved; along both the east and west wall, is a single covered colonnade of fluted pillars, and in front of the entrance, and opposite it, in front of the qiblahgâh, the roof of the colonnade is raised into a low dome lined with projecting rows of carved stone in the Hindû fashion, as seen in the domes of Quṭbud-dîn's mosque. The pillars which support the qiblahgâh dome are, like the qiblahgâh itself, of white marble
and project slightly beyond the line of the rest of the colonnade. At the four corners of the tomb yard, are small circular towers surmounted by low domes, built in the Hindú fashion, by layers of stone projecting one above the other. If the learned Sayyid have rightly interpreted the inscriptions on this tomb, this will be, I believe, the earliest in India of any interest in the eye of the historian. The popular name is probably a corruption either of the word Ghori, a not inapplicable race-name to give to a son of Altamsh, or is derived from the vault (جار , ghár) in which the tombs are built.

At the south side of this tomb, and on the natural surface of the ground, stand two monuments, each consisting of eight columns and surmounted by domes. These tombs stand each in a small enclosure, consisting of a low rough stone wall, entered on the east sides by narrow gateways. These tombs, Sayyid Ahmad considers to be those of Ruknud-din, the son and successor of Altamsh, and of Mu'izzud-din Bahram, another son of the same emperor. I presume, he identifies these tombs from the account given of their repair by Firúz Sháh; for there is not a vestige of inscription on or about the tombs themselves, so far as I could discover. The pillars in the more eastern tomb closely resemble those in Nācirud-din's. The domes, as they exist at present, I have no doubt are the work of Firúz Sháh, who is said to have repaired both buildings, as their shape and size points to a much later era than the Hindú-like domes of their brother's tomb hard by; and the rubble masonry of which they are constructed, while quite in the style of Firúz Sháh's time, contrasts unnaturally with the massive stone slabs by which the columns are surmounted. I greatly doubt if in the early portion of the 13th century, the Pat'háns had acquired the art of surmounting a spacious building by a dome, and am inclined to believe that they finished them off by a few projecting layers of stone, leaving the centre open to the sky, much in fact as in the case of the tomb of Shamsud-din Altamsh, which there appears to be little reason for considering to have ever been domed over, Firúz Tughluq's annalist notwithstanding. At a short distance from Nācirud-din's tomb is an interesting specimen of the mosque of those times, when Hindú temples were not at hand to be plundered. The mosque
roof, which is flat, rests on parallel rows of columns, from each one of which, excepting of course the outside rows, spring four narrow arches, two resting on the two adjacent pillars in the row parallel to the west wall, and two on the two adjacent pillars in the row at right angles to that wall, the spandrels of the arches forming a part of the solid roof, which is built of rubble masonry.

_Tomb of Ghiásud-dín Balban._

Just beyond a mosque known at the Quṭb as that of Jamáli Kamáli, stand the remains of the tomb of this famous slave king. It is situated in a small yard, surrounded by a low wall, pierced by a row of arched openings. Under the north door, which is approached by two flights of steps parallel to the wall, is an aperture, out of which water seems to have flowed through a pipe, as a slab of stone worked into the ordinary honey-combed pattern, is placed under the pipe. The tomb itself is a square building of masonry, covered with plaster and painted. The four corners have been cut off on the exterior by a six-sided recess becoming circular at the top. Inside over the east and west doors are inscriptions in Arabic. There is no trace now of the actual grave, and the inside is encumbered with massive fragments of the dome which has fallen in within recent memory. The qiblahgāḥ is constructed in the wall of the court, which, opposite to the west door of the tomb, is raised to about double the height of the rest of the wall. The gateways in the court wall are narrow and flat at the top, but arched over with masonry. Ibn Batútá, who visited Delhi about fifty years after Balban’s decease, says (p. 113, Lee’s Translation), “One of his (Balban’s) pious acts was his building a house, which was called the House of Safety; for, whenever any debtor entered this, his debt was adjudged; and in like manner every oppressed person found justice; every manslayer deliverance from his adversary; and every person in fear, protection. When he died, he was buried in this house, and there I myself visited his grave.” If the Dár ul-aman were no larger than the tomb or even its court, the skirts of Balban’s protection were but scanty; I should be inclined, however, to think that the tomb was erected in the grounds of the house, both because the present area seems too limited for an
Alsatia, and also because it was not the custom for these Pat'áns to be buried within actual dwelling-houses, and I take it, the Dár-ul-aman was probably such, or a row of such dwellings, possibly in the form of a Saráí. Sayyid Ahmad who was perhaps unacquainted with this almost contemporary statement of the Arab traveller, places the tomb at Mihrauli (the Quţb) and the House of Safety some miles off, close to the shrine of Nizámud-dín, where is a village called Ghiáspúr. As is his wont, the Sayyid does not give his reason for the identification, but if it rest at all on the name of the village, that seems too common a one to be worth much.

'A'dilábád.

This fortress, attributed to Muhammad Tughluq, lies on the southern side of the tank, in which the tomb, erected by this king to his father, was situated. Although on a much smaller scale, this place, like Tughluqábád itself, consists of a strong fort on the highest ground and an outer line of fortifications probably enclosing a small town or bazar. These outer fortifications diverge from the Fort wall close to the main gateway, and after enclosing a considerable space of ground to the south, approach close to the Fort at its east end, and then by a double line of walls cross the head of the tank on an embankment and join the walls of Tughluqábád. Inside the citadel of this place are still to be seen the foundations of the palace.

At a short distance to the west of 'A'dilábád stands another Fort with its dependent fortified suburb. This place which is very much smaller than even 'A'dilábád, goes in the neighbourhood by the unintelligible name of the Sweeper's Fort, or the Washerman's Fort. Inside the Fort, and scattered over the hill on which it stands, I found numerous fragments of red sandstone, showing that an ornamental building of some nature had once stood within the fortress, but all other traces of it have now disappeared. Both this place and 'A'dilábád are built in the style of Tughluqábád of enormous blocks of stone. It seems difficult to believe that Firúz Tughluq succeeded the builders of these works, which embody the highest ideas of simplicity joined to strength.
Notes on Old Delhi.

The Palace of Firúzábád.

The ruins known as 'Firúz Sháh ká kotilah' close to the Delhi gate of the modern city, undoubtedly constitute only the palace of Firúzábád, which itself reached far into the modern town of Sháhjahan, and on the other hand it, or its suburbs, are said to have stretched to the present village of Hauz Kháč, and to Indrapat. I have carefully searched, and I believe not a single inscription can be found throughout the whole palace, probably because time has kindly removed or blackened the plaster in which this king so delighted. Immediately to the south of the pyramid, on which Asoká’s pillar has been set up, is the mosque, which Sayyid Ahmad identifies as the Jámi’ Masjid of Timur Lang’s days, and its size, situation, as well as the absence of any other ruins on the old river bank, which could be the mosque in question, render this highly probable, notwithstanding its position inside the palace. If, however, it be the mosque, then that gracious monarch seems to have been guilty of exaggeration in describing it as a “noble mosque of polished marble” (Elphinstone’s Hist. of India, p. 358), as it is only built of masonry, covered with plaster, and can never have been anything else, since in one or two places, ornamental medallions of raised plaster work still remain on the walls, and bear due testimony that the building was not raised in a reign of marble and sand-stone.

Mosques of Jahán Khán.

General Cunningham speaks of the Kálá Masjid, now within the enclosure of modern Delhi, as a characteristic and favourable specimen of the architecture of those days. It is a trite saying De gustibus non est disputandum, but it seems difficult to see what there is to admire in low colonnades, surmounted by rows of hemispherical domes of small diameter, each one touching its fellow, with one of larger size here and there over a gateway. It may be doubted too, if the sloping walls which crown so proudly the crests of the Tughluqábád hills, are much adapted for crowded streets, especially when for huge blocks of squared stone are substituted paint and plaster. However, for admirers of the later Tughluq style, I may observe that the mosque at the village of Khirkhi by
Muhammad Tughluq's hand, and that of Begumpur near the road from Delhi to the Quṭb, are both much finer specimens of Jahán Khán's erections than the Black Mosque. Whatever may be the architectural beauties, however, of these mosques, they have a certain historical interest, as they were the fruits of Jahán Khán's desire to ingratiate himself with the people, when he was taking advantage of his master Firúz Sháh's age and consequent imbecility and his own position as vazír, to intrigue for the succession to the already almost vacant throne.

_Tomb of Firúz Sháh Tughluq._

This monument stands in the village of Hauz Kháç. It is a square lofty building of masonry. The principal entrance is on the south, where a stone wall of grey sandstone about two feet high with a broad coping stone forms a diminutive court by which to approach the door, which is raised by three steps, and is wide and oblong, but set in an arch, the upper portion being filled in with stone lattice work; the lintels and side-posts of the door are of grey stone, and at the top, the side-posts are made to project and carved slightly. The east door resembles the one just described; at the west and north are recesses in the wall, resembling those in which the opposite doors are set. At the side of the north recess is a narrow pointed arch now blocked up, but leading apparently to the Madrasah. At a considerable height above the floor, the shape of the walls is changed from a square to an octagon and then to a sixteen sided figure and so on, by filling up the corners with masonry worked into a beautiful honey-comb kind of pattern, and richly painted. The dome, a hemispherical one, is of considerable diameter, with a large circle painted in an elegant pattern at the top, from which belts cutting each other are drawn down to the bottom of the dome. In the intersections of the belt are three rows of medallions of different sizes and figures: the belts and medallions being all painted on the white ground of the dome. Outside the south door is an Arabic inscription. Round the top of the square building, and around the low cylinder, from which the dome springs, is a narrow band of red stone, carved in a graceful pattern. Inside are three marble, and one masonry tomb, all much injured. Sayyid
Ahmad states that Nācirud-dīn Tughluq and 'Alāud-dīn Sikandar Shāh (the Humāyūn Tughluq apparently of Elphinstone) also lie buried here. Adjoining the tomb to the north is a range of low masonry buildings, probably the Madrasah which Firūz Shāh erected here; although at present unoccupied, this building is blocked up by the walls by which the villagers have adapted it to the wants of their modern civilization. Around the royal tomb are numerous open monuments of the common form of cupolas resting on pillars.

Tomb of Mubārik Shāh.

Near the tomb of Ḍafīlar Jang, stands the little village of Mubārikpur. This is built in the midst of a large yard surrounded by a stone battlemented wall. The gates leading into this Court have the side posts and lintels of grey stone, and are oblong in shape except at the top where the side posts project in the usual fashion. About the actual doorway, is a narrow line of plain blue encaustic tiles, and below two full blown lotus flowers in white marble. A short approach from this gate leads to the tomb itself, a massive octagonal building constructed of the grey stone of the country. It stands on a plinth, approached by an ascent of two steps with a sloping way of stone between. The tomb is surrounded by a covered colonnade; the pillars, twenty-four in number, stand on the edge of the plinth. These pillars are of a highly peculiar form, being oblong, and so cut as to present the appearance of two oblong shaped pillars joined by a narrower belt; at each corner of the octagon, the outer pillar is strengthened by a buttress of solid stone, which greatly contributes to the general appearance of strength and solidity which characterize the building. The dome springs from a low cylinder, ornamented with colour and with sixteen finials. The dome itself is crowned with an open octagonal lantern of red stone; around the dome are eight octagonal cupolas resting on low pillars. There is only one door into the tomb, that to the south, which is of similar construction to the one in the outer court. In the space between the lintel of the doorway and the apex of the arch in which it is set, is a fan-light of lattice work in stone. The other six apertures, except the west one, answer to this south doorway, except that the doorway in their case is filled up
with stone lattice work, divided by two horizontal bars of solid stone. The west side is filled up with a handsomely carved qiblah-gāh, also in stone. This niche wall is also carved on the reverse. Above the range of the doors are four arched windows in stone openwork and over them springs the dome. This is of ample diameter and is painted with belts of colour running diagonally from the bottom up to a circle of colour which fills the centre. Immediately under the centre of the dome is a tomb of a man, and to the right two women's graves, while in a row nearer the south door, are the tombs of two females, and two male children. All these graves are of stone; but owing to the tomb having been formerly utilized as a dwelling-house, I was unable to discover the stone of which the tombs and the qiblahgāh were constructed, but I rather think it was marble. At a short distance to the south-west inside the court-yard stands a three-domed mosque evidently of the same period. The wall of this building is pierced with five arches resting on low square pillars of grey stone plainly cut. There is a second row of columns running down the centre of the mosque.

This tomb is considered to be that of Mubārik Shāh, the second of the Sayyid dynasty; Sayyid Ahmad, however, doubts whether this be the tomb of the king, as the town which he was building when murdered, and where he was buried, was on the banks of the Jam-nah, which Mubārikpūr never can have been. Unless indeed, the historical evidence be express that the monarch was buried actually within, and not in the vicinity of his unfinished town, I think the tomb itself affords strong evidence that the tradition is right, and that the name of the site relates to the hapless Sayyid. The shape of the dome, the limited use of encaustic tiles as a decoration, the fashion of the door ornaments, all point to the early part of the fifteenth century as the date of the building, while the costly nature of the tomb, the ample court in which it stands with its accompanying mosque, seem to place it beyond the means of a mere nobleman, especially at a time when Delhi was at its lowest point of depression. Unless therefore there be strong contemporary evidence against it; I am inclined to think that the principal tomb is that of the second Sayyid king.
Notes on Old Delhi.

At a short distance from Çafdar Jang's tomb, close to the road leading to Nizámud-dín, is the tomb of Muhammad Sháh, the next Sayyid. It resembles, however, Mubárik Sháh's so closely, as to call for no special description. The surrounding court here has perished.

**Tomb of Buhlul Lodhí.**

This tomb stands close to the shrine of Nácirud-dín Raushan Chirágh i Dihlí, and is now unfortunately occupied by the lomberdar of the village. The interior is therefore dark and dirty, but the gravestone of carved stone is still visible; it is now a dark brown colour, the result I presume of discoloration. Above, the tomb is surmounted by five domes, the centre one being somewhat higher than the rest and ornamented with vertical flutings.

**Tomb of Sikandar Lodhí.**

About a quarter of a mile from Çafdar Jang's tomb, close to an ancient bridge which probably stood on the road leading from Firúzábád to one or other of the towns stretching from Síri to Lálkot, stands the mausoleum of this greatest of the Lodhis, who, though he died at A'grah, is said to have been buried here by his son and successor. The tomb closely resembles in style that of Mubárik Sháh, but the increased perpendicularity of the dome indicates a somewhat later period. There is a large court surrounded by a battlemented wall, with a gate in the south wall. This gate is protected by a square outwork in front, the means of egress being by turning to the right and passing through an aperture in the west side of this advanced work, the south side being a continuous wall. At each end of this last named wall, are two cupolas adorned with encaustic tiles.

**Dihlí Sher Sháh.**

In regard to the southern limits of this city I entertain great doubt if, as General Cunningham considers, it ever reached so far as to include *within its walls* the Mausoleum of Humáyún. My reason for holding this view is, that just opposite the west gate of Puráná Qil'ah stands a gate, now known as the Lál Darwázah, in the same style, though larger and finer than the Lál Darwázah opposite the jail, which latter is generally admitted to be a north
gate of this city. On both sides of this southern gate, are protecting towers and a little of the wall, both the gate and the walls being to all appearance those of an important city from the size and appearance, and yet their direction is such as to make it inconceivable, especially as Puráná Qil'ah was then standing, that they could have been part of an enceinte including Humáyún's tomb; this argument rests on the narrowness of the space between the gate and the old course of the river compared with the distance southerly to Humáyún's tomb, and also on the fact that the wall to the east of the gate turns northward and not southward. If too I be right in identifying the masses of masonry between the north gate of Puráná Qil'ah and the road as being a part of the wall of Dihlí Sher Sháh, the argument is considerably strengthened, as then the wall would be found running more than half a mile north of the mausoleum. I think too the authorities quoted by General Cunningham at p. lxxix of his paper may be interpreted consistently with the view I am taking. Finch's statement of 'two kos' was undoubtedly his own approximation, or else the popular distance, and I think if allowance be made for the windings of the streets, for there seems no reason, from the nature of the ground, for believing that the two gates which chance to remain were connected by a straight road, the distance between them might be set down roughly at two kos, though undoubtedly somewhat less. Again it seems a somewhat arbitrary assumption, that the gate near the jail was the chief north gate: there can be no doubt that many of the gates must have perished, and this particular one is by no means on so grand a scale as the one opposite Puráná Qil'ah. The bridge might well be said to be only a short distance from Dihlí, even if the walls stopped at Puráná Qil'ah, as the suburbs would beyond question extend some way beyond the wall along so important a road as the Mat'hurá one must then have been; and this consideration seems to meet Purchas' statement that Humáyún's tomb was in the city. At any rate before the southern limits be fixed below Humáyún's tomb on the authority of this writer, for the quotations from Finch seem quite inconclusive till we know where his north gate stood, it seems to me essential that some satisfactory account should be given of the great gate opposite Puráná Qil'ah.
Notes on Old Delhi.

Puráná Qil'ah.

Although the walls of this Fort are attributed to Humáyún, both the buildings now remaining in it, are attributed to Sher Sháh Súr, and exhibit Pat'hn architecture at its highest perfection.

The Jámí’ Masjid which has recently been repaired by Government with great success, is a large building of grey stone, of five arches. These arches are all more or less elaborately adorned with inlaid stones of marble, red sandstone and a kind of black basalt, the stone-work being elaborately carved with passages from the Qurán, and scroll work. Nothing but a painting can do full justice to a result in which colour and workmanship alike contribute to the charm which the spectator cannot but feel. The qiblahgáhs are also carved in marble and adorned with inlaid patterns and red sandstone, the ceiling and dome have been covered with painted patterns. It may suffice to point out certain characteristics of this style of mosque. Above the doorways, in the upper portion of the arch in which they are set, are introduced small arched window-like aper-tures: at the north and south sides, oriel windows are constructed, surmounted with cupolas resting on pillars. These oriel windows are also introduced into the back wall of this mosque, while each end of the back wall terminates in a rounded tower running to the top of the building. Mosques belonging to this period and exhibiting the style, will be found in the Jamálí Kamálí mosque at the Quṭb, in the North Masjid near Mubáríkpúr and in a nameless mosque at Khairpúr, about a third of a mile from Çafílar Jang’s tomb. This last mosque is noteworthy, as being perhaps the finest remaining specimen of the success with which the Pat’háns worked inscriptions and tracery in stucco.

The other building in Puráná Qil’ah, the Sher Mandal, which derives its interest from being the place where Humáyún met with the fall which caused his death, is an octagonal building of red stone standing on a plinth. The first story is solid, but in the second there is a room panelled with encaustic tiles to the height of about 3 feet and painted above. This room is a square from which lesser squares have been cut off at the corners, as shown in the
figure. On the roof is an octagonal cupola; the supporting pillars of red sandstone have their shafts richly carved with chevron work, and the bases are also worked with an elegant pattern.

Proposed Criteria towards fixing the dates of Pat'han buildings at Delhi.

Although there is a very wide difference indeed between the barbarous simplicity of the Sulṭān Ghārī mosque, and the stately Jāmī’ Masjid of Sher Shāh’s days, a very little observation will show that these changes have taken place in successive periods and not arbitrarily, and so regularly as to enable the date of any building of size to be very closely approximated to.

One of the most conspicuous parts of Pat'han building is the dome, and in the shape and fashion of the dome, these successive developments of Pat'han architecture are very clearly marked. I have already pointed out that the first conquerors were compelled to use Hindū builders; accordingly, the dome of the early slave-kings is constructed of successive concentric rings of stone, the diameter of each layer being somewhat less than that of the layer below it, the whole being capped by a circular stone, covering the small remaining aperture. This Hindū looking dome, which is of small height and usually of trifling base-diameter also, is coated on the outside with masonry and stucco. Instances are the domes on the Quṭb mosque and in the tomb of Nācirud-dīn at Sulṭān Ghārī.

I conceive it was the coating just mentioned which taught the Dihlī Pat’hāns the secret of building their domes on truer principles. They found that this masonry coating would stand without the layers of projecting stones below; and then I assume that all subsequent advances were mere questions of the natural development of the secret just obtained. Accordingly in the lower part of Mihrauli is now standing an old mosque rudely built, in which the domes resemble in diminutiveness those of the Quṭb mosque, but are constructed without any under-coating of stone-work.

Towards the end of the slave dynasty and in that of the Khiljī princes, the dome is broader and higher in a considerable degree. It springs, however, still directly from the flat roof, without any intervening cylinder. The remains of Balban’s tomb and the
gateway of 'Aláud-dín Khilji at the Quṭb may be instanced as shewing the style of this half century.

The dome of the early Tughluq period is marked by the introduction of a low cylinder of a slightly larger diameter than that of the dome, from which the latter springs: the domes too are of a somewhat peculiar shape, as seen in the well known tomb at Tughlaqábád, and in that of Shaikh Ǧaláhud-dín between Sháhpúr and Khirkhí. In Firúz Sháh’s time, the cylinder has considerably increased in height, and becomes a conspicuous object in the dome-construction; the curved portion of the dome is still continued, however, down to the place where it springs from the cylinder.

Under the Sayyid and Lodhi lines (the fifteenth century), the changes consist in increasing still more the length of the cylinder, which is now adorned with diminutive pinnacles, and in bringing the dome down to the cylinder by a curve which for a greater and greater distance from the base tended, as time went on, towards a straight line as its limit.

I may add that this lengthening of the cylinder and strengthening of the lower lines of the dome, was the direct cause which led to the introduction of the “false dome,” (witness Humáyún’s tomb, and those standing near it); the graceful forms of Sháh-jahán’s day being a later improvement.

Among the other criteria may be mentioned the doorways, and these are often useful in distinguishing between buildings from Firúz Tughluq’s time and downwards; the aperture was always oblong, though usually set in an arch (I do not now speak of the arches in mosque walls), and ornamented at the top by side-posts being made to project. These doorways, which are wide and ample in Firúz Sháh’s days, became subsequently more and more narrow, while the ornamentation at the top became more finished and elaborated, until specimens are found to rival even the beautiful workmanship of Fathpúr Sikrí and the Ágravh Fort.

Besides the foregoing tests, buildings belonging to the Tughluq dynasty, may be recognized usually by the slope of the walls, described by General Cunningham; those of Jahán Khán by the sloping walls and multitudinous small hemispherical domes, while during the fifteenth century, there was a gradually increasing use of encaustic tiles.
Notes on Archeological Remains at Shah ki Dheri and the site of Taxila.—By J. G. Delmekick, Esq.

[Received 18th April, 1870.]

(Vide Proceedings for June and July, 1870.)

I have the pleasure of sending you a photograph of certain heads and images recently dug up near Shah ki Dheri.

The images are of stone, but the heads are of common plaster, and are evidently those of Buddha; for they closely resemble the figure of Buddha as depicted on the cover of Beale’s new translation of Fa Hian’s pilgrimage.

Shah ki Dheri is about three miles from Kálá Seráí on the Láhor and Pesháwar road. Near it are still to be seen the remains of fortifications several miles in circumference. The area enclosed within the walls is known to the people as Kot Atial.* The soil is rich and is covered with mounds and the debris of ancient habitations.

Indo-Scythic and Indo-Bactrian coins are commonly turned up by the plough, and on former occasions very interesting Bactro-Buddhist relics have been brought to light by actual digging of the mounds.

In 1859, a plate or plates of copper covered with Bactro-Pali inscriptions were found by Núr, a khádim or servant in the masjid of Ghilá adjoining Shah ki Dheri. Núr presented this plate to the late Mr. A. A. Roberts, then Commissioner and Superintendent of the Ráwal Pindi Division.

Again in 1861, the same Núr found a stone trough, a crystal figure, representing a duck or a turtle and a gold leaf bearing a short Bactro-Pali inscription, all of which are fully noticed and described in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No. 2 of 1862.

* Probably Atélites. “According to De Gugines, their name was properly "To-le or Ti-le to which, from their inhabiting the banks of the Oxus, the "syllable ḍb, "water" was prefixed. They are commonly confounded under "the denomination of Indo-Scythi with their predecessors, the Sakas, and "Yu-Chi; as is done by Gibbon when he observes that the Indo-Scythi "reigned upon the confines of India from the time of Augustus to that of "Justin the Elder, A. D. 530” (vide note 3, page 388 of Wilson’s Ariana Anti-qua).
In 1863, Nūr likewise discovered a bar of pure gold, worth about 400 Rs. which, although it was not interesting in an archaeological point of view, led to the inference that the city, which once existed in the neighbourhood, had not only been very large but very wealthy.

The plate of copper discovered in 1859 was sent to Calcutta by Mr. Roberts, and was described by him to have been found at Hasan Abdāl. I am not aware of the reason why Hasan Abdāl was selected above all other places, perhaps because, though several miles away from the place of discovery: it is on the Grand Trunk road, and is the nearest town best known to Europeans, or more probably because Nūr brought this curiosity to Mr. Roberts, while he was encamped at Hasan Abdāl.

I have visited the locality, and have personally inspected the mound where the plate of copper was found. The name of the place is Topī, a small tope having existed here once. It is situated midway between the village of Mohra Moradū, and Mohra Mal-líár, and is on the boundary of the lands belonging to the village of Gangu Jumma. It is about two miles to the north-east of the ruins of Koṭ Atial.

Professor J. Dowson of Sandhurst College, in a letter* addressed to Mr. E. Thomas, translates the inscription on the plate as follows:—

"In the year seventy-eight (78) of the great king Mogo on the "fifth (5) day of the month Panæmus, on this notable occasion the "satrap of Chhahara and Chukhsa by name Liako Kusuluko de-
"posits a relic of the holy Sakyamuni in the Sepatiko, which he had "established in the country called Chhema, north-east of the city "of Taxila in honor of the great collective body of worshippers, "and of all the Buddhas, for the honoring of his father and mo-
"ther, for the long life, strength and prosperity of the satrap’s son "and wife, for the honoring of all his brothers and relatives and "for making known his great liberality, fame, and success."

The great king Mogo is identified by General Cunningham and Professor Dowson to be the same as the Moa or Mauas of the coins which are frequently found in the neighbourhood.

* Published in the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, No. 4 of 1863.
Liak, the name of the satrap, is still a common name among the Hindus of this part of the country.

Kusuluko represented probably the family name or title a Kusu-lu Kadphises.

General Cunningham believes Chharhara and Chukhsa to be Chuch and Huzara. There are, however, about 15 miles to the north-west of the spot where the inscription was found, in the 'Iláqah of Haroh, two villages within a couple of miles of each other, still known by the name of Chahar and Chukshaia or Shai. There are extensive ruins near both these villages, where Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins are often found. I am of opinion therefore that Liako Kusuluko was the satrap or governor of the 'Iláqah or district of Haroh, of which Chahar and Chukshai were the chief towns.

Moreover I think that the ruins near Sháh ki Dherí can be no other than those of the celebrated city of Taxila, and, in addition to what has been stated above, my reasons for believing them to be so, are as follows:—

I.—According to Menu,* the King is recommended to fix his capital in a fertile part of his dominion, but in an immediate neighbourhood, difficult of access, and incapable of supporting invading armies. Any one looking at the site of Kot Atial would at once perceive that the city must have been built in strict accordance with the precepts of the Dharma Shastra.

II.—Taxila is described by the Greek writers† to have been the largest city between the Indus and the Hydaspes. The ruins are very extensive, having still the appearance of a very large fortified town. There are no ruins at any other spot in the Sind Ságar Duáb covering even half as much ground.

III.—Pliny‡ calls Taxila a famous city lying on a low, but level plain, the general name of the district being Amenda. Chhema was, however, the name of the country where the relics, according to the inscription, were deposited. No such country is now known, but chhema is a Sanscrit word, signifying pardon, forgiveness, absolu-

* Chapter VII. of the Code.
† Arrian, Chapter VIII., Book V., et passim.
‡ Book VI., Chapter 23.
tion. Perhaps then the locality or country was expressly set apart for the deposit of propitiatory offerings "to all the Buddhas" particularly as the whole of the surrounding country from Khurram Gújar on the one side and Khánpúr on the other, is dotted with small topes,* the majority of which have been almost entirely demolished by zamíndárs and others, in search of coins and relics which are eagerly bought by dealers in the town of Ráwal Pindi.

IV.—General Cunningham has translated the word utarena pra-chu in the inscription, as North West, for no other reason as far as I can see, than because the inscription was stated to have been found at Hasan Abdáł, north west of Maníkyála, which he then† believed was the site of Taxila; but the inscription was not found at Hasan Abdáł at all, as has already been stated, but at a place called Topi to the North East of Koṭ Atial, which is now believed to be the spot where Taxila once existed. Professor Dowson asserts that the letters "of the word pra-chu (east) are as perfect and dis-tinct as any in the whole inscription and they form most unequi-
"voeally the word pra-chu."

V.—In the itinerary of the Chinese traveller, Hwan Thsang, Tan-chashilo, or Taxila, is described to be on the boundary of India towards the north, and a dependency of Cashmere. Certain slokas in the Ramayana also allude to Taxila (Takshilla) as a dependency of Cashmere, and in the latter it is stated that the name of the town is derived from the founders of it, viz., Takshan, the son of Bharata; but it is possible that the name may be derived from Taksh, a celebrated serpent-god, and sila a stone or rock: the hill overhanging the valley of Koṭ Atial having a serpentine appearance, as viewed by me from Khurram Gújar. Or the name of the town may have originated from a passage cut through the hill like the Margalla Pass in the vicinity, from taksh, to cleave, and sila, a stone.

VI.—When Alexander the Great halted at Taxila to refresh his

* General Cunningham in 1864 found the remains of 58 small topes at and near Sháh ki Dheri.
† Subsequently in a letter, dated 23rd January, 1864, to the address of Col. R. Maclagan, Secretary to Government, P. W. D., Punjab, the General declared that the ruins in the neighbourhood of Sháh ki Dheri were almost certainly the remains of Taxila.
army, the brother and ambassadors of Abisesares* who was king of Abisara (the Abhisara of the Hindus) or the modern Hazáráh, waited upon him with tribute, and Pliny† distinctly states that above Taxila, among the mountains, is the territory of Abisesares. It is therefore apparent that Taxila must have been near Hazáráh to menace the safety of his kingdom, and to render it expedient for Abisesares to propitiate the Macedonian. It is hardly worth while to mention that Sháh ki Dheri is on the borders of the Hazáráh district.

VII.—In excavating a mound near Mohra Malliár, there was recently found part of an upright column of a temple, probably the temple of the sun which Apollonius after crossing the Indus is said to have visited at Taxila. The column was of sandstone and clearly belonged to the Grecian style of architecture, and it has been ascertained that General Cunningham discovered in 1864 at this very spot the remains of a similar pillar which was removed to Láhor, and is now on the grass plot in front of the Museum. In describing the pillar, the General in a letter dated 23rd January, 1864 to Colonel Maclagan, states "that the base is a specimen of "what is called the Attic base, and as it is unornamented, I believe "it to have belonged to an Ionic column. The only difference "between this Taxila specimen and those of Greece, is in the upper "fillet which at Athens was made of smaller diameter than the "upper torus, but which in this specimen is made of exactly the "same diameter as the upper torus."

VIII.—Hwan Thsang‡ states to the south-east of Tanchashilo at 30 li (5 miles) was a monastery built by Asóká. To the south-east 5 miles from Koṭ Atial near the village of Khurram Gújar almost half way up the hill, there are ruins still existing, probably of this very monastery. These ruins are called Nara.

Hwan Thsang further adds that to the south-east of the town was a stupa built by Keu-lang-nu, the son of Asóka.

* Arrian, Chapters VIII. and XX. Book V., and Quintus Curt. Chapter XIII. Book VIII.
† See, 28, Chapter XXVIII. Book XV.
‡ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for July 1848.
To the south-east of Kot Atial near the village of Shāhpūr a large tope still exists. It was opened by General Ventura in 1832, with what result is not known.

IX.—Fa Hian* a Chinese traveller in the beginning of the 5th century after Christ states that “at this place (Takshasila) and at another place to the eastward, two days’ journey from it, the people have raised great towers, adorned with all the precious substances.”

The second tower to the eastward is very probably the Great Tope of Manikyala which is at the present time by the shortest route over the Shāh Aladitta hill, not less than 35 miles or two days’ journey from Shāh ki Dheri.

X.—Pliny† gives the distance of Taxila from the Indus to the Hydaspes at 120 Roman miles or 110 British miles. By the ancient road of the country abandoned for the present Grand Trunk road, the distance from Shāh ki Dheri to Ráwal Pindi was 30 miles, avoiding the old Margolla cutting which, according to the inscription still existing there, was completed in A. H. 1083 corresponding with A. D. 1672, or about the time when the Emperor Aurangzeb marched to Hasan Abdāl and sent his son Prince Sulṭān with an army against the Khattaks and other Trans-Indus tribes; and from Ráwal Pindi to Jhelam, the distance was 80 miles via Manikyala, Dhamak and Rahtās. The whole distance therefore exactly agrees with Pliny’s statement.

* Beale’s Fa Hian, Chapter XI., page 32.
† Book VI. Chapter 21.
List* of words and phrases to be noted and used as test words for the discovery of the radical affinities of languages and for easy comparison, drawn up by Mr. Justice Campbell.—Translated into Kashmiri, by W. J. Elsmie, Esq., M. D., Srinagar.

Rules for the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants made use of in this list.

a as the u of 'but.'

à represents a sound which must be learned from the lips of a native of Kashmir.

â as the a in ark.

â nearly as the au of 'cause.'

ai as ai in aisle.

au as ou in sound.

ai as y in my.

d in sounding this letter, the tongue is turned back and made to strike the roof of the mouth.

c as e in pet.

e as a in spade.

f as f in fall. Kashmiris nearly always change the sound of f into that of p aspirated.

gh as g aspirated. Kashmiris cannot pronounce the letter ghain correctly.

i as i in pin. The Final i is pronounced very slightly.

ɪ as ɪ in glee.

kk as k aspirated; ƙƙ is generally incorrectly sounded by the Kashmiris.

n as n in the French mon.

ñ as ñ in the Spanish Coruña.

ο as o in not.

ó • as o in tone.

* The two Kashmiri and Gond Vocabularies given in the following pages have been drawn up according to Mr. Justice Campbell's Model Vocabulary. Their distinguishing feature lies in this that the words are expressed in the Persian and Nágiri characters, which removes every doubt as to the correct pronunciation. The Editor.
ph as p aspirated.

\( \text{r} \) in pronouncing this letter, the tongue must be rolled back upon itself.

\( \text{t} \) in sounding this letter correctly, the tongue is rolled back and made to strike the roof of the mouth.

\( \text{ts} \) as in cots.

\( \text{u} \) as in pull.

\( \text{ù} \) as u in rule.

**Meanings of Contractions.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Language</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{f} )</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>( \text{H} )</td>
<td>used chiefly by Hindús</td>
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<td>( \text{i} )</td>
<td>indeclinable</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \text{M} )</td>
<td>used chiefly by Musalmans</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \text{m} )</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>Persian</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \text{n} )</td>
<td>nominative</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \text{p.p.} )</td>
<td>past or perfect participle</td>
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<td>( \text{pl.} )</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<td>( \text{pr.p.} )</td>
<td>present participle</td>
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<td>( \text{s.} )</td>
<td>singular</td>
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**Numerals.**

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<td>( \text{اک} )</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<th>Arabic</th>
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Pronouns.

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Other forms of the above genitive are

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These are used adjectively.

Used adjectively.

Used adjectively.

Sä (when a person is absent and out of sight).

Used adjectively.

Used adjectively.
List of Kashmiri words.

Another form of the above genitive is—

\[ \text{Tihyund, &c.} \]

\[ \text{Hū (where person spoken of is present, but distant from the speaker).} \]

Of him or his

\[ \text{Humsund, &c.} \]

They

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Hum (m.)} \\
\text{Humah (f)}
\end{align*} \]

Of them or their

\[ \text{Human hyund, &c.} \]

He

\[ \text{Yih (when the person spoken of is present and near the speaker).} \]

Of him or his

\[ \text{Yimsund, &c.} \]

They

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Yim (m.)} \\
\text{Yimah (f.)}
\end{align*} \]

Of them or their

\[ \text{Yiman hyund, &c.} \]

Hū and yih are also used as demonstrative pronouns for “that” and “this” respectively.

---

**Nouns.**

- Hand: \( \text{Athah} \)
- Foot: \( \text{Khōr (M.)} \) \( \text{Khōr (H.)} \)
- Nose: \( \text{Nast.} \)
- Eye: \( \text{As.} \)
- Mouth: \( \text{Dand.} \)
- Ear: \( \text{Kan.} \)
- Hair: \( \text{Wāl.} \) \( \text{Rum(H.)} \)
- Head: \( \text{Kalah.} \)
- Tongue: \( \text{Zēo.} \)
- Belly: \( \text{Yad.} \)
- Back: \( \text{Thar.} \)
- Iron: \( \text{Shistar.} \)
- Gold: \( \text{Sōn.} \)
- Silver: \( \text{Rōp.} \)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>مول (Mól)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bab (M.)</td>
<td>Bab (M.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitá (H.)</td>
<td>Pitá (H.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mój (M.)</td>
<td>Mój (M.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>دد (Dad.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mátá (H.)</td>
<td>Mátá (H.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>بوي (Boe.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>بن (Biin.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بگن (Bagañi.)</td>
<td>بگن (Bagañi.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>مهنو (Mōhū.)</td>
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<td>Mard (M.)</td>
<td>Mard (M.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pörush (H.)</td>
<td>Pörush (H.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mamush (H.)</td>
<td>Mamush (H.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>زنانه (Zanānah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kël (Kölai.)</td>
<td>Kël (Kölai.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aşkín (Ashaiñi.)</td>
<td>Aşkín (Ashaiñi.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>شر (Shur.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>نچو (Néchú.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نورن (Farzand (m.))</td>
<td>نورن (Farzand (m.))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>کور (Kür.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slave</td>
<td>غلام (Ghulám (m.))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>زنز (Tsonz (f.)</td>
<td>زنز (Tsonz (f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivator</td>
<td>گروست (Gróst.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherd</td>
<td>بهل (Pohöl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>خدا (Khuda.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دی (Dai (H.))</td>
<td>دی (Dai (H.))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devil</td>
<td>شیطان (Sheṭān.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>آفتاب (Aftāb (M.))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سری (Serí (H.))</td>
<td>سری (Serí (H.))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>زرن (Zún.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>رزندرا (Tsandramah (H.))</td>
<td>رزندرا (Tsandramah (H.))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td>نار (Nár.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>نار (Nár.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### List of Kashmiri words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>پون</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>آب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>گر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>کی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>گر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow</td>
<td>گار</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>گار</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>برا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cock</td>
<td>ککر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck</td>
<td>پتک</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ass</td>
<td>خر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camel</td>
<td>وئنہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>چناؤر</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Go</td>
<td>زر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>کیہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit</td>
<td>بیہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come</td>
<td>ولہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come</td>
<td>یہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beat</td>
<td>لای</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand</td>
<td>وئنہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die</td>
<td>ممر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give</td>
<td>دی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up</td>
<td>پت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down</td>
<td>ہیر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>بونئہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>برونئہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>دور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behind</td>
<td>پت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who</td>
<td>پس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who?</td>
<td>کس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What</td>
<td>يس (Yus.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why?</td>
<td>كيس (Kis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And</td>
<td>كيشه (Kyázh?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But</td>
<td>قت (Tah.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If</td>
<td>هرهه (Hargah.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>آ (Amá.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>نه (Nah.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alas!</td>
<td>أفسوس (Afísús.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A father**
- مول (Mól.)
- مالسند (Máli sand (n. s. m.))
- مالسند (Máli sandi (n. pl. m.))
- مالسنز (Máli sanz (n. s. f.))
- مالسنزه (Máli sanzah (n. pl. f.))

**Of a father**
- مالس (Mális.)
- مالس نشه (Mális nishih.)
- زه مال (Zah Máli.)

**To a father**
- مال (Máli)
- مالي هند (Málin hyund (n. s. m.))
- مالي هند (Málin hindi (n. pl. m.))
- مالي هنز (Málin hinz (n. s. f.))
- مالي هنزه (Málin hinzah (n. pl. f.))

**From a father**
- مالي نشه (Mális nishih.)
- مالي (Málin)

**Two fathers**
- زه مال (Zah Máli.)
- مالي هند (Málin hyund (n. s. m.))

**Fathers**
- مالي هند (Málin hindi (n. pl. m.))
- مالي هند (Málin hinz (n. s. f.))
- مالي هنزه (Málin hinzah (n. pl. f.))

**To fathers**
- مالي نشه (Mális nishih.)
- مالي (Málin)

**From fathers**
- مالي نشه (Mális nishih.)

**A daughter**
- كور (Kúr.)

**Of a daughter**
- كور هند (Kóri hyund (n. s. m.))
- كور هند (Kóri hindi (n. pl. m.))
- كور هنز (Kóri hinz (n. s. f.))
- كور هنزه (Kóri hinzah (n. pl. f.))
List of Kashmiri words.

To a daughter
From a daughter
Two daughters
Daughters

Of daughters

To daughters
From daughters
A good man
Of a good man
To a good man
From a good man

Two good men
Good men
Of a good man
To good men
From good men
A good woman
Good women
A bad boy
A bad girl
Good
Better

Best
High
Higher
Highest
A horse
Horses
A mare
Mares

Kóri.
Kóri nishih.
Zah kórih.
Kórih.
Kórinhyund(n.s.m.)
Kórinhind(n.pl.m.)
Kórin hinz (n.s.f.)
Kórinhinzah(n.pl.f.)

Kórin.
Kóri nishih.
Rut mõhnú.
Ratis mõhnivisund, &c.
Ratis mõhnivis.
Rátis mõhnivis nishih.
Zah rati mõhnivi.
Ráti mõhnívi.
Ratin mõhnivën hyund, &c.
Ratin mõhniven.
Ratin mõhniven nishih.
Rats zanánah.
Ratsah zanánah.
Yachh něchá.
Yachh kúr.
Rut.
Sēthah rut, (when khōtah (than) is expressed, sethah is dispensed with.

Yats rut.
Thōd.
Sēthah thōd.
Yats thōd.
Gur.
Guri.
Guir.
Gurih.
List of Kashmiri words.

A bull — دَانِد Dánd.
Bulls — دَانَد Dánd.
A cow — گاَو Gáo.
Cows — گَاو Gáo.
A dog — هُن Hún.
Dogs — هَن Hún.
A bitch — هُن Hún.
Bitches — هُن Hún.
A he-goat — رُھاَوْل Tészâwul.
A female goat — رُھاَوْج Tészâwaj.
Goats — زِهَارِجہ Tészâwajîh (pl. f.)
A male deer — رَس Rús.
A female deer — رُس کیہ Rús kachih (pl. f.)
Deer — بٰہم Böh chhus.
I (m.) am — یَہے بٰہم Böh chhas.
I (f.) am — یَہے بٰہم Böh chhas.
Thou (m.) art — تَسَلٰح Tsâh chhuk.
Thou (f.) art — ثَسَلٰح Tsâh chhak.
He is — سُچہ Su chhu.
We (m.) are — ایس جَیہ Ais chhîh (ih = e anglice.)
We (f.) are — ایس جَیہ Ais chhîh (ih = e in pet anglice.)
You (m.) are — توُہی تَسَلٰح توُہی تَسَلٰح Töhi chhiwah (i = e anglice).
You (f.) are — توُہی تَسَلٰح توُہی تَسَلٰح Töhi chhiwah (i = e in pet anglice.)
They (m.) are — تُم جَیہ Tim chhîh (ih = e anglice.)
They (f.) are — تُم جَیہ Tim chhîh (ih = e in pet anglice.)
I (m.) was — بَھِ اَس Böh ósus.
I (f.) was — بَھِ اَس Böh àsas.
Thou (m.) wast — تَسَلٰسوک Tsâh ósuk.
Thou (f.) wast — تَسَلٰسک Tsâh âsak.
He was — سُوís Su ós.
We (m.) were — ایس آَس Ais áis.
We (f.) were — ایس آَس Ais ásah.
You (m.) were — توُہی آَس Töhi âsawah.
You (f.) were — توُہی آَس Töhi âsawah.
They (m.) were — تم آَس Tim áis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| They (f.) were | نا تاااسه
| Be | آس (س.)
| To be | آسیو (پ. ل.)
| Being | آسیت (پسندیده پارسی، نیکلاسی.)
| Having been. | آسیت (پسندیده پارسی، نیکلاسی.)
| I (m. & f.) may be | بھآسیتا
| I (m. & f.) shall be | بھآسیتا
| I (m. & f.) should be | بھآسیتا
| Beat | لای (س. م. ل.)
| To beat | لایو (پ. م. ل.)
| Beating | لاین (پیشینه پارسی، نیکلاسی.)
| Having beaten | لاییت (پسندیده پارسی، نیکلاسی.)
| I (m.) beat | بھچھپی لایان
| I (f.) beat | بھچھپی لایان
| Thou (m.) beatest | تسح کل لایان
| Thou (f.) beatest | تسح کل لایان
| He beats | سسکل لایان
| We (m.) beat | اسچھپی لایان
| We (f.) beat | اسچھپی لایان
| You (m.) beat | توہی حییال لایان
### List of Kashmiri words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You (f.) beat</td>
<td>تُهُتَنَاءٌ لَأَيَانٍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They (m.) beat</td>
<td>تم تَهَتَنَاءٌ لَأَيَانٍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They (f.) beat</td>
<td>تم تَهَتَنَاءٌ لَأَيَانٍ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| I (m.) am beating | تُهُتَنَاءٌ لَأَيَانٍ |
| I (f.) am beating | تُهُتَنَاءٌ لَأَيَانٍ |
| I (m.) was beating | تُهُتَنَاءٍ لَأَيَانٍ |
| I (f.) was beating | تُهُتَنَاءٍ لَأَيَانٍ |
| I (m. f.) had beaten | لَوَمَتْ أَوَسْمِ |
| I (m. f.) may beat | بَهَلَاثٍ |
| I (m. f.) shall beat | بَهَلَاثٍ |
| I (m. f.) should beat | بَهَلَاثٍ |
| I (m. f.) am beaten | لَوَمَتْ أَوَسْمِ |
| I (m. f.) was beaten | لَوَمَتْ أَوَسْمِ |

| Thou (m.) goest | تُهُتَنَاءٌ لَأَيَانٍ |
| Thou (f.) goest | تُهُتَنَاءٌ لَأَيَانٍ |
| He goes | تُهُتَنَاءٌ لَأَيَانٍ |
| I (m.) went | بَهَحُسْ |
| I (f.) went | بَهَحُسْ |
| Thou (m.) wentest | بَهَحُسْ |
| Thou (f.) wentest | بَهَحُسْ |
| He went | بَهَحُسْ |

| Go | غَطْشٌ |
| Going | غَطْشٌ |
| Gone | غَطْشٌ |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past or perfect participle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>جَمَعَتْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جَمَاتْ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present participle indeclinable.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>جَمَعْتَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جَمَاتَ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is your name?

- Chōn nāo kyah chhu? (Not idiomatic.)
- Tuhund nāo kyah chhu?
- Tōh kyah chhu núo? (Idiomatic.)
- Tōh kyah chhu-wah núo.

How old is this horse?

- Yih gur katsah wōhur chhu?

How far is it from here to Kashmir?

- Yitih pethah Kashiri tāmaṭ kótah chhu dār?
- Chānis máli sandi gari kats nēchivi chhih? (Not idiomatic.)
- Tuhandis máli sandi gari kats nechivi chhih?
- Chānis mális kats nēchivi chhih? (Idiomatic.)

How many sons are there in your father's house?

- Az pōkus bōh dúrih pethah.
- Myāni pītar sandi nēchivi chhu tahanzi biını set nethar kurmut.
- Myāni pītar bāyi chhu tahanzi biıni set nethar kurmut.

I have walked a long way to-day.

- Myāni mamasandi nēchivi, &c.

The son of my uncle is married to her sister.

- Garas manz chhu nilah guri sund zín.
Put the saddle upon his back.

I have beaten his son with many stripes.

He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.

He is sitting on a horse under that tree.

His brother is taller than his (not his own) sister.

The price of that is two rupees and a half.

My father lives in that small house.

Give this rupee to him.

Take those rupees from him.

Beat him well and bind him with ropes.

Draw water from the well.

Walk before me.

List of Kashmiri words.

Tahangi thari pet thau zin (not idiomatic),

Zin kar tas. Zin ladus.

Sethah kamchih la-yim tahandis ne-chivis,

Sethah kamchih di-tim tahandis ne-chivis.

Setha kamchih la-yim tahandis ne-chivis, or

Setha kamchih di-tim tahandis ne-chivis.

Su chhu gupan rachhan koh-kalas pêt.

Hut kulas tal chhu guris khasit.

Tahund boe chhu-tahanzi bini kho-tah thod.

Humyuk möl chhu dáyi röpayih.

Myón möl chhu hut larihañi manz básan.

Yih röpay dih humis.

Yihröpay diyú humis.

Humah röpayih hih humis.

Zabar chöb dih humis biyih razau set gandun.

Zabar lâyit razau set gandun (more idiomatic).

Kerih andrah khár áb.

Mih bó nth pak.
Whose boy comes behind you?
From whom did you buy that?
From a shop-keeper of the village.

---

Gondi Words and Phrases.—By Rev. James Dawson, Missionary to the Gonds, Chindwara, Central Provinces.

[Received 7th June, 1870.]

Numerals.

One undi 1
Two ṛand ē
Three mānē
Four nālūṅ
Five saiāṅ
Six sārūṅ
Seven yērūṅ
Eight armur
Nine unmāk
Ten pad
Twenty visā
Fifty pachās
A hundred nūr

1st Personal Pronoun, Sing.

Nom. I annā  anonymously
Gen. Of me, mine, nāwōr, nāwork, nāwā, nāwāṅ

Dat. Acc. nāk, nākun
The Genitive has four forms which are determined by the Gender and Number of the noun following, e.g.:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen. of us, our</td>
<td>we ammo</td>
<td>máwór, máwork</td>
<td>mák, mákun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. of thee, thine</td>
<td>thou immá</td>
<td>niwór, niwork, níwá, níwang</td>
<td>ník, níkun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. of you, your</td>
<td>you immáṭ</td>
<td>míwór, niwork, míwá, níwang</td>
<td>mík, mikut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>of us, our</th>
<th>of thee, thine, of you, your</th>
<th>of him, his</th>
<th>of them, their</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ammót</td>
<td>máwór, máwork</td>
<td>onhor, onhork</td>
<td>orknor, orknork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>máwá, máwang</td>
<td>níwá, níwang</td>
<td>onhá, onhang</td>
<td>orkna, orkñang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This rule is applicable to the Genitive case of all nouns and pronouns.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>she</th>
<th>ad</th>
<th>आ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>of her, hers</td>
<td>tānnor, tánna</td>
<td>ताण*र ताण, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>her</td>
<td>tán</td>
<td>ताण</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural Fem.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>they</th>
<th>au</th>
<th>आ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>theirs</td>
<td>aveknor, aveknork</td>
<td>अवेक्नौर, अवेक्नौरक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>them</td>
<td>avekun</td>
<td>अवेक्नून</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Hand     | kai   | क | 
| Foot     | kāl   | काळ |
| Nose     | massor | मस्सर |
| Eye      | kan   | कन |
| Mouth    | ṭūḍi  | तुढी |
| Ear      | kavi  | कवी |
| Tooth    | pal   | पल |
| Hair     | chuṭing | चुटिंग |
| Tongue   | wanjer | वणजर |
| Belly    | pīr   | पीर |
| Back     | murchul | मुर्चुल |
| Iron     | kachi | कचि |
| Gold     | sono H. | सोनो H. |
| Silver   | chāndi H. | चाँदी H. |
| Father   | dhā́ú  | धाँऊ |
| Mother   | dhā́í  | धाँई |
| Brother  | tammur | तम्मुर |
| Sister   | selár | सेलार |
| Man      | mánwāl | मानवल |
| Woman    | ā́r   | आर |
| Wife     | ā́r   | आर |
| Child    | chauwā | चौवा |
| Son      | marri | मर्री |
| Daughter | miá́r | मीरां |

*Note: The Gondi words are written in Devanagari script.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gondi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slave</td>
<td>barskályál</td>
<td>बस्काल्याल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivator</td>
<td>not known</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherd</td>
<td>gádrí</td>
<td>गाडरी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>Ishwar</td>
<td>इश्वर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devil</td>
<td>daitúr</td>
<td>दैतुर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>suriyál</td>
<td>सुरियाल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>chandarmál</td>
<td>चन्दरमाल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td>suku</td>
<td>चुकु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>kis</td>
<td>चिस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>yer</td>
<td>येर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>ron</td>
<td>रोन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>koşá</td>
<td>कोशा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow</td>
<td>múra</td>
<td>मूरा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>nai</td>
<td>नई</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>bilál</td>
<td>बिलाल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cock</td>
<td>gogoṱi</td>
<td>गोगोठी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck</td>
<td>not known</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ass</td>
<td>gadhál</td>
<td>गधाल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camel</td>
<td>útúm</td>
<td>उतुम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>piṭte</td>
<td>पिट्टे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go</td>
<td>han</td>
<td>धन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>तिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit</td>
<td>udhá</td>
<td>उधा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come</td>
<td>wará</td>
<td>वरा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beat</td>
<td>jím</td>
<td>जीम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand</td>
<td>nitá</td>
<td>निता</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die</td>
<td>sási han</td>
<td>ससी हन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give</td>
<td>sím</td>
<td>सीम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run</td>
<td>vitá</td>
<td>विता</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above are in the singular, as, Go thou, immá han, इम्माहन. Pl. Go ye, immát hant, इम्मातहंत. The plural imperative is formed from the singular by adding t, त.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gondi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up</td>
<td>parro</td>
<td>पर्रो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>karrum</td>
<td>कर्रम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who</td>
<td>bor</td>
<td>बोर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And</td>
<td>uṇḍe</td>
<td>उण्डे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>inge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down</td>
<td>khálwá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>lakh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What</td>
<td>báng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But</td>
<td>unde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>halle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>munne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behind</td>
<td>pijá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why</td>
<td>bári</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If</td>
<td>unde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alas</td>
<td>háí háí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Declension of Nouns. Sing.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>a father</th>
<th>dháú</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>of a father, m.</td>
<td>dháánor-nork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of a father, f.</td>
<td>dhááná-náng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>to a father</td>
<td>dháún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>from a father</td>
<td>dháúnsín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>fathers</th>
<th>dháúrk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>of fathers, m.</td>
<td>dháúrknor-nork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of fathers, f.</td>
<td>dháúrkná-náng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>to fathers</td>
<td>dháúrkun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>from fathers</td>
<td>dháúrksín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no dual.

**Sing.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A daughter</th>
<th>miár</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Of a daughter, m.</td>
<td>miánor-nork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of a daughter, f.</td>
<td>miáná-náng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To a daughter</td>
<td>mián</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From a daughter</td>
<td>miánsín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daughters</th>
<th>miárk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Of daughters, m.</td>
<td>miárnor-nork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of daughters, f.</td>
<td>miárná-náng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To daughters</td>
<td>miárkun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From daughters</td>
<td>miárksín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sing. with adjective.

A good man
Of a good man, m.
Of a good man, f.
To a good man
From a good man

chokho manwál
chokho manwánor
chokho manwáná
chokho manwán
chokho manwánsín

The Plural of Genitive as above.

Plural Noun with Adjective.

Good men
Of good men, m.
Of good men, f.
To good men
From good men

chokho manwálk
chokho manwálnor
chokho manwálná
chokho manwálnun
chokho manwálnsín

The Plural of Genitive as formerly.

A good woman
Good women
A bad boy
A bad girl
Good
Better
Best
High
Higher
Highest
A horse
A mare
Horses
Mares
A bull
A cow
Bulls
Cows
A dog
Dogs

chokho ár
chokho ásk
burtor pedgál
burtaí pedgi
chokho
tán sin chokho
sabrot sin chokho
dhongál
tán sin dhongál
sabrot sin dhongál
koḍá
koḍá
koḍáng
koḍáng
kurrá
múrá
kurráng
múráng
nai
naik
nai
Bitches
A he goat
Goats
A female goat
Female goats
A deer
Deer
A female deer
I am
Thou art
He is
We are
You are
They are
I was
Thou wast
He was
We were
You were
They were
Be
To be
Being
Having been
I may be
I shall be
I should be
Beat
To beat
Beating
Having beaten
I beat
Thou beatest
He beats
We beat
You beat
naik
bakrál
bakrálk
yeti
yetíng
máo
máok
máo
anná ánldán
immá ándín
or ándur
ammot ándom
immat ándit
ork ándurk
anná mathoná
immá mathoní
or mathor
ammot mathoram
immat mathorit
ork mathork
ám
aiáná
átcke, or
ásóde
ásikun
aiaká
áiaaká
aiáta (?)
jim
jiáná
jitéke
jísikun
anná jíaítoná
imma jíaítoni
or jíaítor
ammot jíaítoram
immat jíaítorit
They beat  
I am beating  
I was beating  
I had beaten  
I may beat  
I shall beat  
I should beat  
I am beaten  
I was beaten  
I shall be beaten  
I go  
Thou goest  
He goes  
I went  
Thou wentest  
He went  
Go  
Going  
Gone

ork jíátork  
anná jíátoná  
anná jíndán  
anná jísi mathóná  
anná jíáká  
anná jíáká  
anná jíátoná (?)  
anná már tindátoná  
anná már titán  
anná már tindáká  
anná handátoná  
imma handátoni  
or handátori  
anná hatán  
imma hatín  
or hatur  
han  
hateke, and  
hanjode  
hanjikun

What is your name?
Míwá parol báng ándu?

कीवा पढ़ा बंग आन्दू?

How old is this horse?
Id kodá bachále warsán ná ándu?

इद कोडाँ बचाळे वर्षान ना आन्दू?

How far is it from here to Kashmir?
Igátál Káshmírtun bachále lakh ándu?

इगाताळ काश्मीरतन बचाळे लख आन्दू?

How many sons are there in your father's house?
Miwor dháu ná rot te bachále mark ándurk?

मि० वॊर धा० ना रोत ते बचाळे मॊक आन्दू?

I have walked a long way to-day.
Nend anná lakh táktóná.

मेष आन्दा लख टॉकना.
The son of my uncle is married to her sister.
Návor káká nor marri tánná seláná márming’ kitur.

In the house is the saddle of the white horse.

Pándri koḍá tá khogír rot te ándu.

Put the saddle upon his back.

Tán ná murchut parro khogír írá.

I have beaten his son with many stripes.

Anná onhor marrin walle korang jítán.

He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.

Or maṭṭá tá chendit parro múrang kondáng mehtátor.

He is sitting on a horse under that tree.

His brother is taller than his sister.

My father lives in that small house.

Give this rupee to him.

Take those rupees from him.

Beat him well and bind him with ropes.

On walle korang jisikun nune te dohát.
Draw water from the well.
Kuṭā tā yer umāt.

Whose boy comes behind me?
Miwa pija bonhor chauwā waiātor?

From whom did you buy that?
Immāt tān bon sin molā te yetit.

From a shopkeeper of the village.
Nātēnor undā baniyān sin.

Notes on Sanskrit Inscriptions from Mathurā.—By Bābu Ra/jendrapa/lāla Mitra.

[Read 2nd September, 1868.]

In the Proceedings for May, 1862, mention is made of some sculptures and inscriptions which the Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces had placed at the disposal of the Society. These had been found by Mr. Best, Collector of Mathurā, while engaged in clearing away, in 1860, a large earthen mound for the site of a new court-house at the entrance of that station by the main road leading from it to Agra.

At one time there stood on this mound "a masjid of some antiquity which had been blown down for military reasons during the mutiny," and under it there existed the remains of what was once a Buddhist monastery. No attempt was made to ascertain the extent of the building or to trace its ground-plan, but from the size of the mound, and the quantity of stones and building materials found, it was evident that the monastery must have been a large one, and included at least two temples dedicated at different times. Among the articles found, were a number of sculptures in the coarse
red sandstone, so common in Delhi and Agra, and including a lot of statues, cornices, bas-reliefs and pillars. "These were," according to Mr. Best, "all more or less mutilated, and appeared to be of varying antiquity." "It was probable," he therefore thought, "that the building had passed through several stages of decay, repair and additions, before its final destruction." Although most of the sculptures are of very inferior workmanship, "they are," says General Cunningham, "very interesting on account of their variety, as they comprise statues of all sizes, bas-reliefs, pillars, Buddhist railings, votive stupas, stone umbrellas, and many other objects peculiar to Buddhism, of a date as early as the first century of the Christian era. Amongst the broken statues, there is the left hand of a colossal figure of Buddha, the teacher, which measures one foot across the palm. The statue itself, therefore, could not have been less than from 20 to 24 feet in height. Stone statues of this great size are so difficult to move, that they can be very rarely made. It is true that some of the Jain statues of Gwalior are larger, such as the standing colossus in the Urwâhi of the fort, which is 57 feet high, with a foot 9 feet in length, and the great-seated figure on the east side of the fort, which is 29 feet, with a hand 7 feet in length. But these figures are hewn out of the solid rock to which they are still attached by the back."** "I look therefore with great interest to the discovery of other portions of the Mathurâ colossus, especially to that of the pedestal, on which we may expect to find the name of the donor of this costly and difficult work."** Some of them are interesting also, from the circumstance of their bearing inscriptions in the ancient Gupta character with dates in figures of a new type. One of the sculptures is thus described by General Cunningham.

"The most remarkable piece of sculpture is that of a female of rather more than half life size. The figure is naked, save a girdle of beads round the waist, the same as is seen in the Bhilsa sculptures and Ajanta paintings. The attitude and the positions of the hands are similar to those of the famous statue of Venus of the Capitol. But in the Mathurâ statue, the left hand is brought across the right breast, while the right hand holds up a small portion

of drapery. The head is slightly inclined towards the right shoulder, and the hair is dressed in a new and peculiar manner, with long curls on each side of the face, which fall from a large circular ornament on the top of the head. The back of the figure is supported by a thick cluster of lotus stalks covered with buds and flowers, which are very gracefully arranged and boldly executed. The plump face with its broad smile is the least satisfactory part of this work. Altogether this statue is one of the best specimens of unaided Indian art that I have met with. I presume that it represents a dancing girl.**

Mr. E. C. Bayley who was, at the time of the discovery, Judge of Mathurá, had the inscriptions removed to his bungalow, and facsimiles prepared of some of them. These were early placed at my disposal. Major General Cunningham who saw the inscriptions soon after, also prepared reduced transcripts of a number of them, and placed them in my hands. I had been assured by Mr. Bayley that he had taken immense pains in transcribing the inscriptions with his own hands, after testing each letter by holding the unwieldy stones in different lights, and I well knew the care and attention which General Cunningham devoted to such work; I was prepared therefore to find that the two sets of facsimiles would prove to be exactly alike. But on examination, I found them to differ in some material points, and I was obliged to lay them by, until I got an opportunity of comparing them with the originals, which I expected would soon be sent to the Society's museum. These were received in 1863,† and on comparing them with my facsimiles, I

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† These include—
1st. The feet of a large image supported by male and female figures at the sides and smaller figures between the feet (No. 830 A.)
2nd. Figures representing portion of a procession in honor, apparently, of Buddha (No. 830 B.)
3rd. The feet of a small image, apparently, of Buddha, bearing an inscription (830 C.)
4th. A stone ladder which, apparently, had been used as a drain-pipe, bearing part of a very interesting inscription (876 A.)
5th. Twelve bases of round pillars bearing inscriptions.
6th. A fragment of red sandstone about 3 feet high with Buddhist figures in relief on two sides. One of these sets of figures represents the birth of Buddha, No. 880 A.
7th. A very perfect figure of Buddha, about 6 feet in height, the head encircled by an ornamental halo (887 A.)
found that out of 10 facsimiles of Mr. Bayley, the Society had received the originals of only 8, and out of 18 transcripts of General Cunningham, only 11 were forthcoming, the rest being missing, most probably converted into ballast for the repair of roads by some Benthamite overseer in the Public Works Department; for in reply to my enquiry on the subject, Mr. Bayley wrote to me, "I fear some of Cunningham’s are hopelessly gone, as I could not find them, and a good deal of stone-breaking had gone on in the meanwhile."

Among the missing stones was a most important dated one, which in the two sets of facsimiles appeared to differ in their details. There were, however, among the stones sent to the Society, two originals which were not included in either set of the facsimiles.

The inscriptions were all more or less defaced, worn out and smudgy, and it was by filling up the interstices of the letters with powdered black-lead, that I could read some of them. Others it was impossible to decipher, and the facsimiles now presented to the readers of the Journal (plates IV, V, VI and VII.) are, to a great extent, imperfect. They are taken from General Cunningham’s transcripts, with such corrections and emendations as a careful examination of the original and comparison with Mr. Bayley’s transcripts would warrant, leaving all doubtful letters as they were read by the General.

Fourteen of the inscriptions are inscribed on bases of pillars, three occur on the pedestals of statues, one on a stone ladder, one on an oblong slab, and one on a stupa or chaitya, i.e., model of a funeral monument. According to General Cunningham "altogether the bases of 30 pillars were discovered, of which 15 were inscribed with the names of the donors who presented the columns to the monastery." But, he says, "as one of these gifts consisted of 6 pillars, a second of 25 pillars, and a third of 26 pillars, there still remain 40 columns to be discovered, which will bring up the total number to 70."* The inscriptions from which these facts have been

8th. A figure similar to the above, but with the halo broken, about 5½ feet (887 B.)
9th. A Buddhist naked female figure about 4 feet high.
* Loc. cit. p. 4.
collected are, however, not before me, or if they be mentioned in any portion of the inscriptions communicated to me by the General, they are not legible to me.

The plinths of the pillars are squares of 23½ to 24 inches each side, having on each corner the figure of a lion, half projecting from the base moulding. Little can be said of the execution of these figures, but their style is characteristic. From above their body rise the shafts, which are not, as is usual among purely Indian columns, polygonal and cylindrical at intervals, but cylindrical throughout, as is the case in some of the columns in the temple of Martand and other structures in Kashmir. The diameter of the shafts may be roughly given at 18 inches. Ordinarily the length of Indian pillars varies from 7 to 9 diameters, and taking 8 at an average, the height of the veranda to which the pillars were attached, may be assumed at 16 feet. The temples themselves must have been considerably higher to make room for statues, one of which was 24 feet in height.

The inscriptions on the pillars are in several instances repeated, first inscribed on the torus and then on the plinth. But in more than one instance, the two inscriptions appear to be different.

The statues call for no remark. They are of the usual Sārnāth type, two being standing figures with one hand lifted as in lecturing, and the other holding the hem of a light drapery thrown over the person; the third is a seated figure: the head in all the three instances is encircled by a halo.

The stone ladder is peculiar. Mr. Bayley describes it to have "originally formed part of a sculptured drain pipe, which was subsequently made to do duty as part of a stone ladder, and the ruthless hands which fitted it for the latter purpose, had unfortunately hacked away a great portion of a very interesting inscription which it originally bore." Possibly it was originally a drain pipe; if so, it could not have then borne any inscription, for the inscription appears to have been incised after its conversion into a ladder, beginning at the bottom of the left hand bar and carried from above downwards on the right hand side, the feet of the letters on the opposite sides being reversed. Had the inscription been cut before the making of the steps, the writing would have all run in the
same direction. The ladder as we now possess it (Plate VI. Fig. xiv) is only a fragment, the upper half being lost. This circumstance, and the injuries which the letters have received from time and ill-usage, render the complete decipherment of the record quite out of the question. From the few words that I have been able to read, I take the steps to have been presented by a mendicant, named Buddha-dāsa, for the use of the pious, or, to quote his own words, "for the good of all mankind" (sarvasattā hitāya).

The inscriptions on the pillars are likewise records of gifts to the monastery, and in language, style and grammar differ not in the least from similar records in Sanchi and other Buddhist sanctuaries. The shortest inscriptions of this class simply say "the gift of so and so;" others add the purpose for which the gift is made, being the good of one's ownself, or that of his parents, or of mankind at large; and the more elaborate include the date of the gift, the name of the monastery, and perhaps the name of the reigning sovereign. The nature of the gift is sometimes mentioned, but not often; and the question may be raised as to whether in the case of inscriptions, recording gifts (dāna) without specifying their nature, they are to be taken as mere records of gifts, or of the gift of the objects on which they occur? General Cunningham is in favour of the latter alternative, and is of opinion that the things on which donative inscriptions occur, are themselves the objects of these inscriptions. There is generally, however, no pronoun of any kind in such inscriptions to fix such a meaning, and it often happens, that a single bar of a railing, records two or three or more gifts of different dates, each in the usual form of gifts of so and so—amukasya dānam. Of the two inscriptions given on plate V. (No. v,) that on the torus records the gift of some Dāsa, the son of Vasunihira, while the one on the plinth, gives the name of Vis'vasika Vikramahāra, son of Śūtha. They cannot possibly be intended to record the gift of the pillar, but of some gift in money or other article to the shrine. Had the object been the joint gift of two or more persons, their names would have been given, not in separate inscriptions, but in one record, as is the case in many inscriptions which have come under notice. I am disposed to think, therefore, that the dāna inscriptions were
designed partly by wily covetous priests who, for a consideration, dispensed sanctity to ordinary mortal names by recording them on sacred edifices, and partly by a desire to buy celebrity or immortality at a cheap cost by having one's name recorded on buildings frequented by millions, and which were supposed to last to all but eternity; a counterpart of that feeling which makes the modern tourists scribble their names under the dome of St. Peter. The late Major Markham Kittoe availed himself of this idea, and recorded the name of each subscriber to the Benares College Building Fund over or around a separate arch or doorway of the College Building as the donor of that particular object, and not as a contributor to the general fund.

In the case of the inscriptions on statues (Nos. xii. xiii. xvii. the language is throughout different, and they leave no doubt in the mind as to the object of their writers.

One of the pillar inscriptions describes the edifice in which it was found as the monastery (vihāra) of Huvishka, whose titles were "the great king, the king of kings, the son of God," following closely the numismatic Greek legend Basileus Basileum theodotou. Major General Cunningham first identified this prince with the Hushka of the Rājatarangini and the Oerki of our Indo-Scythian coins. He reigned in Kashmir in the middle of the first century before Christ, and from the circumstance of a monastery dedicated by him existing in Mathurā, we may fairly infer that his dominion extended, at least, as far down as that ancient city.

A second inscription (Plate XI. No. xv.) gives the name of another prince with the same ultra regal titles of Mahārājā, rājātirājā, and devaputra, but owing to a lacuna in the stone, it cannot be fully read. The first two syllables are unmistakeably Vāsu, after which there is space in the facsimiles for three letters which Mr. Bayley thinks were either mitrasya or devasya, making the whole name either Vasumitra or Vasudeva. As the mark of the long vowel is distinct and Vāsumitra is not strictly correct, I take the name to be Vasudeva. That this prince was a successor of Huvishka, must follow as a matter of course, if our inference about the date of this inscription be correct: if it be doubted still, judging from the character of his inscription, his time was not much removed from that of the S'aka king.
Some of the inscriptions, as already stated, are dated, and the figures of these dates are by far the most interesting, and at the same time the most puzzling elements in their composition. General Cunningham, some time ago, commented on them at great length in this Journal,* but without coming to a satisfactory conclusion. Nor can I congratulate myself upon having raised the question much above the region of mere conjecture, though the conclusions I have come to, appear to be much more probable and consistent. After the decypherment of the dated inscriptions of Nāsik by the learned Dr. Bhau Dāji,† the values of most of the figures must now be accepted as settled; but they cannot be read in the ordinary decimal style, without producing very doubtful results, I propose, therefore, to read them from the right in arithmetical series as numerical notations without reference to their local values. This may, at first sight, appear objectionable in a writing which proceeds from left to right, but seeing that the Arabs and the Persians read their figures, borrowed from the Hindus, from left to right, though their writing proceeds from an opposite direction, it may be presumed that the ancient Buddhists, who evidently took their figures from the Aryan type, did not alter the original style of the figures and wrote them from right to left. Hence it is that even in modern chronograms, a rule is observed which says “figures, proceed to the left.” चढ़छठ वामागति Ramhunandana, the author of the 28 Tattvas, in his treatise on astrology, Jyotis Tattha, three hundred years ago, quoted a sloka to the effect that "in writing many figures of one denomination the progress should be to the left." संज्ञातोयानकसम्भवोऽक्षरार्थानाम सत्तिणि; and to this day all chronograms in Sanskrit are read in that way. Brown, in his Essay on Sanskrit Prosody, notices the practice, though he does not quote any authority. Following this rule, the four figures of No. 1, (plate IV.) may be read as 40 + 10 + 5 + 4 = 59. Reading from left to right the result would be 4 + 5 + 10 + 40; which would be absurd as progressing from small to large figures. If the third and the fourth letters be taken for 9 and 6, and the whole be read decimally according to their relative position, the date would be 4596, which would

correspond with no known or probable era. The value of the first figure is unquestionable; the second is somewhat like a 7, and the counterparts of the third and fourth are so exactly reproduced in the Násik records, that they cannot be gainsaid. Reading from right to left, I am unwilling to read the third letter as a 7, for it is not at all likely that eleven would be indicated by $7 + 4$ when a figure for 10 was in use. The only material objection to this reading would be, the figure for day, which looks very much like the last figure of the year read from the left. But the difficulty is not insuperable. Something very similar to it occurs in the Násik caves for a 6, but the two are not exactly alike. I am disposed, however, to take it to be the same figure which occurs in the year, i. e., 40. Such a figure for the day of the month would, no doubt, be inadmissible, but as no month is named in the record, the 40th day of the year 59, would not be an unreasonable way of expressing the date.

Inscription, No. ii, read from the right in the way indicated above, would give the date the 80th day of the year 59. In No. vi there are only two figures, one of which is the same which I have taken for 40 in Nos. 1 and 2, but the other is very doubtful and I cannot positively say whether it is that figure or 100. It looks very like a 7, but a 7 before a 40 would be inconsistent, and it is probably therefore a mutilated remnant of the figure for a 100. If so, the date would be 140. No. xiv has a single figure which occurs repeatedly in the Násik caves No. 23, for 10, and its date therefore may be without any hesitation taken for the year 10. No. xv has two figures, one of which is 40 and the other $4 = 44$. The word for the era in it is given in full, samvatsare, and then follows the word *varsha* "in the year," very much in the same way, as if a man were to say "in the year 44 *Anno Domini.*" This repetition, however, is common in India, and such a mode of expression as सन १२५१ वार्ष्य is frequently met with. The last letter in the third line is *ma*, after which, three letters are missing, which contained the name of the month, on the 1st of which (*prathama divaśe*) the record was inscribed. The subsequent lines are so full of lacune, that it is impossible to make out the purport of the document. The last three lines (8th, 9th, 10th) are completely obliterated.
The era to which these several years belong, would at first sight appear to be the same which is used in the Wardak, Manikiyala, Hidda and other Aryan inscriptions; but No. vi has the word, s'aka, "in the year of S'aka," distinctly given, the ẹ being indicated by an upright cross with a mark on the top for the vowel-point, differing thus from the figure for 4 which is formed like an oblique cross in Nos. 1 and 2, and it may be fairly asked if the word san in the other cases is not an abbreviation of s'ake, the usual mode of indicating the elision of a letter being a dot or an anusvara after the preceding letter: in many instances, the s alone is given without the dot. No. xv uses the word samvatsare which means "in the full year," probably of the prince named, or possibly, but not likely, in the samvat year.

It is not at all likely, however, that different eras would be used in documents of one class, and arguing on this premiss, it would not be unreasonable to conclude the dates of all the inscriptions to refer to the S'aka era. The character, style, language, the princes named, and the circumstances detailed, all point to the first two centuries after the birth of Christ, and by reading the dates as belonging to the S'aka era, we bring the documents exactly to that epoch; the earliest 44 being equal to 120 A. D. and the latest 140, to 216, A. D. Dr. Bhaū Dāji, in his valuable paper on the ancient Sanskrit numerals in the cave Inscriptions, has already pointed out that the S'aka was a Scythian era, and if this inference be tenable, and, as far as I am aware, there seems to exist no very cogent argument to bring against it, the Aryan records may all be assigned to the same epoch. No. xv would suggest the idea of that document being dated on the 44th year of Vāsudeva's reign, but the record is so full of breaks that we cannot by any means positively declare that the genitive Vāsudevasya relates to samvatsara and not to some other word. If it be excluded as belonging to the era of Vāsudeva, still the argument would remain unaltered in regard to the others.

I have appended to the plate a reduced facsimile of an inscription on the pedestal of a statue of Buddha found in the village of Sahet Mahet in Oudh. The village has been identified by General Cunningham with the S'rávasti of the Buddhist records. It bore a date, which is now completely obliterated. The General reads
the last word of the first line as S'rávasti, but it appears to me to be very unlike it. After a very careful study of the original for some hours, I make it out to be bhikshusya, the last two letters corresponding with the sadya of the next line. The figure is 7 feet high, and is cut in the same material (red sandstone) of which the Mathurá sculptures are formed. It was dedicated by two Buddhist mendicants, Mihira and Tripitaka, with funds received for the good of mankind from one Bakraṭeya. The grammatical connection of the third line with the second is not obvious, and the meaning had therefore to be guessed from the instrumental case of the phrase Bakraṭeya sucharyena.

Transcripts and Translations of the Mathurá Inscriptions.

Plate IV. No. i.—Round the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)

मं ५५ दि ६० मद्दराजस्त रजातिरजस्त देवपुनस्त बङ्गालस्त विषारे दानं
भिचु जीवकस्त दियमकस्त कुमकका सहे जम्मि सहेत मुखमन्तृ भेचे चुंबहे।

A present, on the 40th day of the year 59, to the Vihára of the great king, the king of kings, the divinely born (or the son of a Deva) Huvishka, by the mendicant (Bhikshu) Jivaka Udiyanaka, known by the name of the breath-suspended.* May it prove a blessing to all mankind! The fourteenth congregation.

Plate IV. No. ii.—Round the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)—

दानं देविजिस्त देविजुण्डेविजुण्डिक्षण मं ५५ दिवस ५०।†

The gift of Devili of the race of Dadhikurna Devi, on the 80th day of the year 59.

Plate V. No. iii.—Round the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)—

दानं भिचु बुद्द्रास्त संधिमितस्त द्वि घरोसपच्छिमश्व ८५ ५ ९+ पिच्छा अब

The gift of the mendicant (Bhikshu) Buddha-dáśa Sañgha- ।

* The words in the original are Kubbhaka saña, which I take to be a corruption of Kumbhaka-sañjja from Kumbhaka, suspension of breath in religious meditation, and sañjja a name.
† The reading of the figure is doubtful.
‡ The reading of the last word is conjectural.
mitra, (or the friend of the congregation), (and) of the Devī Parosapachatris'ā

Plate V. No. iv.—Round the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)—

The gift of the mendicant Buddha-ghosha. The fruit of—
Plate V. No. v. a.—Round the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)—

The gift of Patrama (?) the son of Vasú-mihira.
Plate V. No. v. b.—Round the Plinth of the same Pillar.

The gift of Visvasika, and Buddha-mihira, the sons of Siñha—
Plate V. No. vi.—Round the base of a Pillar.

The gift of Budha-mihira, son of Siñha, on the 140th S'aka year,
Plate VI. No. vii.—On the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)—

The gift of the mendicant S'ákya Bhikshu, the protected of Buddha—or of the mendicant Buddha Rakshita a mendicant of Sákya Buddha.

Plate V. No. viii.—On the base of a Pillar.

The gift of Sangha-putra.
Plate V. No. ix.—On the base of a Pillar.

The gift of Sangha-pravira.
Plate V. No. x.—On the base of a Pillar.

The gift of the mendicant Mabhikshu, the protected of Buddha—or of Buddha Rakshita, the unworthy mendicant.*
Plate V. No. xi.—On the Pedestal of a statue.

* The word mabhikshu translated “unworthy mendicant” is ungrammatical.
This virtuous dedication to Sākya Bhikshu, (is) by Bhidatta Brahma Siṅha. Whatever fruits will proceed from this act of religion, may be for the acquisition of a hundred-fold knowledge on the part of all mankind.

Plate V. No. xii.—On the Pedestal of a small statue.

This virtuous dedication to Sākya Bhikshu (is by) Dharma-dāsa. Whatever fruits will proceed from this may be enjoyed by my father, mother and all mankind.

Plate V. No. xiii.—On a small stupa.

The gift of Surana* to Nasāpriya.

Plate VI. No. xiv.—On the side of a flight of stone steps (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society).

In the 10th year: the gift of the mendicant Buddha-dāsa, to Buddha for the good of all mankind and ———— .

Plate VI. No. xv.—On a block of sandstone.

Here three lines are illegible.

The text is too corrupt to admit of an attempt at translation.

Plate VI. No. xvi.—On the Pedestal of a seated figure.

The first line of this record is illegible, the second has the words यद्वयाहि सम्बृद्रायः द्राम्बो भिक्षुण् वुढ़द्रा(ः)खः ** सर्वमलानां ** सब्ब त्वादपि***.

* The reading of this word is quite conjectural and very doubtful.
Plate VI. No. xvii.—On the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society).

दिवस ५ । त् ** पुर्व्ये दानं भिक्षुः धर्मेददानः
Gift of the mendicant Dharma-datta to —— ? Purva, on the 5th day of ——. If the compound letter before Purva, be read as shashta, the meaning may be the 5th preceding the sixth, a form of expression still current in Nāgari hundis or drafts, but this form would scarcely be used in monumental records.

Plate VII. No. xviii.—On the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)

दत्तन र चर (४४ ?) दिवस ५ । प्रभु (?)द्वय दानं भिक्षुः धर्मेददानः
Gift of the mendicant Dharma-datta to —— the great Buddha on the 5th day of —— ?

Plate VII. No. xix.—On the base of a Pillar.

दानं भिक्षुः बुद्धोऽसयः मभिक्षुः ** *
The gift of the mendicant Buddha-bhima —— the unworthy Bhikshu, ——

Plate VII. No. xx.—On the base of a Pillar.

दत्तभिषिक्षुः दानं संध्युध्यमचार सुदृढः **
The gift of Datta-bhikshu, son of Sangha, the rest illegible.

Plate VII. No. xxi.—From the base of a colossal statue found at Sahet Mahet, and deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.

** **** दिवसज्ञे पवज्ञे भिक्षुः प्रज्ञ
The gift of the mendicant (Purya Sadya) Mihira and the noble mendicant Tripiṭaka, for the relief of involved mortals, and the attainment of the fruit of (such a) gift, (as also) for the enjoyment (lit. movement) of Bhagavān—(from) the donation of the well-behaved Bakraṭeya for the good of mankind.

The document is very puzzling; the translation here given is a mere guess.
No. 1. Base of Pillar.

No. II. Base of Pillar.
N° III. Base of Pillar.

N° IV. Base of Pillar.

N° V. Base of Pillar.

N° VI. Base of Pillar.

N° VII. Base of Pillar.

N° VIII. Base of Pillars. N° IX.

N° X. Base of Pillar.

N° XI. Square Pedestal of Statue.

N° XII. Pedestal of Small Statue

N° XIII. Small Stupa
No. XIV. Pedestal of Seated Figure.

No. XV. Base of Pillar.
PLATE VII.

N° XVIII. Base of Pillar.

N° XIX. Base of Pillar.

N° XX. Base of Pillar.

N° XXI. From Base of a Colossal Statue from Sahet Mahet.
Contributions towards Vernacular Lexicography, No. I—By
Babu Pratapchandra Ghoshia, B. A.

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Like other subjects of study regarding the Hindus, the history of the Bengali language and literature is obscure. There is however, no lack of internal evidence to lead if not to an accurate at least an approximate idea of the real state of things in the earlier days. The science of the history of language is of modern date, and even if it had been in existence in the days of the rshis and munis of ancient India, their habitual silence with regard to history would have added but little to our meagre knowledge of the subject. The Muhammadans in painting the portrait of a prince give a minute representation of the dress and the ornaments, but they scrupulously avoid giving any features to the face, which they leave blank, an oval space without eyes or nose. The Hindus in the same way are prolix in poetical and other irrelevant descriptions, but when they come to historical facts, they are studiously silent. A dull description of sober and unexaggerated facts is not compatible with their highly imaginative and over-poetic disposition. The wonderful and marvellous is the back-bone of their themes. Exceptions are rare and unique, but even in them, foreign influence is not unfrequently seen. The inquisitive eye of the antiquarian, however, penetrates the thick veil of the marvellous and the hyperbolic, and grasps at once the real image. Facts are chained together in the relation of cause and effect, and the willing mind with a little labour traces link after link, and thus reaches the first cause. Experience of modern events in the way of analogy leads much to the elucidation of antecedent facts. Written history may sometimes mislead, but internal evidence cannot be altered by the prejudices of contemporaneous historians or by the colour of legendary tales. Internal evidence, however, is weak on some points. Several dissimilar causes sometimes lead to the same or apparently the same consequence, and considerable judgment and discrimination is therefore required to connect the sequel with its real and only cause. Hasty
generalization and faint analogy are serious impediments to this mode of enquiry. Serious consideration and careful weighing of the evidence ought always to accompany the tracing up to real antecedents and the distinguishing of proper relationship. Paucity of language and the frequent occurrence of synonymous terms cloud the real meaning in obscurity, and alliteration in sound is a great misleading element in the feminine language of the Bengalis.

Theories often precede the actual collection of facts, and the brilliant ideas once taken hold of, are seldom abandoned till there is an absolute dearth in the finding of the most distantly related supporting facts. Every flutter of the wing or the rustle of the leaves is an alarming sound to an imaginative mind. Indeed theories are first formed and facts are next collected and twisted and turned to suit or to support or prove the foregone conclusions.

Bengali works earlier than the fourteenth century after Christ are not to be met with, and inscriptions and MSS. in the present Bengali character scarcely go back earlier. Tradition in this particular is silent, so much so that there is no legend pointing directly or indirectly to the relation of the Bengali to other languages. The compound word Vangabhāshā is so recent, that a distinct name of the Bengali language cannot be found in earlier works. Abul Fazl once uses it, but it is not certain whether any books were then in existence in the language. Bānglā is an older term, it stands for the name of the country, as well as for the dialects spoken by its people. These dialects were numerous in earlier days, and traces of their differences may still be seen in the language of obscure villages of distant districts. The gradual extension of commercial intercourse has introduced changes in the spoken language of the people, and differences in accent, pronunciation, and terminals, and initials, slowly but steadily disappeared, till all became one and identical. Radical changes in the orthography, proper pronunciation of words, go on increasing till people settle into a habit of writing, the inconvenience of the want of which is felt with increasing intercourse and business. Private, and lengthy messages are better sent in writing than by verbal instructions. It is superfluous to dwell here on the circumstances and necessities which led to the practice of giving ocular shape to the meaning of sounds uttered by
man for conveying his ideas to his fellows. Ocular evidence is more easily comprehended, and is less liable to be misunderstood than auricular ones. Permanent marks or an enduring collection of signs conveying ideas are more advantageous and useful than temporary and evanescent figures by a move of the hand or a nod or a wink. Words are permanently fixed by writing, and then they are susceptible of such changes only as the forms of the characters admit of. Roughly speaking, however, the Bengali language and the Bengali characters are contemporaneous, they are derivations of the Sanscrit and Nāgari respectively, and the difference between the derivative and the original languages is so well proportionate to that between the original and the derivative characters, that excepting a few exotics and lately introduced foreigners, the progress of the language may be said to be always cotemporary with that of the characters.

The characters, as they are now, are more true to the original stock, the Nāgari of the Gupta type, from which they have been derived, than the language; and the reason for this difference is obvious. The Bengali recension of the Nāgari characters is of later date than the Bengali recension of the Sanscrit language. Both, however, have gradually receded from the original stock, and this difference in the degree of divergence in the two, the language and the characters, can only be explained by supposing that the characters were later adopted than the language. The characters again were less frequently used, and this, though true of all the languages of the world, speaks of a low state of civilization in the earlier history of Bengal. Since the breaking up of the petty Hindu dynasties that ruled in Bengal, and the arrival of the Muhammadans in this country, it sank into the position of a third class subordinate province. Excluded from the sunshine of the Emperors of Delhi and governed by everchanging Subahdars and Nawabs, Bengal occupied an obscure corner in the empire of Hindustan, and would have dwindled into a jungly forest, had not fate brought the Briton to its shores. Energy had failed the Bengalis for some centuries, and literature was a mere name.

The signs are about eighty in number, and are therefore quite sufficient to represent all the sounds which had to be represented.
When the people came in contact with the Muhammadans who were then the rulers of the land, sounds like 舛,  يقول puzzled the people, and they would have been obliged to invent if not new letters, at least such modifying signs as to indicate the peculiar sounds, had the real pronunciation of the same been preserved. The Urdu had occasion to represent the Hindi sound луш and it soon adapted itself. The enervating influence of the climate, however, so far affected the Hindus, that soon after the period of the Vedas, the big კ that guttural sound so much resembling the Arabic اء was lost, and not even a trace of its existence could now be found except in the very oldest works of Nirukta. It is not for me to trace the several shades of change through which the Nāgari has passed before it assumed the Bengali form. Suffice it to say that the connecting link is the character known as Gaudiya found in some inscriptions.

The language, however, has undergone serious changes, and in its way has adopted so many foreign elements, that to eliminate them now is more than impossible. As the adoption of foreign words to represent new and foreign ideas rests with the common people, they are faster adopted and modified in sound than the adoption of foreign characters. All new words of a scientific or philosophical nature are formed in the laboratories of the learned, and the Sanscrit roots are the elements of which they are compounds. Every nation with which the Bengalis came in contact contributed more or less according to the duration of contact, to the enrichment of the language.

The great bulk of the words of the language is Sanscrit, so slightly modified that the original Sanscrit words are in many instances identical with them, and in some may be easily detected, there being only three cases in the Bengali and scarcely any variation in the terminal modifications of tenses or persons of verbs.

It is not very far from the truth to say that the Bengali language originated in the hearth with the illiterate women of the country, whose shortness of breath and ignorance of the laws of grammar and untrained tongue and hasty utterance soon modified the original Sanscrit into a distinct, coarse and feminine dialect. The Pāli and the Prākrit are the immediate degenerated descendants of the
Sanscrit. And to these we must look for a clue to the inexplicable forms of modern Bengali words. The Gáthá language, however, is found useful to explain such cases where the segregation of the consonants of a compound and the interposition of an आ after र occur. Thus ढूः is ढूः in Gáthá, Prárkita and Bengali, धूः—धूः, कर्म—कर्म, पक्ष—पक्ष. ढूः, धूः and such forms are evidently much older than कर्म and धूः, of which I shall speak hereafter. Properly speaking, they are the real Bengali forms of the Sanscrit words and these contain in them a more permanent form than कर्म and धूः which are slang, provincialisms or effects of bad pronunciation. To the Gáthá* may be traced all the variations of the verb to be, which the several derivative dialects of the Sanscrit have given rise to. Sanscrit भविष्टि is in Gáthá भोजि, in Magadhi भोजि, in Khárikoli भोज, in Maháráshtri अहे, in Hindi भोज ठह, and in Bengali রবধু. Can we trace to the Gáthá the Bengali case terminations? প্রফুল্লি in Gáthá is প্রফুল্লি, রাজ্যা is রাজভোজ. The Hindi অভিভূতि and the Bengali ভূতিতে are derived from the Gáthá. গিতা, is it from the Gáthá গিলানো and Sanscrit গানো?

The Páli and the Prárkita were in use as early as the second and third centuries before Christ. They have their distinct grammar, though in many instances the grammarian has failed to point out the reasons for modifications in several words. They have derived all their words from the Sanscrit, though many of them have lost the original import, and it is difficult to explain how the later meanings have arisen.

Opinions differ as to the proper limits of the Bengali language. With some every Sanscrit word or compound without the case affix is Bengali. Others again confine themselves to the more commonly used terms. From the general tendency of modern Bengali writers, it appears that the former opinion has the greater number of supporters. With reference to the words imported or derived from foreign languages, some writers eliminate them altogether. Thus the word রাক্ষসা is rejected by the more orthodox writers, while others of a more utilitarian tendency adopt it for the sake of its common and frequent use. Indeed it involves a serious linguistic question which has yet to be solved. Excepting the slang and the

* J. A. S. vol. XXIII, p. 604.
technical terms of the poorer trade, are words of other than Sanscrit origin, used by the people generally, to be considered as legitimate Bengali or such of them only as are in use in writing by the learned and the pedantic? It must be noted here that the learned and the higher classes use in ordinary conversation many words which they would not like to see in writing. The discussion has hitherto been limited to the use of Persian and Arabic words, but if those which have been long incorporated in the language, are to be considered as part and parcel of it, surely it cannot be right to condemn the use of words which have come into fashion, simply because they have been derived from foreign languages other than Persian and Arabic. The Bengali language is so very modern, and the works written in it are much more so, that the length of the period of the use of a particular word cannot be considered an argument either for or against its adoption.

The oldest works in Bengali are the Kavikankana Chandi, the Chaitanyacharitámyra, and the abstracts of the Mahabhárata and the Rámayana. The first two contain a great many words so awkwardly distorted that to a Bengali of the present age, they are unintelligible. Many of these monstrosities have too much of the Udiá and Rádha form in them. The refined composition of Bháratachandra, the popular poet of Bengal, who flourished in the beginning of the present century, is not free from such barbarisms. The tendency of present compositions, however, is towards purity.

Lexicography in the true sense of the word is unknown in the Bengali language. Several dictionaries have been compiled within the last sixty years, and only a few can be said to go back still earlier. The idea of preparing a dictionary of the Bengali language, and that alphabetically arranged, was derived from the Europeans, who felt the want of it in studying the language. Before the advent of Europeans in this country, there was no dictionary, in short no literature except a dozen commonplace books. Short vocabularies were first formed, and they were in Bengali and English. An exclusively Bengali dictionary originated with the School Book Society, and it was more of an elementary nature than of a comprehensive character. Within the last twenty years we have been furnished with several volumes of dictionaries of the Bengali language. In the
formation of these, no system or plan has been followed. Principally they are compilations from Sanscrit dictionaries, and the common colloquial distortions of many Sanscrit and foreign words have been inserted, without rhyme or reason, to swell the bulk of the work. Indeed so little attention has been given in the selection of words, and so little care has been taken in arranging them, that the several modifications of a word as pronounced by the illiterate have been put in, as so many distinct and independent words. No compiler of an English dictionary would dare put in *ideas* as a distinct word from *idea*, though it is so pronounced by many. The compiler of a Bengali dictionary, however, puts in the following द्वाक, द्वाल, द्वाप्र, ब्रह्म, बाण, and बाणि as so many distinct words. Words that have not retained the entire Sanscrit form have been by some regarded as Prākrit, though such forms are never to be seen in that language and others with equal carelessness been introduced as original Bengali. Indeed the negligence is so great, that in one dictionary I find the word अइल (wine) marked as a Prakrit word.

It is held by some that the language of the aborigines of Bengal has largely contributed to the formation of modern Bengali, and that though Sanscrit forms the nine-tenth part, or even a greater proportion, of the whole bulk of the language; the case-terminations are the relics of the aboriginal Bengalis. This is not the place to discuss the origin of the language; it must, however, be admitted that many of the case-terminations can be traced to the Prakrit, a derivative of the Sanscrit, and the rest may be explained without recourse to fanciful suppositions.

With these few prefatory remarks on the formation of words in this language, I propose to give here a list of derivations which I have endeavoured to trace to the Sanscrit or other languages, and from time to time in subsequent papers to discuss the genealogy of different words.

In common conversation, it may be observed that the illiterate, and especially the women of the lower classes, eliminate the *r* र from words which contain it, or insert one in words having none. In Prakrit this is arrived at by a more comprehensive rule, viz., that sharp consonant compounds are filed off by the elision of the final

* Cowell's Prakrit Grammar.*
letter and the reduplication of the second. Thus for त्रज्ज्ञ in Sanscrit, we have त्रज्ज्ञ in Prakrit, as well in the older dialect Pāli; so for कर्म-कर्म; धर्म-धर्म। In short, this application of the laws of euphony is to be found in all strong vocalic languages, and in those in which pronunciation is slurred, indistinct, and hasty. And though we know every educated Bengali calls the mirror in common conversation অর্ষি, from আদর্শ, the vulgar pronounce it as আর্ষি. Some again go so far as to transpose the ṛ and call it রায়নি। Similarly আর্ষনা becomes রায়না। পরু is common both to the high and the low, though it is derived from Pākṛta পরু, Sanscrit পু। Here it may be noticed that in Prakrit and Bengali, the diphthong vowels ṛ and ṡ are simplified into distinct sounds of আই and আউ constituents of the compound sound, and sometimes one of these simple sounds is even elided, as কুত্রপি in Sanscrit is কই in Prakrit, and তিক in Bengali. This elimination of the ṛ, as in আর্ষি, is used by the very lowest classes. The ṛ is left out in such words as প্রদীপ and ব্যাপ্ত, and they are in Bengali পিদীপ, পিদীম, পদীপ, and বাগ or বাহ, as also আবু আম or আঁব। The double ṛ in পিদীপ is evidently owing to the rule of pronunciation in Sanscrit, which lays down that the consonant preceding a compound is always to be doubled; so also consonants following a visarga. As regards বাগ from ব্যাপ্ত, in Bengali গ and ঘ are generally interchangeable, as গোমঃ from গোমঃ। The same may be said of ত and ত, ঠ and ঠ। Compounds of a liquid and an aspirate are generally modified in Pāli, Prākrit, and Bengali by elision of the former. The Sanscrit পদু becomes পদ in all three, as also সদু, সদ, and হরুদু, হলিদা। Here in the derivation of the dialectic form পদ we find a clue to the custom peculiar in Bengal of pronouncing consonant compounds of ম in a manner so as to give a nasal sound to it. The only exceptions to this are কাশীর, শালুলী, বাল্মীক। In Sanscrit and modern Hindustani, the ম after দ is distinctly pronounced.

To the Prākrit many of the Bengal forms may be traced which cannot be so easily referred to the Sanscrit.

Thus the Bengali numerals:—
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanscrit</th>
<th>Prākrita</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>एक</td>
<td>आक</td>
<td>या क</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दि</td>
<td>दूईअं</td>
<td>दुई</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>द्विरियाः</td>
<td>तिमि</td>
<td>तिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्रीष्</td>
<td>चारि</td>
<td>चार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चाँ चार</td>
<td>पाञ्ज</td>
<td>पाच</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>यष्टि</td>
<td>छ</td>
<td>छय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>यष्टि पद</td>
<td>छुप्प०</td>
<td>छेपाया</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सप्त</td>
<td>सप्त</td>
<td>सात</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सप्त पद</td>
<td>छुर्कबन्ने</td>
<td>छातिम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अष्टि</td>
<td>अष्टि</td>
<td>अट</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नरमृ</td>
<td>नरमृ</td>
<td>नौ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एकादश</td>
<td>एगारह</td>
<td>एगार, रागार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बादश</td>
<td>बारह</td>
<td>बार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बादश</td>
<td>तृतेहॊ</td>
<td>तेर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चहुदर्श</td>
<td>चोदह</td>
<td>चोद</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पण्डरश</td>
<td>पण्डरहॊ</td>
<td>पण्डर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>योधश</td>
<td>योलहॊ</td>
<td>योल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सप्तदश</td>
<td>सप्तारहॊ</td>
<td>सप्तर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अक्षदश</td>
<td>अउलारहॊ</td>
<td>अउलार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उनबिंधु</td>
<td>उनिनॊ</td>
<td>उनिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सप्तबिंधु</td>
<td>सप्ताइनॊ</td>
<td>सप्ताइन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अक्षबिंधु</td>
<td>अक्षाइनॊ</td>
<td>अक्षाइन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तिंधूत</td>
<td>तिनॊ</td>
<td>तिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चहुआँकिर्स</td>
<td>चहउआँलीनॊ</td>
<td>चहउआँलीन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झड़</td>
<td>सं</td>
<td>श</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such words as एकुण and राइस are evidently derived from एकविंश and द्वारिव्यौ. In एकुण the anusvāra is first elided as in विभ from विंशति, and the final vowel of क being elided, it assumes the form of एक्रूण (एक-विझ). This form is found in Hindustani, which has एक्रूण for twenty-one. In Bengali, a less masculine and more euphonic language, in the strong sound of केव the long श is slightly and gradually flattened, till it becomes एकुण, which again
by a slight modification becomes একশ। Indeed, when the Bengalis speak amongst themselves, it is very difficult to catch the very flat sound of অ, which they simply use to connect the consonants ক and পী, बाइन is बाइन or बाइन, where द is elided. The numerals from fifty-one to fifty-eight are all formations with पार, standing for fifty and एक, द्वाई (द्वाई), तिन (त्रि तिन), चार (चू) &c., proceeding. In euphony प after क, न, त, and र is harsh, and hence instead of एकपार we have एकाम, बाइन तिपार चारार पारार &c. In तिपार the प is doubled as the original form तिपार had a compound ति preceding पार। The Prakrit rule is: before two consonants a long vowel is sharpened, and if the long vowel is retained, one of the consonants is elided as मण्ड्य for मार्ग, दिल्ल for दीर्घ, पूक for पूर्ध, and ईश्वर for ईश्वर, and a short vowel before two consonants is occasionally lengthened, and one of the consonants omitted, as चौह रा for चौह। The Hindustanis, however, have retained the forms একপন, বাইন, তিপন, পাঁচপন। The Bengali form পুঁজী (a group of five) is evidently a corruption of the Sanskrit পঞ্জী; of such forms as গণ, কাহ্ন, কুড়ী, &c., more hereafter. From the above derivations, it appears that the Hindi has derived all its numerals from Prakrit, while the Bengali, though not from the Sanskrit direct, yet not from the Prakrit either. It has to be decided whether it is justifiable to draw the conclusion that Bengali is a language independent of the Prakrit and contemporaneous with it? But the mass of evidence on the other side is so great as to leave no doubt whatever of its drawing largely from the Prakrit. That the Bengali is an independent derivative of the Sanscrit, is tenable under the supposition that the rules of derivation in Bengali are similar to those of the Prakrit. At all events the subject is open to discussion.

Many distortions met with both in Prakrit and Bengali words may be traced to the laws of Sandhi of Sanskrit grammar. Thus, when an aspirate consonant becomes doubled, one of them becomes a simple one.

Sanskrit अच्छा, in Prakrit instead of being आच्छा is आच्छा, and in Bengali आচ্ছ—so is अन्तर्श—अंगल—अन्त, दीर्घक—দিগ্ধিয়া—দিগ্ধি, দূঢ্ছ—দূঢ্ছ—দূঢ্ছ। Similarly, a simple consonant is changed into an aspirate, গৃহ—গৃহা—গৃহ।

In the Bengali numeral রাক derived from এক, the vowel অ in
Prakrit or र in Bengali has taken the place of ए. Thus एककी—अकेला—एकका—एकला. The study of these forms is to Philology what the science of Embryology is to Natural History. The classification into genera is greatly assisted by the embryonic forms which the animals undergo, and it is then only that their resemblance to the allied genera or species is most vividly exhibited. The other day, some small seedlings of Artocarpus indicus, the Jackfruit, in my garden threw out leaves so perfectly serrated in the manner of those of the bread-fruit, that I was at once struck with the similarity, and on exhibiting it to a friend of mine, he observed, that though not himself a scientific man to appreciate the close relation which existed between the two dissimilar leaves, it had always been a puzzle to him. Returning to राक from एक, this form can be explained as in Sanscrit Sandhī; for र is formed in the place of ए and there is a rule in Mugekhandha, stating that the consonants formed in places of vowels can again be transformed into those vowels. For इ we get र— for उ, ऊ for भ, र, for ँ, लू as also conversely for र—इ, for व—उ. It is interesting to note that इ+अ=र is pronounced as या and उ+अ=व va. From this it may be observed that the sound of र is not ज, but या, and that the Bengali custom of pronouncing it as ज is to be traced to the Prakrit where अयश is अजन।; and though in Yajurveda the र is always pronounced as ज। May we hazard a suggestion that since the aboriginal brāhman of Bengal were wholly Yajurvedic, they have given to the Bengali the ज sound of र? A learned brāhman being asked why र in Sanscrit became ज in Prakrita, very coolly replied, “It is because the women were so much addicted to pan-chewing.” Thus again अड़—अधु—अधुं—मुहु—द्रुः—ज्ञोऽ, द्रात्—ज्ञअ—ज्ञ्या, चौत्रो—जोक्ष्य—जोत्र। It has been noted above that the Sanscrit द्वीपय्यमि is दृष्टिअं in Prakrit. Instances of such breaking up of the particles of a word are not rare. They are in conformity with Prakrit rules. Thus the Sanscrit दुस्सनिति is in Prakrit दुस्सनित्यि; and ग्राह is पराण in Bengali and प्रीति is पिरीति, सपर्ष्मि is परस्पर्ष्मि, also परेस पाथर, प्रेमाणि is पिराणि and ग्रुः is मोन्ह। Similarly चमि is चामरा in Prakrit and चामड्डा in Bengali. पουरव is पाउरव, मानव is मूर्व, पुरव is पूरव, कृषि is कक्षि and कम is कम्ट, गरस from गुस and हिया from Prakrit हिऄच्छम and Sanscrit शदर्रय।
Then by Sandhi forte consonants are changed into lenes as also fortes or lenes of one class into lenes or fortes of another.

In many of the above, Hindi forms may be detected, several of which point to a greater intimacy with Prakrit than Bengali. The Hindi form खाट़ो, meaning sub-acid in taste, has a close resemblance to खाट meaning to eat. The word appears to have been extended to the later meaning sub-acid in taste, as to the Hindustani it is a stimulant to eating. The word चाटनी literally means that which is to be eaten or licked. Its present meaning, however, is a sub-acid acrid pie. In Bengali, words are easily contracted and harsh sounds often eliminated, पल is from the Prakrit प्राल्हा from the Sanscrit प्रबल, यो from बहू and बामनी from बुझू.

Words ending with a compound consonant and the vowel i, in passing from Sanscrit to Prakrit and Bengali generally drop the consonant; as, गाई from गाविन्ध, गाई from गाऄट, खाई from खाद्भ, हाई—कड़ाई—कृद्दति; thus जूई—जूहिता—मूद्धित, जोप—जोपाई—जोपायति— आङ्गदरिति, डाई—दाही—दाधि, दूधदवाई—दूधदवाई—दूधदरागी, पाई— पाईक—पायनौ—पायणी,केवड़ा—केवड़ा—केवड़ी.

In compliance with the general rule about the fortes and lenes of one class changing into fortes or lenes of another, the following changes may be observed; जूहिता—जाहिता—जाक्षिता. The Hindi form डोला is evidently from the Prakrit डोला, Sanscrit डोला. It is important to notice how the original meaning has been lost. Again डालिम—दालिम—दालिम are instances of ड substituted by द. The Prakrit has only changed the ड into ल; such change is still observed in Sanscrit grammar, and several Sanscrit words up to the present day are spelt in both ways द्रुः ड्रुः is also ड्रुः, and very often the ल stands for र, as in रामस्क and लालम. As an instance of डूल, we have the word तलाओ (Hindi) from the Prakrit तूल्यो, Sanscrit तूल्य. In this we find that ग in Sanscrit is changed to ओ in Prakrit. But most peculiar is the change of ल into ग, and ठ into ड. In tracing
the change of ल to भ, we have to suppose an intermediate step *viz.*, that of changing it into ड. Now amongst the cerebrals ड has the same value that भ has amongst the gutturals and, as stated before, lenes of one class are changed into lenes of another. Now since ड = ल, and भ being equal to ड, भ is also equal ल. In the change of भ to ड we have only to notice that the fortis is changed into a lenis of the same class. Thus the Sanscrit टमल is डगमल in Prakrit and Bengali.

The following is a list of words similarly derived:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanscrit</th>
<th>Prakrit</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अल</td>
<td>आलो</td>
<td>आल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कोटी</td>
<td>कोड़</td>
<td>कोडर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मोटूक</td>
<td>मोड़</td>
<td>मोड़</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घटा</td>
<td>घटा</td>
<td>घटा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>योग</td>
<td>योगा</td>
<td>योग</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठुकुर</td>
<td>ठुकुर</td>
<td>ठुकुर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पाठम्</td>
<td>पाठमु</td>
<td>पाठम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पंलक्</td>
<td>पंल</td>
<td>पंल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बाटी</td>
<td>बाटि</td>
<td>बाटि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पूड़क</td>
<td>पूड़का</td>
<td>पूड़क</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मृत</td>
<td>मृत</td>
<td>मृत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बूढ़</td>
<td>बूढ़</td>
<td>बूढ़</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भुञ्ज</td>
<td>भुञ्जी</td>
<td>भुञ्जी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बली</td>
<td>बली</td>
<td>बली</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In deriving दाड़ from the Sanscrit दक्त्र, we observe that the Sanscrit ड is changed into ड in Bengali and ड in Prakrit, and that both derivative languages have elided the anusvāra, the liquid र after ड, as well as ड, and have instead lengthened the vowel into ड; दाड़ Bengali, दाड़ Prakrit.

From the word मृत is the Bengali infinitive मृत, and मृत is exclusively used to indicate a dead body.

In the following the aspirate त, a dental fortis, is changed into the simple त, a cerebral fortis.

पुत्र—पुत्री—पुत्र, या—या—या, स्थान—स्थान—स्थान.

In the following, व and the liquid र are eliminated.
Contributions towards Vernacular Lexicography.

The sloka for which the poet Kālidāsa was abused by his spouse may be cited as an example of bad pronunciation: “उठें लूप्तति रुपा बना तैमौ दबा विपुल नित्य.

The following is an instance of a lenis standing for a fortis, एतेष्—एदेनिः—एदेन, गृहेऽ—गृहुद्—दर, तुर.

The aspirate ह is sometimes found to stand for the aspirate भ-गहीर्—गहेरः; and in some instances for थ, कनापि—कन्ह्छ—कहूँ or कबूँ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Prākrit</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कप्ता</td>
<td>कहा</td>
<td>कहा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुकापि</td>
<td>क़हि</td>
<td>क़न्हि (Hindi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>यत्ख्या</td>
<td>यत्ख़ा</td>
<td>यत्ख़ा (Hindi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अरुरहरायते</td>
<td>अरुरहरै</td>
<td>अरुरहरै</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Sandhi, छ takes the place of the palatal श. But as in Prākrit a great confusion exists between the three səs, we have the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Prākrit</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अपु्रुरा</td>
<td>अप्रुरा</td>
<td>अपुरः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उस्तर</td>
<td>उस्तरा</td>
<td>उस्तर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>शावक</td>
<td>छावको</td>
<td>छावक, छेले</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The compound क्ष is pronounced in three ways, as kṣh, kkh, and chēh, i.e., क, कख, and as छ.

Thus we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Prākrit</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अक्षकम्</td>
<td>अक्षकद्व</td>
<td>उक्ष्ट</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उक्ष्र</td>
<td>उक्ष्रा</td>
<td>उक्ष्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षारं</td>
<td>क्षार्</td>
<td>छार, छाई</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लक्ष्मी</td>
<td>लक्ष्मी</td>
<td>लक्ष्मी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वंसि</td>
<td>वंसि</td>
<td>बंसि</td>
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<tr>
<td>वंसर</td>
<td>वंसर</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In कुदु, the द is changed according to the rule above mentioned into त and the liquid र is dropped.

As stated before, such harsh compounds are softened in the derivative languages, as—
In the words *বুদ্ধ* or *বুদ্ধমুদ্ধ*, the law of transmutability of letters is carried to the maximum: it is evidently a corruption of *দীপসূৰ্য্য*, where *দ* is changed to *প*, and *প* to *ল*, and lastly *ল* to *ম* or *ম*; some, however, derive it from *পুত্তল পূৰ্ব্ব*.

In some cases, *ব* stands for *চ*, as *নৃত্যঃ নাচঃ নাগ*, and in others for *খ*, as *থাকা* from *থক্লই*—তিথ্থতি.

The *ব* is changed into *উ* or *ও*, as—

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<tr>
<td>সঞ্জ্ঞা</td>
<td>স৭ণ্জা</td>
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In the following *ব* stands for *ভ*—*ভুতা*—*বাদর*, *বায়া*.

The following is a list of some words traceable to the Pāṇḍīt.
| Contribution towards Vernacular Lexicography. [No. 2, | |
|---|---|---|
| **গুমোর** | **গোমোর** | **গোবর** |
| **পাদ** | **গোড়া** | **গোড়া** |
| **রুণ** | **রূপণ** | **রূল** |
| **চন্দ্র** | **চন্দ্রি** | **চন্দের** |
| **চাঁদের** | **চাঁদের** | **চাঁদের** |
| **রাচায়েন্দু** | **রাচায়েন্দু** | **রাচায়েন্দু** |
| **রাজনীতি** | **রাজনীতি** | **রাজনীতি** |
| **কোন্দাকৃষ্ণ** | **কোন্দাকৃষ্ণ** | **কোন্দাকৃষ্ণ** |
| **জাহাজ** | **জাহাজ** | **জাহাজ** |
| **নালা** | **নালা** | **নালা** |
| **নাট্য (কৃষ্ণ)** | **নাট্য (কৃষ্ণ)** | **নাট্য (কৃষ্ণ)** |
| **স্থান** | **স্থান** | **স্থান** |
| **লোহ** | **লোহ** | **লোহ** |
| **তথ্য** | **তথ্য** | **তথ্য** |
| **তুম্ব** | **তুম্ব** | **তুম্ব** |
| **হাসিয়ানীয়** | **হাসিয়ানীয়** | **হাসিয়ানীয়** |
| **আখ্যায়ন** | **আখ্যায়ন** | **আখ্যায়ন** |
| **নভু** | **নভু** | **নভু** |
| **নাহার, নাওয়া** | **নাহার, নাওয়া** | **নাহার, নাওয়া** |
| **নাট্য (কৃষ্ণ)** | **নাট্য (কৃষ্ণ)** | **নাট্য (কৃষ্ণ)** |
| **পাল** | **পাল** | **পাল** |
| **পালকান্দা** | **পালকান্দা** | **পালকান্দা** |
| **নাজিহরা** | **নাজিহরা** | **নাজিহরা** |
| **বাঞ্ছিত ব্যাকরণ** | **বাঞ্ছিত ব্যাকরণ** | **বাঞ্ছিত ব্যাকরণ** |
| **বহিনিমাস** | **বহিনিমাস** | **বহিনিমাস** |

(Hindi)
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In the following the original meaning has been lost. Thus सदेश literally means 'information,' and its present meaning is a kind of sweetmeat, a confection of chhānā, which is always carried by persons sent to enquire after the health of friends and relations residing at a distance. Similarly, the word तज्ज meant to enquire, but it now means 'presents of sweetmeats, fruits, clothes, &c., made to friends or relatives.'

Amongst five brothers, the first is designated रज्ज, meaning eldest, the second मेज्ज literally intermediate, the third सेज्ज (is it a derivation from the Persian siyun—third?). The fourth is न, evidently derived from नब—new, and the last त्रेज्ज. It is interesting to notice how the word न came to be applied to the fourth of a group consisting of more than four members.

The Sanscrit word घट as well as its two derivatives घटी, घड़ा are in use in Bengali, but they indicate three distinct objects. The घट, the original Sanscrit word, is applied to the old form of the water-pot now in use, only for religious purposes. घटी is a metal water-pot smaller than the घड़ा, and चमकी, नोढ़ा, आबखड़ा, अथूति, केरोल, and बाटलो are differently formed water-pots. चमकी is derived from चुबन to kiss, to drink with the lips or rather to sip, चुड़ा a peculiar sound used for quieting horses by drawing air through tightly closed lips. The infinitive चुमड़ान् is evidently a contraction of चुमड़ात्रि, though some by a slight modification in spelling make it चुमूरा, and have tried to derive it from चामूर, and the proverb बेंड़ू के चुमड़ानवा बनेंगें is being misunderstood has caused the idea. बाटलो comes from बहल spherical, the shape of the pot. अथूति appears to be the oldest among these, and this form of a pot is out of fashion. It means sweetened, and the brim of the vessel being turned into a lip, it sweetens as it were the liquid drawn from it. शिल and नोढ़ा (नोढ़ा) both literally mean pieces of stone, their present application, however, is to a set of grinding apparatus, the slab of stone is शिल and the grinding roller नोढ़ा. जात्रा again, a derivation of जात्रा a machine, is a pair of circular grinding stones.

सगड़ी and एट are from स्कूटी and उड़ी respectively, meaning made by one's own hands, and the offals of one's dish. Boiled rice is therefore सगड़ी, and a remnant of a piece of bread after a part of it has been eaten is एट (छूट in Hindi).
Contributions towards Vernacular Lexicography. [No. 2,

... as stated before, is a corruption of the Sanscrit चूहा, a water-snake. It is now used to indicate the innocuous water-snake as well as a powerless man. कापड़ comes from कापडा, cotton, and here the material has given name to the cloth made from it. Its present signification, however, is more extensive. It is in Bengali a generic term for cloth. वृद्धि means that which is washed, and as the piece of cloth round the waist of a Bengali is the only part of his dress which he has to change about four times or oftener in a day, that piece of cloth is by *par excellence* called वृद्धि. चूँच comes from चूँच a thread. It is now used exclusively to represent cotton thread, and cloth made of cotton is चूँचार कापड़, as distinguished from रेशमेय कापड़.

जूहा is जूँहाय in Hindi, and appears to be part of the Sanscrit word गूँहा पालूका, a pair of shoes.

छाना means cassian of milk, separated by boiling it with an acid. It is derived from छिन्न to break up, to tear asunder, and the compound छेरा दूध supports this derivation.

चिनेड़ बादाम (Chinese almond), बिलाभि कुष्ठि (English gourd), इंग्लिश हाति (Guzrat elephant), appear to be misnomers. The first is no more an almond than it is Chinese. Its more rustic name is माटबादाम or माट कठड़ा (field almond, or field lentils), which expresses its nature better than the other term. The बिलाभि कुष्ठि is called बिलाभि, because crews of vessels store them up before they leave the port for the sea, as it can be preserved as long as the potatoe without getting rotten. The name, however, may mislead, were we to consider it as an introduced fruit, as also the word बिलाभि बट (Indiarubber tree). The Hindi word सफरी कुम्हर (traveller's gourd) is a clue to its origin. The people of obscure villages have preserved its real name सिटे कुम्हर, sweet-gourd.

छेरा and छेरा, as stated above, are both derived from the Sanscrit छिन्न, but छेरा in Bengali is 'to tear,' and छेरा is to divide longitudinally. Thus the slit of a pen is its चिन्न. कठट, कठा कोटा, कठूट-क्लाई are derivatives of the Sanscrit कठट. कठट to crack, कठूट to boil, as also to break by frying, as in कठूटक्लाई, a kind of lentil that cracks when fried. कठूट is a cucumber which bursts when ripe.


contributions towards vernacular lexicography.

and छोट्टू are derived from शकट, which word is also in use in Bengali. छोट्टू in Bengali is a hackney—carriage, and शगड़ a cart on two wheels drawn by bullocks.

I will conclude this my first paper on vernacular derivations with a few words derived from the modern European languages.

From the Portuguese, पाढ, इंध्व, केऱा, गिरड़ा and केहरानी.
From the French, पॉवरटी (pain = bread).
From the English, अस्ताबल, ग्राम, जड़, डिक्कि, डिसमिस, फिट, ननसूट, निट, ड्रफर, and आपील.
Extracts from letters addressed by the Rev. T. Foulkes, Chaplain of Vepery, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, dated 29th May, and 26th June, 1869, regarding three sets of Copper Sasanams discovered in the Vizagapatam Districts.*

"I have the honor to return the three sets of copper-plates and the package of printed impressions, together with the letters of the Collectors of Vizagapatam and Nellore, which were sent to me with that memorandum, and to send herewith, a translation, of the oldest of the three copper-plate inscriptions which accompanied that letter.

"In referring to these copper-plate sets in this letter, I will call them No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3, in the order of their date.

"No. 1, which may be distinguished by its thinner plates, and the greater boldness of the characters inscribed on them, is a grant of a village called Kalvakonda, in the district of Dimila, made by Vishnu Vardhana Maharaja to two brahman brothers, Vishnu Sharmma and Madhava Sharmma, to be converted into a brahman settlement, in commemoration of an eclipse of the moon.

* Published in the Journal by order of the Council. Impressions taken from the three Sasanams described by the Rev. Mr. Foulkes, as also a large set of impressions of other copper Sasanams in the Central Museum, Madras, have been received from the Madras Government through the Government of India, and are now preserved in the Society's Library. The Editor.
"Several princes of the name of Vishnu Vardhana have reigned in Southern India; but the present grantor is identified in these plates as the younger brother of Satyashraya of the Chalukya dynasty.

"This dynasty was founded by Jaya Sinha, who invaded the Deccan about the beginning of the fifth century, A. D., but was defeated by Trilochana, king of the Pallavas, who were then the dominant race in those parts. Jaya Sinha’s posthumous son, Vishnu Vardhana, subsequently reversed his father’s misfortune, and established himself in the kingdom of Kuntala, the capital of which was Kalyan, which still exists in the neighbourhood of Beder in the Nizám’s territory, where his descendants reigned down to the close of the twelfth century, A. D. His great-grandson, Kirtti Varmma, had two sons, Satyashraya, who succeeded to the throne of Kalyan, and Vishnu Vardhana, the donor of inscription No. 1.

"On the death of Kirtti Varmma, there appears to have been some political disorder at Kalyan; for Satyashraya did not succeed his father until after his uncle, Mangalisa, had reigned for some time. It was probably in consequence of this usurpation, that the younger son, the grantor of No. 1, was induced to push his own fortunes at a distance from the scene of the family troubles. Whatever may have been the cause of the emigration, this Vishnu Vardhana, who is surnamed Kubja, or Little, went eastwards into the Telugu districts below the ghauts, and conquered Vengiparam, the capital of the country, between the rivers Godavery and Kistna, and founded the dynasty of the Western Chalukyas, whose capital was subsequently fixed at Rajahmundry, and whose territory ultimately extended from Ganjam to Nellore, over which they reigned down to the latter half of the eleventh century A. D.

"The Agraharam of Kalavakonda which was bestowed by grant No. 1, appears to have been swept away during this long interval, or its name has been changed. I have made several inquiries about it, from persons acquainted with the neighbourhood of its probable site, but unsuccessfully.

"My search for Dimila, the district in which this village was situated, has been more successful. The Collector of Vizagapatam
has been kind enough to make inquiries for me in his district, and I have received the following letter from him:—

‘Vizagapatam, 12th May, 1869.

‘After making all inquiries on the subject of your letter of the 4th March, I regret to be unable to assist you in your researches. The Sasanam in question was found near the village of Cheeparupilli, but there are no traces in the neighbourhood of any Agraharam called Kalvakondah.

‘There is a village called Dimila in the talook of Sarvassiddy, about five miles from the coast, and about eighty-five miles to the south of Cheepurupilli, which at one time was of more importance than now, and may have been the head-quarters of a district.’

“The present grant is not dated, but the period of Vishnu Vardhanna’s conquests is ascertainable from other sources. A grant made by his grandfather Pulakesi, which is in the British Museum, bears the date 411 of Salivahana’s era, corresponding with 489, A. D., and a similar grant by his own brother, Satyashraya, is in the possession of a Jaina Guru at Haidarabad, and bears the date 534 of Salivahana, or A. D. 612. The date of No. 1 may thus be fixed about the beginning of the 7th century A. D., and this set of copper-plates will, therefore, be about twelve hundred years old.

“The language of this grant is Sanscrit, and the character in which it is written, is a developed form of that which is found in the inscriptions on the topes and caves of Central and Western India.

“It appears from Mr. Master’s letter to Government of the 30th October, 1867, forwarding these copper-plates, that he had ‘tried every means of deciphering the characters by sending them to some of the learned Pundits in the Maharaja of Vizianagram’s service, but without success.’ Before attempting to decipher the plates myself, I also similarly tried to find some one in Madras or the neighbourhood who could read this character; and I have been equally unsuccessful. It is much to be regretted, that this and other cognate ancient alphabets of India, should have become so generally a dead letter, and that consequently the inscriptions on grants like the present one, and on the walls of temples, &c., should
Notes on Three Copper Sasanams.

be incapable of being read by learned natives, who could most readily turn these almost solitary memorials of the ancient history of their country to proper account.

"Plates No. 2, and No. 3, are similar grants of villages to brahmans. Both of them are written in the Sanscrit language, and the mixed characters used in them are of two somewhat later forms of that in which No. 1 is written; but the engraving of No. 2 and No. 3, is of an inferior kind and carelessly done, and, therefore, the forms of some of the letters cannot always be fixed with certainty. Several of the letters are also partially or wholly obliterated. Some of the letters of the Devanagari character are introduced in these two grants, while the corresponding letters of the 'cave alphabet,' seem to be quite familiar to the engraver. This seems to show that, at the time when these grants were made, the Devanagari alphabet was growing into use, but had not yet superseded the older characters.

"No. 2, which is the shorter of the two inscriptions on the thicker plates, having only three sides of writing, is a grant of a village, the name of which I have not been able to make out, by Shri Ananta Varmma Deva, the son of Shri Jaya Varmma Deva, to a brahman named Vishnu Sharmma of the Gautama Jatra, to commemorate an eclipse of the moon.

"No. 3, is a similar grant of the village of Pankipachri to Ajyashthamayya Sharmma, the son of Susugaya Sharmma, of the Sohita Gotra, by Shri Rajendra Varmma Deva Raja, the son of Ananta Varmma Deva, (the donor of No. 2,) the son of Jaya Varmma Deva, to commemorate an eclipse of the sun.

"I have not been able to identify the series of princes here named. A king of the name of Jaya Varmma Deva, the only one of this name which I can find, reigned in Malwa in A. D., 1143; but his pedigree does not correspond with that of these grants. 'Deva Raja' was a common title of one of the dynasties of the Orissa princes; but the donors of these grants are not amongst them."

Translation of Inscription No. 1.

Prosperity. The royal moon risen above the ocean of the glorious Chalakya race, whose two lotus-like feet glitter with the
radiance of the gems of the crown of rival kings bowing down before him like creeping plants, defeated by his frowns, is the illustrious Satyashraya Vallabha Maharaja.

His beloved younger brother, the surmounter of difficulties, who has succeeded in penetrating inaccessible fortresses situated in the midst of plains, lakes, forests, and mountains; the cow of plenty, raining down showers of wealth upon distressed and poverty-stricken brahmans; the crocodile bannered one, (the Hindu Cupid,) who by his beautiful form inspires young maidens with love; the destroyer of the spirit of misery, (Kali) drowning it in the whirlpools of the ocean of his benefactions; adorned with unsullied and highly distinguished glory arising out of its many wars and conquests; reverenced throughout the world like Manu, full of renown like Prithu, and accounted wise as Vrihaspati; an orthodox worshipper of supreme Brahma, the illustrious Vishnu Vardhana Maharaja issues his commands in this present matter to the assembled heads of families inhabiting the village of Kalvakonda, in the district of Dimila, as follows:—

In order to promote his own religious merit, length of days, good health, and fame, on account of the eclipse of the moon which took place in the month of July, the above-named village has been granted to Vishnu Sharmma and Madhava Sharmma of the Gautama tribe and the Jaittiriva sect, of the village of Chejhuplara in the district of Plaiki, learned in the Vedas, Vedangas, Itikasas, Puranas, Dharma Shastras, and many other technical books, the sons of Durga Sharmma, zealous in the performance of the rites of his order as prescribed in his own section of the Veda which he has thoroughly studied, and the grandsons of Brahma Sharmma, a successful student of the Vedas and Vedangas, to be converted into a brahman settlement (Agraphara) free of all taxes.

Let no one molest them in the enjoyment of it; in accordance with the following two verses of the Jyana Gita:

First, Lands have been bestowed by many persons;
   By many also they have continued to be protected;
   Whosoever and whatsoever those lands may have been,
   He has obtained a corresponding reward.
Secondly, The bestower of land shall be happy in heaven,
For sixty thousand years:
And both he who resumes it,
And he who concurs in the act,
Must dwell in hell for the same number of years.

Notes on the Antiquities of the Nálti, the Assia, and the Mahábináyaka hills of Cuttack.—By Bábu Chandras’ekhara Bánurjí, Deputy Magistrate, Jánapúr.

[Read 3rd August, 1870.]

The following notes are taken from my diary of an official tour during the last cold weather, when I had scarcely any leisure to devote to antiquarian researches. My object in putting them together, is more to stimulate, than to satisfy, the curiosity of the reader regarding a few of the out-of-the-way antiquities of a district which has been, for the last two thousand years, famous for its peculiar architecture and unrivalled temples.

The ruins inspected, occur on the summits of three ranges of hills, two of which are situate in the centre of the district, and the other on its western border. The names which the natives give to these ranges are—(1) Assia (marked Assiah in the maps). (2) Nálti, and (3) Mahábináyaka.

The Assia range runs in a south-easterly direction in the 'Alamgír estate of Parganah Altí, throwing out spurs towards the west and the east. Near the centre of the range, there is an open space, lower than the surrounding heights, and which communicates with the plains towards the east. This passage forms, as it were, the key to the fortified places on the peaks. The range is accessible from the village of Bar-chaná on the Trunk Road, and is about 27 miles to the N. E. of Cuttack.

The Nálti Hill is merely a spur of the Assia range, but is separated from the latter by the stream of the Birúpá, which flows between them; the hill stands on the north-western borders of the Matcadnagar parganah.
The Mahábináyaka Hill has also another name, Bárunibántá. This is the high hill of Qil’ah Darpan which, in almost all weathers, is visible from the banks of the Mahánadi near Cuttack.

Náltí Gíri. The name Náltí is said to be merely a corruption of the Arabic word la’nat (لعن) or "curse," so named from a tradition hereafter detailed. The hill has two peaks of unequal height, bearing little vegetation, except a few sandal trees, being the only places in Orissa where that valuable plant is met with. On the lower peak, I found the ruins of two very ancient structures, placed at the distance of about four hundred yards from each other. One of these stands on a bold prominence, the heads and sides of the rocks around being bald, moss-covered, and jagged. The ruins appear to be the remains of an old Buddhist temple; they consist of massive slabs of granite whitened with age. The "mandapa" or porch, is a complete ruin, portions of monolithic pillars 7 to 8 feet in height, only standing on the corners of the basement with the figure of a Hindu (?) god cut in the pedestal of one. The structure had been raised on a substantial foundation, and it is probable that some other force than the wasting influence of time only, has been at work to pull it down. This appears the more probable from the ruins of a Múslánán's tomb standing by, perhaps built from the debris of the more ancient building.

The other structure, which stands on the pass between the two peaks, was built on precisely the same plan as the first, consisting of a porch and a cella, surmounted by a small pyramidal tower. This is in a better state of preservation. The roof of the porch has given way, but that of the cella still stands. It has no columns, and is formed of solid walls with niches in the interior for the figures of Buddha or "Ananta Purushottama," as the people on the spot call them. The figures are all erect, about five feet in height, holding in the left hand a lotus with a long stem, cut in high relief. The other hand is mutilated; so is the nose. The eyes have all a meek expression, and the curled hair is tied with a fillet round the middle of the head. The ears, breast, arms, and wrist have ornaments similar to those of the figures in the Bhubanesvar and other old temples of Orissa; the style of their execution point clearly to the same age and the same state of the
art. There are inscriptions on the stone behind the shoulders, and in one instance near the feet. I found it difficult either to decipher or to copy them, but I thought the style of writing to be the same as I found in another part of the hill and which will be noticed below. In front of this temple, there is a brick pillar. It is round, but encircled at places by raised rings, and has also small niches, and projecting bricks intended for ascension.

On the higher peak and on the highest point of the Nálti Giri, at an elevation of about 1000 feet above the surrounding country, I found the ruins of a round building. Three circular layers of stone are alone to be seen now, which formed the base of the temple. In the middle of this platform, there are traces of three other layers, and a number of cut stones lie scattered round it, among which I found a slab, bearing an inscription of ten lines. I had not time enough to copy the inscription, but I found no difficulty in removing it to my tent, and hope to submit it to the Society shortly.

About five hundred feet below the above point on the western slope of the hill, there is a place called the "Háthi-khál" or the elephant hole or cave. I have no doubt there was formerly a large cave cut in the rock at this place, the roof of which must have come down, the hill itself having been disturbed by an earthquake whence the tradition at this place of its being cursed. I saw six figures of Buddha of the same size and height, standing in a line, portions of their legs up to the knee having gone down or been filled up by the fall of the cave, in front of which they must originally have stood. These figures are four feet in height (from knee to head) and cut in slabs of sandstone, two feet three inches in breadth. They appeared to be very old, and enveloped in milk-white moss that had very nearly filled up the lines of an inscription which, after some difficulty, I succeeded in recovering from one of the slabs. The inscription contains the Buddhist creed Ye dharmáḥhetu, &c., in the Kutila character.

A few yards from the above figures I found a broken pedestal ornamented with two lions-couchant with a lotus in the middle, on which a Devi was sitting whose feet and dress up to the waist only were visible. The pedestal is elegantly cut and exhibits a
good style of art. There can be no doubt that more images are concealed in the brushwood and jungle around.

The people in the vicinity informed me that the images and the temples on the Nálti hill had been constructed by Rájá Báshokalpa; but I should think, that was an attempt to transfer the tradition of another (the Chulia) hill, and localise it in this place. The inscription, being unmistakably Buddhist, leaves no doubt as to the origin of the shrine.

Evident traces of buildings, scattered bricks, broken capitals, cornices, and images of gods with inscriptions now daubed with vermilion by the villagers, lie scattered on and at the foot of the hill, which clearly shew that a better people once lived there than those who at present inhabit it.

Assia Giri. These hills cover a larger extent of the country than any other in the district. The locality is now known as 'Alamgír, a name given to it by its Muhammadan conquerors. The ancient Hindu name was Chalúsphítha, subsequently corrupted into Chár-púlie, or the "four seats" or "shrines," and was so called after the four highest peaks of the chain. One of these peaks, which overlooks the stream of the Birupá, is now known as the 'Alamgír hill, on which stands a mosque on the summit of a precipice, about 2,500 feet above the level of the country, one of the most prominent and commanding spots in Orissa. The mosque is a plain building, consisting of a single room, $29 \times 19 \times 9\frac{4}{4}$, surmounted by a dome, and bearing an inscription of three couplets in Persian engraved on three slabs of black chlorite which form the freize.

The inscription has been partly read by Mr. J. Beames, and from his reading, it would appear that the Tárikh of the Mosque is given in the words

रशक فردوس درین
Rashk i Firdaus i barín.
'It vies with Paradise.'

The sum obtained by adding the numerical values of the letters composing the Tárikh is 1132 of the Hijra era, corresponding with A. D. 1719-20, when Shujá'uddín reigned in Orissa as Deputy of Nawáb Murshid Quli Khán.
The tradition connected with the building of the mosque runs as follows:

Once upon a time the prophet Muhammad was winging his way in mid-air on his celestial throne, with a large retinue. When the hour for prayer arrived, he alighted on Nalti Giri. The throne was too heavy for the hill, and the hill too small for the retinue. Hence the hill commenced to shake and sink. The prophet got annoyed, pronounced a la'nat, or curse on it, and repaired to the more elevated and spacious mount of Char-pitā, on the precipitous rock, where the mosque now stands. There he addressed his prayer, and the print of his knees and fingers are pointed out on the stone which is preserved in the shrine. His followers rested on the four peaks. No water being accessible on the hill, Muhammad struck the rock with his wand, and a bubbling spring of pure water at once rose up; traces of which are still shewn to pilgrims. A darvish, by virtue of his prayers, came to know this sacred spot, went up to it, and, on a Khirnī tree which stood close by and still stands, hoisted the prophet's flag made of his handkerchief.

When Shuja'uddin was marching to Cuttack, he was encamped at Erakpur, whence he heard the voice of prayer chanted on the top of the hill at the distance of six miles. The followers of Shuja' became anxious to visit the shrine, but he dissuaded them, taking the vow at the same time to come back, and pray on the spot with them, should his march prove successful. Successful it proved. Shuja' returned, made the road of about two miles in length up the hill on foot, through one of its easy slopes, and built the mosque which still bears his inscription.

The mosque faces the East. In front there is a platform surrounded by a thick wall with a gate. Towards the west, high and rough rocks overlook the building. But to its north, a high terrace has been raised for the reception of darvishes and pilgrims.

The tradition narrated above, may be construed merely to refer to the conquest of the Moslem over Hinduism, the demolition of Hindu temples, the mutilation of Hindu gods and goddesses, and the reduction of the Hindu supremacy on the Nalti hill by the followers of the prophet, and the hoisting of the prophet's flag on a rival and
more elevated spot, perhaps already sanctified by the residence of a pious Musalmán: the old name Nálati affording an easy transition to la'nat. But whatever might have been the origin of the tradition, the popular belief still remains, that the bald and barren Nálti Giri is a cursed hill, and the prophet still reigns on 'Alamgír. The expense of the shrine is covered by the profit of sixty acres of land, endowed by Shujá'uddín. The mosque is lighted every evening, the rocks resound with the voice of prayer every morning and evening, and the people in the neighbourhood, both Hindu and Moslem, offer homage at the shrine.

The Hindu name of the 'Alamgír peak was Mandaka, from the village of that name at its foot, where the manda or the primitive system of ordeal by fire or boiled oil, &c., was held during the Hindu period.

Udaya Giri. This is one of the Char-pít há or four peaks of the Assia group. The spur on which old ruins are found, is an elevated terrace, sloping from one hundred and fifty feet above, to the level of the plain. It is situated towards the north-eastern extremity of the group, surrounded by a semicircular range of pointed boulders, leaving an opening towards the east. On the latter side it overlooks the Kálía river, which runs about two hundred yards from its base. It appears that this, the only side from which it was accessible from the plain, was at one time protected by an entrenchment cut in the rocks from precipice to precipice. It was appropriately termed Udaya Giri or the "Sunrise Hill," from its being the most eastern extremity of the group and of the Cuttack district. At one time the sea, according to local tradition, laved its foot. This tradition is still preserved in a saying which the Uriyás repeat, to signify an impossibility: "You cannot expect it. The sea is now far off from Udaya Giri." The soil beyond the Udaya Giri is pure alluvion. Between it and the sea, scarcely a stone can be seen. The country is a flat, arid, sandy plain, in most places devoid of all vegetation, and the tradition, therefore, appears very probable. The more so, as it receives peculiar support from two passages in Messrs. W. T. and H. F. Blanford and W. Theobald's Report on the Talcheer Coal Field. "From this plain, the alluvion from the coast to the foot of the hills in Cuttack," say those gentlemen,
small isolated and steep hills rise in a few places to the north of Cuttack and, taken in connection with the bosses and whale-back ridges which stud the surrounding country, present all the features of an upraised archipelago, and lead to the belief, that, at no very remote geological period, the water of the western portion of the Bay of Bengal dashed against many a rugged cliff, and rolled around clusters of islands which studded over what is now the Province of Cuttack: indeed a comparatively trifling depression of the country might reproduce the same phenomena."

In a subsequent part of their report, they state "around the gneiss hills which have been mentioned as rising suddenly from the alluvial plain, a quantity of water-worn pebbles are always found, evidently the remains of an old beach. Although, owing to weathering, these pebbles have somewhat lost their rounded form and smooth surface, yet this mode of occurrence and the absence of large angular blocks, prove that they are of beach origin, and not merely rolled from the hills."*

It must be added, however, that what the men of science suppose to have accrued at a former geological period, the tradition brings within the history of man. Anyhow the table-land of Udaya Giri must have been peculiarly adapted to the Buddhists for a sanctuary; a variety of hills and dales, green-woods and plains, a limpid stream in front, combined with the solitude of the place, amply inspiring a devotional feeling, "the vision and the faculty divine."

At the foot of the hill, the eye is caught by a colossal image of Buddha, half covered in jungle, and a portion buried under the earth. It is fully nine feet in height, the length from the knee to the head being seven feet. The figure is cut in high relief on a single slab of rough chlorite, holding a large lotus in the left hand; the nose and the right hand are mutilated. The ear, arms, wrist, and breast are decorated with ornaments, and the cloth round the waist is fastened with three chains answering to the gota of the present day, worn tight like a belt. The breast-plate furnishes an excellent pattern, more elegant than any that I remember to have seen in the

* Memoirs, Geological Survey of India, I. pp. 33 and 70.
Bhuvanesvara, Khanda Giri, or any other temple in Orissa. Between this image and the Bāpi or large well, situated about fifty feet higher up the ground, the place is spread with the ruins of ancient edifices, the ground plans of which may still be traced.

Passing over the ruins we come to the Bāpi or well cut in the rock. The Swarga Gangā on the Khanda Giri hill is insignificant compared to this reservoir. It is 23 feet square, cut 28 feet deep from the top of the rock to the water’s edge, surrounded by a stone terrace, 94 feet 6 inches long, and 38 feet 11 inches broad. The entrance to the terrace is guarded by two monolithic pillars, the tops of which are broken. The edge of the well and the extremity of the terrace are lined with battlements of large blocks of wrought stone, rounded on the top, and three feet in height, leaving a wide passage or walk behind. The well is situated towards the southern extremity of the terrace. From the north and in the middle of the terrace, a few yards off the entrance, a flight of steps (3 feet in breadth, and 31 in number) runs down the rock as an approach to the water. The rock between the lowest step and the well has been cut into an arch, and on its face there is an inscription of which a transcript is given below—

बालक श्रीवज्ञलाल बायी।

The same inscription appears in another part of the rock on the right side of the steps, and also on the eastern wall of the terrace. The rock appears to have been quarried, marks of the chisel being evident; but I should suppose from the cracks and smoky stains on the rock down the well, that fire or some other force was also used to split it.

About fifty feet higher up in the jungle, there is another platform on which once stood a sanctuary of Buddha. Numbers of images of gods and goddesses, engraven on slabs of different shapes, are scattered around. A group, with the heads and arms mutilated, is still worshipped by the people who had succeeded in effacing all trace of its original character, by painting the figures with repeated layers of vermillion and turmeric. These images, no
doubt, belong to a subsequent period, when Buddhism had lost its influence, and was passing into Brahmanism. The chief interest of the place, however, lies in the ruins of a gate and the figure of a Buddha. The place was so enveloped in jungle, and the ruins so buried in earth, that it was difficult for me to form an idea of the edifice which once stood there, but from the gate in front and the rock in the rear to which the figure of Buddha is engaged, I have little doubt that the sanctuary was partly constructed and partly excavated.

*The Gate* is composed of three heavy rectangular blocks of stone. One of them is placed transversely over the other two, to form an entablature. The height of the gate, omitting the portion that has been buried by accumulation of rubbish, is 7 feet 8 inches.

The upright blocks have been cut into five bands highly ornamented with sculpture, which appears fresh and sharp as if just cut by the chisel. The innermost band contains wreaths of the true lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum*). There are altogether 12 groups of the flower. The second band is divided into pannels, bearing male and female figures in armour. The middle one contains a wreath of flowers. On the fourth band there is a continuous winding wreath, encircling figures of men and women. The last or the outermost band is a wreath of large flowers of great beauty. The middle band is capped by a capital, of which a rough sketch is shewn in the margin.

The architrave and the freize are embellished with a great number of grotesque figures. On the middle of the frieze, there are two niches containing figures of Buddha. In the middle of the architrave, another figure of Buddha appears, over whose head two elephants twist and wave their trunks from opposite sides. On both sides of the group, small, grotesque male and female figures have been cut into the form of a wreath; the waving hand and
forefinger of each touching a point on the shoulder of the figure preceding, and the toe placed on the projected knee of the one following.

I am disposed to think that this gate was provided with doors. There are two big holes in the corners, which were no doubt intended to receive the hinges.

The image of Buddha. About 16 feet beyond the gate, behind a narrow passage blocked up by brambles, I came to a cell, 9 feet square and as many feet deep. In this a large image of Buddha is placed in a sitting and meditating posture. It is 5 feet, 6 inches long from waist to head. The face itself is 1-6 by 1-5, and the breast, 3 feet 6 inches broad. It is made of three pieces of bluish chlorite. The head is formed of one piece, the neck down to the breast of another, and all below of a third. The joints have cracked a little now, but they could not originally have been discerned. I paid a passing visit to this image, nearly three years ago, when employed in enquiries connected with the late famine, but I do not remember to have then observed these joints. The rock behind the image has been smoothed with layers of small bricks. There are four huge stone pillars, two standing near the cell, and two near the gate, which must have at one time supported a roof and formed a porch in front of the cell.

There is an expression of strength and boldness about the straight gait and broad breast of the image which contrasts strikingly with the meekness of the eyes. The left arm has been placed carelessly over the thigh, the palm being visible; the right hand has been mutilated; so is the nose.

Scarcely one image was met with on these hills, which had escaped the ravages either of time or of fanaticism. The tradition regarding the mutilation of the nose, is the same everywhere. Ask the humblest Uriya of the cause, and the reply is: "it dropped at the sound of Kalápahář's kettle-drum," thus significantly pointing out the origin, but superstitiously veiling the manner of its destruction. One thing, however, is certain, that there is no spot in Orissa, however remote or secluded, to which the arms of the Moslem conquest did not reach, or which did not suffer from its ruinous influence. The lover of antiquity cannot turn to these
images, without wishing confusion on the Moslem banner, and ruin on those fanatic hands which raised it.

The two other peaks of the Chár-pithá are Achala Basanta or "Eternal Spring;" so named, perhaps, from the luxuriance of its ever-green trees and flowers; and the Baro Dehi, or "seat of the Great."

At the foot of Achala Basanta lie scattered the ruins of Majhi Pura, the residence of the brethren and the relatives of the old hill-chief. Dilapidated remains of old gates, stone platforms, and broken walls are all that are now visible: they do not suffice to give any idea of the size of the original edifice.

The Baro Dehi, or the seat of the chieftain, is at the foot of the highest peak. There are the ruins of an old fort in the jungle, which I had not an opportunity to visit, but the tradition connected with it, as given to me by a native, runs as follows:—

In olden time, the fort was held by a chief who was a washerman by caste. From Khalicoti (Calicut) in the far south, came an outlaw, by name Lokanáth Bhumija. He besieged the fort by night, surprised the old chief, put him with his family to the sword, and established his sway over the hills. He then assumed the name of Bali from the fact of his having taken possession of Baro Dehi by mere bal, or strength, a name yet retained by his family. During the Musalmán and Mahratta periods, the hill estate of 'Alamgir ranked among the Qil’lahjáts of the permanently settled estates of Cuttack. At the time of British settlement, the Rájá proved recusant from a mistaken notion of his own superiority, and the estate was therefore included within the Mughalbandí, or revenue-paying temporary settled estates. It is stated that the Rájá subsequently made his submission, but his title could not be recognised by the Settlement Commissioner as his title-deed appeared to be suspicious. The 'Alamgir estate has now been split up, and has passed into the hands of different purchasers, and the representative of the old Raja's family is a pauper, living on the produce of a few acres of land, which has been assigned to him by the gratitude of an old servant of his family, the Garh Náyaka or governor of the fort.
**Amaravati.** This Hill is now known as the Chatia Hill from its proximity to the village of that name on the Trunk Road to Cuttack. Its ancient name was "Amaravati Kāṭaka," and I am disposed to think that this was one of the Kāṭakas, or fortified places of the Gangā Vansa kings of Orissa, to which Mr. Sterling assigns no locality. On the eastern foot of the hill there are the remains of an old fort, the broad and extensive rampart of which, made of the laterite of the hills, forms the most prominent feature of the ruins. The stone wall is 4 feet deep, and the people say it ran one cos square. Within the rampart there is a high platform, accessible by a flight of steps. The wall over it, made entirely of stone, is broken. A number of broken pillars and capitals was also observed, but the place on which the inner apartment stood, is covered with such thick jungle and thorny brambles that I could not form a conjecture as to the plan of the edifice. On another platform, I observed the images of two goddesses (Indráṇi) cut in alto relievo out of two blocks of slate-stone; they are remarkable for their elegance and beauty.

The people in the neighbourhood informed me that before the construction of the Cuttack Trunk Road, the ramparts were in a much better condition than in what they now are: the Vandals of the Public Works Department having demolished them for the sake of the stone, with which they metalled the road. Nor was their conduct in this case singular, for, whether at Jājapur, Chatia, or Cuttack, they have everywhere proved equally destructive, and what escaped the ravages of time and of Muhammadan bigotry for centuries, have yielded to their sacrilegious hands. This is much to be regretted, the more so as it appears altogether inconsistent with that enlightened spirit in which Government has called the attention of its servants to the collection of facts and traditions which may tend to throw light on the past history of the country; any how such conduct, on the part of any class of its officers, however unintentional, cannot be too highly reprehended.

There is a spacious and magnificent tank, covering about 20 acres, within half a mile of Amaravati Kāṭaka. The people call it *Nilu Pukhar*, evidently a corruption of *Nilaya Pushkarini* or "tank with a dwelling;" for in the centre of this tank, there are the ruins of 23
an old building, of considerable dimensions, partly covered with shrubs, and partly whitened with moss, and the refuse of aquatic birds. There is a curious tradition connected with this building of about the age of Kálápáhaś, the general of Sulaimán Afghán, (A. D. 1558,) who, it is said drove out Bashu Kalpa, the chief of the Bárunibántá (Darpan) Hill and compelled him to take refuge in the Dhanabántá hills (Chatia). Bashu Kalpa became subsequently the lord of the Amaravatí fort. The structure in the tank was built to protect his grandson on his wedding-day, when it was predicted a tiger would kill him. I do not give the anecdote at length, as it resembles in all its details the story of Chánd Sadágar, as sung by one of our early Bengali poets. The enemy of Chánd Sadágar of Chámpánagara was the serpent, as instigated by the goddess Manasâ; that of Paddalochan, the Uriya prince, the tiger, as instigated by Satya Náráyaṇa. Evidently the authors of the Bengali and the Uriya poems got the idea of the enemy to their heroes from the nature of the country they inhabited: Chámpánagara stands on a flat plane near Budbud, not far from the Damudá, and is subject to floods. The serpent is still dreaded there, and a melá is annually held to worship it. Chatia is close to the forest, and still suffers from the ravages of leopards. It is curious that there is a place near Chatia also known as Champai Háṭ.

Mahá-vináyaka. This is one of the peaks of the highest chain in the district of Cuttack, viz., the Bárunibántá hills in Killa Dar-

pan. The country around it is wild, and inhabited by an aboriginal race known as Sawars, evidently the Savaras mentioned in Menu, who, in physical and mental peculiarities, resemble the Sonthals of Western Bengal. The hill is covered with primitive jungle, and seldom visited by any but pilgrims. It was probably from the beginning occupied by the Sivites, no sign of the worship of Buddha being traceable on it. The prospect from the top of the hill is glorious. The Sivites could not have selected a better spot for their Bhajana Mandapa or temple of worship. From the point where I ascended, the country around seemed a magnificent panorama of light and shade, diversified by carpets and crests of evergreens. The sun was just up, and under its rays far below in the distance, every patch of water appeared like a mass of blazing diamonds; every running brook,
a rich gorget on the breast of emerald earth. The high level canal
with its numerous curves appeared like a silver girdle nicely set
round the waist of the chain. The course of the Birupá, a distance
of 24 or 26 miles, through all its windings from Mandaka, perhaps
Chowdwar near Cuttack, could be traced like a thread of melted
silver. It appeared to be a spot pre-eminently fitted for "medita-
tion and sacred song." On the northern slope of the hill, about
400 feet above the level of the country, there is an Asthala or
monastery now occupied by Vaishnavas, who have evidently super-
seded the Sivites of old. The base, formed of a piece of cut
stone, is all that remains of the original sanctuary of the place. The
walls and the steeples appear to have been repaired or rebuilt
after they were destroyed by the Muhammadans. The principal
curiosity of this place is, the god Mahá Vináyaka, which is a
massive piece of rock over which the modern temple has been
built. The rock must be more than 12 feet in circumference, it is
oval at the top, and has three faces in front. The middle one has
a good resemblance to the head of an elephant with its trunk, and
is accordingly worshipped as Ganes'ha or Vináyaka. The right
face of the rock is considered to be Síva, and what it wants in actual
resemblance, has been made up by paint of sandal and vermilion.
The left face of the rock has a knot over it, which is fancied to be
the tresses of the goddess Gaurí bound up. The rock is accor-
dingly worshipped as the union of the gods Siva and Ganesá
and the goddess Gaurí. The place is by no means very ancient, but
the veneration for it is increasing with the increase of age. There is
a waterfall about 30 feet higher up, which supplies water to the
temple and pilgrims. A few steps above this fall, there are a few
images of Síva, called the "Ashta Lingam" from their number.
Besides the foliage of the trees and the canopy of heaven, there is
no other shade over these gods. The ground on all sides is cover-
ed with dense jungle, high and ancient mango trees predominat-
ing. Considering the insecurity of the place, it displays a steadfast
devotion, and bold indifference for life on the part of those who,
centuries ago, first inhabited these hills for the purpose of religious
worship.
Additional Gondi Vocabulary.—By Rev. James Dawson,
Chindwara, C. P.

(Continued from p. 117).

Pronouns.
Personal Pronouns.—First person.
चन्द्रा, anná, I.

Singular.

Nom. नाम, anná, I.
Gen. नावर, नावार्क, नामा, नामांग, náwor, náwork, nává, náwang,
      my, of me.
D. Ac. नाक, नाकृतन, nák, or nákun, to me, me.
Ab. ना सीन, ná sin, from me.
L. नावा इपिदें, nává ípidē, in me.

Plural.

Nom. चम्मोट, annmot, we.
Gen. सावर, सावाकः, साना, सावांग, máwor, máwork, mává, máwang,
      our, of us.
D. Ac. साक, साकृतन, mák, mákun, to us, us.
Ab. सा सीन, má sin, from us.
L. सावा इपिदें, mává ípidē, in us.

Personal Pronouns.—Second person.
इम्मा, immá, thou.

Singular.

Nom. इम्मा, immá, thou.
Gen. नीवार, नीवाकः, नीवा, नीवांग, níwor, níwork, nívá, níwang,
      thy, of thee.
D. Ac. नीक, नीकृतन, ník, níkun, to thee, thee.
Ab. नी सीन, ní sin, from thee.
L. नीवा इपिदें, nívá ípidē, in thee.
V. दे इम्मा, he immá, O thou.

Plural.

Nom. इम्मात, immát, you, ye.
Gen. सावर, सावाकः, साना, सावांग, máwor, máwork, mává, máwang,
      your, of you.
D. Ac. माक, माकुन, māk, mákun, to you, you.
Ab. मी सीन, mī sīn, from you.
L. मीवा इपिदे, mīvā ipide, in you.
V. हे इममाट, he immāṭ, O you.

Personal Pronouns.—Third person.

चार, or, he; that.

Singular.

Nom. चार, or, he, that.
Gen. चान्हार, चान्हाक, चान्सा, चान्हांग, onhor, onhork, onhā, onhāṅg, his, of him.

D. Ac. चान, on, to him, him.
Ab. चान सीन, on sīn, from him.
L. चापिदे, ṣipide, in him.

Plural.

Nom. चाक, ork, they, those.
Gen. चाक नार, चाक, नां, नांग, orknor, orknork, orknā, orknāṅg, theirs, of them.

D. Ac. चाकुन, orkun, to them, them.
Ab. चाक सीन, ork sīn, from them.
L. चापिदे, ṣipide, in them.

Personal Pronouns.—Third person, Feminine.

वट, ad, she, it; that.

Singular.

Nom. वट, ad, she it; that.
Gen. वान्हार, वान्हाक, वान्सा, वान्हांग, vānnor, vānnork, vānnā, vānnāṅg, hers, of her.

D. Ac. वान, tān, to her, her.
Ab. वान सीन, tān sīn, from her, from it.
L. वापिदे, vāṇipide, in her, in it.

Plural.

Nom. वट, au, they, those.
Gen. वच्क्वार, वच्क्वाक, वच्क्वां, वच्क्वांग, vakknor, vakknork, vakknā, vakknāṅg, theirs, of them.

D. Ac. वच्क्रुन, aque, to them, them.
Ab. वच्क्र सीन, aque sīn, from them.
L. वच्क्रपिदे, aqueipide, in them.
Demonstrative Pronouns.—Near demonstrative, Masc. Sing.

** Paran, er, this (man).

** Singular.

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<td>रर,</td>
<td>एन्नौर, नोर्क, ना, नाग, ennor, ennork, enná, ennáuy, of this.</td>
<td>एन,</td>
<td>एन सीन, en sín, from this.</td>
<td>इपिडे ipide, in this.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>er, this (man).</td>
<td></td>
<td>en, to this, this.</td>
<td>en sín, from this.</td>
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** Plural.

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<td>एर,</td>
<td>एर्कन, एर्कनर, ना, नाग, erknor, erknork, erkná, erknáuy, of these.</td>
<td>एरकन</td>
<td>एरक चीन, erk sín, from these.</td>
<td>इपिडे ipide, in these.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>erk, these (men).</td>
<td></td>
<td>erknor, erknork, erkná, erknáuy, of these.</td>
<td>erk sín, from these.</td>
<td>in these.</td>
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Demonstrative Pronouns.—Near demonstrative Fem.

** Id id, this (woman).

** Singular.

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<td>इह,</td>
<td>तेन्नौर, नेन्नौर्क, ना, नाग, tennor, tennork, tenná, tennáuy, of this.</td>
<td>तेन,</td>
<td>तेन सीन, ten sín, from this.</td>
<td>इपिडे ipide, in this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>id, this (woman) or (thing).</td>
<td></td>
<td>ten, to this, this.</td>
<td>ten sín, from this.</td>
<td>in this.</td>
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** Plural.

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<td>इहु,</td>
<td>इवेकन, इवेकनर, ना, नाग, iveknor, iveknork, ivekná, iveknáuy, of these.</td>
<td>इवेकन</td>
<td>इवेक चीन, ivek sín, from these.</td>
<td>इपिडे ipide, in these.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ihu, these (women) or (things).</td>
<td></td>
<td>iveknor, iveknork, ivekná, iveknáuy, of these.</td>
<td>ivek sín, from these.</td>
<td>in these.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstrative Pronouns.—Remote demonstrative.

The remote demonstrative ओर or, that (man), ओद ad, that (woman or thing) with their plurals ओक ork, those (men), ओ अ, those (women) are declined like the third personal pronoun.
Masc.

पर सान्निध्य, or मानव, this man.
एक्स सान्निध्य, एक मानव, these men.
शार सान्निध्य, or मानव, that man.
बोक्स सान्निध्य, एक मानव, those men.

Fem.

इद वार, इल अर, this woman.
इज वाख, इल अक, these women.
अद वार, अद अर, that woman.
आ वाख, आ अक, those women.

When the demonstrative pronouns are used with nouns, they are not declined, but are always used in the nominative case, although the nouns which they qualify are in the oblique case. When the demonstrative pronouns are used by themselves, they are declined as above.

Relative Pronouns.

The Relative pronoun is the same as the Interrogative बाप bo, who ?, and the correlative is supplied by the remote demonstrative शार or, that; e. g.—

बान्धा लेख चुट्र केय्र्तान बान्धा लेख चाखा मन्दा, bonhā leng unna kenjta onhā leng chokho mandā. Whose voice I heard his voice is good. His voice whose I heard is good.

Interrogative Pronouns.

The interrogatives are बाप bo, वष बाप and बोंग बाप, and are thus declined.

बाप bo who ? Masc. Sing.

Nom. बाप, bō, who ? which ?
Gen. बाप्तेर, बाप्के, बा, बाप, bonhor, bonhork, bonhā, bonhōng,
whose ?
D. Ac. बान, bon, to whom ? whom ?
Ab. बान बीन, bon sīn, from whom ?
L. बापिए, bāpīde, in whom ?

Masc. Plural.

Nom. बाके, bōk, who ? which ?
Gen. बाकनेर, बाके, ना, बान, bōknor, bōknork, bōknā, bōknōng,
whose ?
The Feminine and Neuter is **बा बा** (bad). It is declined like the 3rd person pronoun feminine **बा बा** (ad), by the insertion of **बा** before it; thus:—

<table>
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<th>Case</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nom.</strong></td>
<td><strong>बा बा</strong> (bad), who? which?</td>
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</table>
| **Gen.** | **बा बा नर, ना, ना, ना, ना, बादनोर, बादनोरक, बादनोर, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादनोरक, बादन0
बांगे, bânge, any thing, something.

Indeclinable.

Phrases.
बांगे द्वारे, bânge halle, nothing.
बांगे ना बांगे, bânge nà bânge, something or other.
बांगे आई, bânge āî, whatever may happen, come what may.

Verb.
कीटां, to do.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense. I do or am doing.
1. चम्टा कीथाताम, annâ ká túna.
2. इम्मा कीथानानी, immâ kiâtoni.
3. m. जेर कीथातार, or kiâtor.
3. f. चद कीथाताम, ad kiâtâ.

Imperfect Tense. I was doing.
1. चम्टा कीथान, annâ kíndân.
2. इम्मा कीथानी, immâ kíndin.
3. m. जेर कीथार, or kíndur.
3. f. चद कीथु, ad kíndu.

Past Tense. I did.
1. चम्टा कीथानन, annâ kítân.
2. इम्मा कीथो, immâ kítin.
3. m. जेर कीथुर, or kítur, चद कीथु, ad kítu.
3. f. चद कीथम, ammmot kítom.

Additional Gondi Vocabulary.
Additional Gondi Vocabulary.

Perfect Tense. I have done.
1. कीताना, kitonā.
2. कीतानी, kitoni.
3. कीतार, f. कीता, kitor, f. kīlā.
1. कीतारस, kitearam.
2. कीतारीत, kitorit.
3. कीताबें, कोतांग, kitork, f. kīlāng.

Pluperfect Tense. I had done.
1. कीति मधोना, kisi mathonā.
2. कीति मधोनी, kisi mathoni.
3. कीति मधेयार, कीचि मधया, kisi mathor, f. kisi mathā.
1. कीति मधोयाम, kisi mathoram.
2. कीति मधयारीत, kisi mathorit.
3. कीचि मधयायें, शाम, kisi mathork, kisi mathūng.

Future Tense. I shall or will do.
1. कीनाका, kīkā.
2. कीनाकी, kīkī.
3. कीनानुर, kīnur; कीनाक, kīl.
1. कीनाकाम, kīkām.
2. कीनाकोत, kīkīt.
3. कीनानुकें, kīnurk, कीनानुंग, kīnūng.

Conditional Mood.

Present Tense. If I do.
1. कीनाका, kīkā.
2. कीनाकी, kīkī.
3. कों, को, kir, kī.
1. कीनाकोम, kīkām.
2. कीनाकोत, kīkīt.
3. कों, कों, kīrk, king.

Imperative Mood.
2. रग्ना कों, immā kim, do thou.
2. रग्नाट कों, immāt kim, do ye.

Infinitive Mood.
कीताना, कीताखे kīnā or kīāle, to do.
Participies.

Present. कोटे, कोतादि, kōte or kisade, doing.

Perfect. कोटीड़ू, kisikun, having done.

चायामा आयाना to be, or to become.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

1. चायामा आंदान.
2. चायादी, आंदिन.
3. चायादो, चायादु, आंदु, आंदू.

Past Tense.

1. चायामा, आत०ः.
2. चायादी, आतिन.
3. चायादो, चायादु, आतुर, आतु.

Indicative Mood, Present Tense.

I am, or I become.

1. मंडामा, mandana.
2. मंडादी, mandoni.
3. मंडादो, मंडा, mandor, manda.

Past Tense.

I was, or I remained.

1. मंडामा, mathonā.
2. मंडादी, mathonī.
3. मंडादो, मंडा, mathor, mathā.
Additional Gondi Vocabulary.

1. सयोरम, mathoram.
2. सयोरित, mathorit.
3. सयोरें, सयोंग, mathork, matháng.

The remaining tenses of the verb "to be" are formed regularly form शायाना अंणा. The Gonds seem to use सन्ताना मंदाना more frequently to express "existence," and "become" they always express by शायाना अंणा.

There is also a peculiarity in the language in regard to the use of the negative चङ्गे halle with the verb. This particle causes a change on the form of certain parts of the verb as will be seen by using it, along with कीणाना कणा, to do, which has already been conjugated. It affects some moods and tenses, but not others.

Conjugation of the verb कीणाना कणा with the negation चङ्गे halle, not to do.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

I am not doing.

1. शायाना चङ्गे कीणान, anná halle kion, I am not doing.
2. दशाना चङ्गे कीणे, immá halle kiví.
3. चङ्गे चङ्गे कीणार, or halle kier.

Imperfect Tense. Same as the Affirmative.

I was not doing.

Past and Perfect Tenses are alike.

I did not and I have not done.

1. शायाना चङ्गे कीणा, anná halle kitá.
2. दशाना चङ्गे कीणा, immá halle kitá.
3. चङ्गे चङ्गे कीणा, or halle kitá, ad halle kitá.

1. अमोर चङ्गे कीणाम, ammoṭ halle kim.  
2. दमोर चङ्गे कीणें, immát halle kivít.  
3. चङ्गे चङ्गे कीणां, ork halle kiork.  

चा चङ्गे कीणां, au halle kiong.
Pluperfect Tense. I had not eaten.
   Same form as Aff.
Future Tense.
I shall or will not do.

1. अन्ना हैं कीमाल, anná halle kínál.
2. इस्माआ स्त्री कैमा, immá halle kínál.
3. असार, यदि इस्त्री कैमा, or, ad halle kínál.

1. अम्माट हैं कीमाल, ammōt halle kínál.
2. इस्माआ स्त्री कैमा, immáţ halle kínál.
3. अशाक, तैं हैं कीमाल, ork, au halle kínál.

Conditional Mood same as the Future except in the third persons Singular and Plural which are the same as in the Affirmative Conditional.

Imperative Mood.

2. इस्माआ स्त्री कैमा, immá manni kemá, do not thou do.
2. इस्माआ स्त्री कैमा, immáţ manni kemát, do not ye do.

Infinitive Mood and Participles are the same as the Aff. forms.

Abbreviations used in Vocabulary.

s. substantive; a. adjective; v. t. verb transitive; v. i. verb intransitive; ad. adverb.

k. क. किना कीथाना, to do; m. स. मियाना साथाना, which seems to be another form of mandáná साथाना, to be or to remain; s. स. सिना सीथाना, to give. H. Hindí or Hindustání.

A.

Awake, v. i. chaile máyáná
Awake, v. t. chaile kíáná
Afterwards, ad. pijá
Amputate, v. t. narkë网约áná
Alone, a. warror, f. warrai
And, conj. अन्दे
Acquire, v. t. páye máyáná
Appear, v. i. disáná
Altar, s. bhíñá, pl. bhíñáng
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word</th>
<th>Gondi Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afflict, v. t.</td>
<td>(Parcel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestor, s. ájúl, pl. ájúlk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almighty, a. sabro-chikš-kíánwále</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advance, v. i. munne víjáná</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As, conj. báhun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask, v. t. púchhe kíána</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appoint, v. t. badhe kíána</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appointed, a. badhe-kitál</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alike, a. lekhá</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>According to, a. lekhá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashes, s. nir</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Abate, v. i. ghače máyáná</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Again, ad. usođe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alas, interj. hée H.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Angel, s. dút, pl. dút k</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Anything, s. bángle</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Archer, s. kamánd-irráwále</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Arrow, s. tír, pl. tírk H.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Army, s. fauj, H.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ass, s. gadháí, pl. gadháng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer, s. jawáb, pl. jawáb H.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Accumulate, v. t. saure k.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Artless, a. sudho m. f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Among, prep. te and sometimes ne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affliction, s. dukh, H.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word</th>
<th>Gondi Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blood, s. nathur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother, s. tammur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back, s. murchul, pl. murchulk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be, v. s. mandáná</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Become, v. i. ájáná</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behind, prep. pijá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bury, v. t. mistáná</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bind, v. t. dohtáná</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breathe, v. t. dam yetáná</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blow, v. t. ukáná</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bite, v. t. kaskáná
Begin, v. t. lágána
Belly, s. pír, pl. pírk
Burst, v. t. oráná
Body, s. mendol, pl. mendołk
Breath, s. dam
Beginning, s. mothír
Border, s. siwár, pl. siwárk
Burn, v. t. atáná
Because, conj. baríki
Before, prep. munno
Barren, a. bahílál
But, conj. uáde
Bad, a. burtor, f. burstái
Breath, s. dam
Before, prep. munno
Barren, a. bahílál
But, conj. uáde
Bad, a. burtor, f. burstái
Breath, s. dam
Before, prep. munno
Barren, a. bahílál
But, conj. uáde
Bad, a. burtor, f. burstái
Breath, s. dam
Before, prep. munno
Barren, a. bahílál
But, conj. uáde
Bad, a. burtor, f. burstái
Breath, s. dam
Before, prep. munno
Barren, a. bahílál
But, conj. uáde
Bad, a. burtor, f. burstái
Breadth, s. rundopán
Broad, a. rundó
By, prep. sín
Beneath, prep. khálwá
Bring, v. t. tatáná
Bread, s. sári
Bird, s. pítte pl. pítteng
Bear, v. t. wáhtáná
Bear, v. t. súdáná
Bosom, s. korá, pl. koráng
Break, v. t. urútáná
Bake, v. t. atáná
Butter, s. lóni
Bawl, v. i. háká siána
Blind, a. surál, andrál
Blindness, s. andrálpán
Bull, s. kurrá, pl. kurráng
Bullock, s. kondá pl. kondáng
Bottle, s. bádlá, pl. bádláng
Bow, s. kamtá
Business, s. dhandho, pl. dhandhong.
Bush, s. jhúr, pl. jhúrk
Brushwood, s. jhúr, pl. jhúrk
Bow, v. i. mursáná
Boundary, s. sívár, pl. sívárk
Bracelet, s. chürá, pl. chüráng
Blame, s. dosh H.

Cloud, s. ábhár
Cut, v. t. narkáná
Cut, v. t. kojáná

Cut, v. t. askáná
Cloth, s. dikará, pl. dikaring
Come, v. i. wágáná
Come out, v. i. pasitáná
Creep, v. i. kojitáná, ghurse m.
Conceal, v. t. murrutáná
Conceal, v. t. maksutáná
Cubit, s. kúta, pl. kútáng
Cattle, s. kondáng, muráng
Camel, s. uttum, pl. utttunk
Call, v. t. kétáná
Choose, v. t. pehekáná
Count, v. t. káhtáná
Chase, v. t. piýa yetáná
Chicken, s. pílál
Crow, s. káwál, pl. káwálk
Corpse, s. múrdá
Carcase, s. múrdá
Cake, s. phulorí
Cook, v. t. aítáná
Calf, s. paiyá
Complete, v. t. púro k.
Close, v. t. kohehi siáná
Concerning, prep. hikke
Cow, s. múrá
Call, v. t. háká s.
Cleave, v. t. pahítáná

Additional Gondi Vocabulary.

[No. 3,]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cave, s. khodro</td>
<td>खोद्रे.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City, s. nagar, p. nagork</td>
<td>नगर, लकवी.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concubine, s. irtál ár, p. irtálk ásk,</td>
<td>इर्ताल चार, इर्तालक चास्क.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collect, v. t. sauye k.</td>
<td>चौड़े क.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Censure, s. chuglí</td>
<td>चुर्चौँ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Command, s. hukm H.</td>
<td>चम.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Command, v. t. hukm k.</td>
<td>बुघनाना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime, s. dosh H.</td>
<td>फौज तौर सहास्क।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cover, v. t. muhtáná</td>
<td>फौज तौर सहास्क।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commander, s. of an army, s. fauj tor subál,</td>
<td>फौज तौर सहास्क।</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Descend, v. i. ragáná, ráitáná,</td>
<td>रगाना, रेवाना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descend, to cause to, v. t. rehtáná</td>
<td>रेवाना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink, v. t. undáná</td>
<td>उंदाना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die, v. i. ságáná</td>
<td>सागाना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do, v. t. kiáná</td>
<td>कोआना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress, v. i. pondáná</td>
<td>पोन्दाना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress, v. t. ponsultáná</td>
<td>पोन्दाना। (one's self).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroy, v. t. mítí k., násh k.</td>
<td>पोन्दाना।, (another).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry, a. wálól</td>
<td>बनास्क।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceive, v. t. bahake k.</td>
<td>बनास्क।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter, s. miáár, p. miárk</td>
<td>मितार, मितार्क।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter-in-law, s. kojíár</td>
<td>कोढिचार।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drag, v. t. arítáná</td>
<td>अरीताना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dust, s. dhlúdo</td>
<td>धल्डे।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day, s. din, p. dink</td>
<td>दिन, दिम्बक।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drive, v. t. púnáná</td>
<td>पूणाना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Despise, v. t. útár k.</td>
<td>अनार क।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darkness, s. ánáár H.</td>
<td>अानार।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divide, v. t. júddo k.</td>
<td>जुड्डौ क।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deny, v. t. badle m.</td>
<td>बदले म।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease, v. i. ghaße m.</td>
<td>घटे म।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinner, s. jáwá</td>
<td>ज्याव।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction, s. kák</td>
<td>खाक।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction, from every, nálung te kák nál,</td>
<td>नालूग ले खाक बाल।</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Gondi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Desire, v. t. cháhe m.</td>
<td>चाहें म.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draw, v. t. umáná</td>
<td>उसाना, as water from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delay, s. jhel.</td>
<td>कधेल.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delay, v. t. jhel k.</td>
<td>कधेल क.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dream, s. kanchkáná</td>
<td>कंचकाना.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dream, v. t. kanchkáná</td>
<td>कंचकाना.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death, s. sáyán</td>
<td>साययन.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dig, v. t. kátáná, khode k.</td>
<td>बाताना, खोदे क.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead, a. mūrdá, p. mūrdáng</td>
<td>मूर्दा, मूर्दांग.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dismiss, v. t. bidá k.</td>
<td>बिदाक.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish, v. t. vilutáná</td>
<td>निलुताना.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expel, v. t. tāngáná</td>
<td>ठंगाना.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight, a. armár</td>
<td>अष्टम र.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embark, v. i. targáná</td>
<td>तागाना.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye, s. kan, p. kank</td>
<td>कन, कनक।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each, a. undá undí</td>
<td>उन्दे उन्दी।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every, a. undí undí</td>
<td>उन्दी उन्दी।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle, s. gidhál, p. gidhálk</td>
<td>मौखाल। मौखाचक।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empty, a. suño</td>
<td>खुँ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening, s. nülpe p. nülpeng</td>
<td>नूलपेप, नूलपेंग।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eternity, s. letu</td>
<td>जाया।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ear, s. kāvi, p. kauk</td>
<td>विजुताना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment, s. jāwá</td>
<td>साध-संग।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extend, v. t. virsutáná (as the arm)</td>
<td>वेधना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everything, s. sab-bānge</td>
<td>बेठी, बेठीं।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explain, v. t. vohtáná</td>
<td>बरो।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enemy, s. bairí, p. bhairírk H.</td>
<td>विजुताना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evil, a. buro</td>
<td>यठुबना, कमांड क।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlarge, v. t. virsutáná</td>
<td>कठुविताना।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earn, v. t. pūtsutáná, kamáí k.</td>
<td>भोड़।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Envy, v. t. kārāvitáná</td>
<td>अभिसेवी।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth, s. thōri</td>
<td>अवेक।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth the, s. dhartñ</td>
<td>अवेक।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enmity, s. bair H.</td>
<td>अवेक।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fructify, v. t. sūdustáná</td>
<td>सादुस्ताना।</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fear, s. warre
Form, s. cholá
Field, s. nelí, p. nelíng
Face, s. tudi
Fling, v. t. wátáná
Four, a. nálíng
Five, a. saiýng
Fifty, a. pachás, ardho nûr
Flesh, s. kháuk, khánqam
Fill, v. t. nihtáná
Fall, v. i. aráná
Float, v. i. pongáná
Forsake, v. t. chhoro k.
Fire, s. kis, p. kisk
Father, s. dháá, p. dháûrk
Find, v. t. páye m.
Family, s. got (tribe)
Famine, s. kár, p. kárk II.
Flock, s. yetíng, applied to sheep or goats
From, prep. tál, sin

Flee, v. i. sodítáná
Food, s. tindáná, indáná
Fear, v. t. waritáná
Fruit, s. kaigáng
Forefather, s. ájul, p. ájálk
Fountain, s. jiríá
Fountain, s. monghá (as of a well)
First, a. pâhilo
Fish, s. mín, p. mínk
Fruit-bearing, a. kaiyáng-wálá
Foreskin, s. nadtûm tá thol
Flour, s. pindá
Fine, a. chokho
Finish, v. t. púro k.
Far, a. lakh
Feast, s. jóává
Fell, v. t. as a tree, arútáná
Fraud, s. chhal H.
Force, s. barbas H.
Full, a. púro
Feed, v. t. tiktáná
Fault, s. dosh H.
Farewell, s. bidá H.

Green, a. kírvo
Graze, v. t. mehtáná
Graze, v. i. meáná
Go out, v. i. pasítáná
Go, v. i. handáná
Grave, s. margvat, masoní
Grow, v. i. borsáná, as a child
Grow, v. i. piráná, as a plant
Grow, v. t. pirsutáná
Guarding, s. markhám, applied to men
Guarding, s. jágalí, applied to fields
Generation, s. velí, p. veling
Great, a. pabor, f. porá
Get, v. t. páye m.
Give, v. t. síádá
Grass, s. jári, p. járing
Good, a. chokho, m. and f.
Good, a. bhalo, m. and f.
Good, ad. bhalo
Girl, s. túrí, p. túring
Gain, v. t. patsútáná
Gain, v. t. kamá k. H.
General a, s. faíj tor subál

Hundred, a. nár, p. nárik
Husband, s. rost-tor the man of the house
Hide, v. i. makáná
Hide, v. t. maksútáná
Hill, s. maṭā, p. maṭāṅ
House, s. ron, rot-te in the house
Herdsman, s. mehtāṅnvāle
Hand, s. kai, p. kaṅk
Hand, left, dāwo kai
Hand, right, jeono kai
Here, ad. iggā
Hence, ad. iggātāl
Hither, ad. hikke
How, ad. bākun
Heifer, s. paḍḍā
Hinder, v. t. roke k.
Heaven, s. ṣāgās
Heat, s. adī
Haste, s. utāvalē
Hasten, v. i. utāvali k.
Heavy, a. puhaṭā
Heavy, to be, v. i. puhaṭāṅnā
Hasten, v. t. jaldi kisūtāṅnā
Herd, s. of cattle, mūrāṅg kondāṅ
Heir, s. adhikāra H.
Horn, s. kor, p. kohk
Half, a. adho
Heel, s. ḍakā
Happen, v. i. arāṅnā
Hatred, s. bair H.

I.

Increase, v. i. borsāṅnā
Increase, to cause to, v. t. borsūtāṅnā
Inquire, v. t. pūchhe k.
Inform, v. t. kenchutāṅnā
Inhabitant, s. mandāṅnvāle

J.

Judge, v. t. nyāo k.
Judge s. nyāo-kīāṅnvāle
Judgment, s. nyāo
Journey, s. jāḷrā H.
K.

Know, v. t. punđâná
Keep, v. t. as a garden, sudhare k.
Keeping, s. markhüm, jágāli
Kill, v. t. joksí wātáná
Knead, v. t. piskáná
Kindness, s. mihr H.
Knife, s. chhuri

L.

Live, v. i. pisáná
Leather, s. tol
Laugh, v. i. kauwáná
Leave, v. t. chhore k.
Land, s. dharti
Lift, v. t. táhtáná
Light, s., a candle or lamp, dívía
Light of day, s. verchí
Light, a. halko
Large, a. paror, f. pará
Little, a. chuđor, m. and f.
Like, a. lekhá
Learn, v. t. karitáná
Lamb, s. khálmányál ná pilál
Lead, v. t. munne tákáná
Look, s. nigáh H.

M.

Middle, s. naqđum
Make, v. t. bane k.
Morning, s. sakále
Mother, s. dhái
Meet, v. t. kalitáná
Milk, s. pál
Month, s. tiúdí
Marriage, s. marmíng
Marry, v. t. marmíng
Mock, v. t. thathá k.
Mocker, s. thathá-kián-wále
Master, s. mālik H.
Merchant, s. baipārī, baipāvīrk

N.
Naked, a. kurāke
Nakedness, s. kurākepan
Nine, a. unnāk
Not, ad. with imp. mood, mannī
Not, ad. with other moods, halle
Name, s. parol, p. parolk
Now, ad. ingā
Nephew, a brother’s son, s. sanimarrī
Number, v. t. kāhtānā
Night, s. narkā
Nothing, s. bānge-halle
Nose, s. massor, p. massork

O.
One, a. undī.
Open, v. t. ugarē k.
Open, to be, ugarē m.
Open, a. ugarē
Obtain, v. t. paye m.
Observe, v. t. màne m.
Obey, v. t. màne m.
Old, a. senāl, f. seno

Old, a. junior, f. junāl

Out, ad. bāharo
Outside, ad. bāharo
Overturn, v. t. ulē k.
Ox, s. kondā, p. kondāng
Outstretch, v. t. viṁsūtānā
Occur, v. i. arānā

P.
Plant, v. t. lage kiāna
Place, v. t. irrānā
Pull, v. t. úmáná, as water from a well असाना.
Property, s. dhan-doulet धन-दैवत.
Pitch, v. t. nilutáná. (as a tent) निलुताना.
Pit, s. sorá सोरा.
Pursue, v. t. pijá k. पिजा क.
Persecute, v. t. tarse k. तरस क.
Prevent, v. t. roke k. रोके क.
Pregnant, a. ranjiváná रजिवाना.
Produce, v. t. sódáná सोडाना.
Proceed, v. i. munne vírána सुमने वीराना.
Place, s. thikán ठिकाना.
Press, v. t. admáná अधमाना.
Pillar, s. dhárun धारून.
Person, s. jan, p. jank जान, जानक.
Proprietor, s. adhikárí H. अधिकारी.
Prove, v. t. parkhe k. पर्चे क.
Prince, s. subál सुबाल.
Price, s. molá मोला.
Pour, v. t. richi k. रिची क.
Pulse, s. dárí डारी.
Pottage, s. jóvá जोवा.
Play, v. i. garsáná गर्साना.
Plain, s. chaugán H. चाउगान.
Pain, s. dukh H. दुख.

Quarrel, v. i. tarútáná तरुताना.
Quickly, ad. japne जपने.

Rainbow, s. bhímáł भीमाल.
Remain, v. i. mandáná मन्दाना.
Road, s. sarrí सर्री.
Rib, s. paneká पानेका.
Run, v. i. vitáná विताना.
Raise, v. t. táhtáná ताहताना.
Rise, v. i. tedáná तेदाना.
Reach, v. i. aúáná आउना.
Rain, s. pír पिर.
Rain, v. i. arutáná
Receive, v. t. paye m.
Rebel, v. i. badle mási handáná
Ram, s. mendhál
Return, v. i. malsi vàyáná
River, s. dhódá
Reptile, s. ghurse-máyánwálá
Rest, s. árám H.
Roar, v. i. kílitáná, as a tiger
Recline, v. i. lete m.
Regarding, prep. hikke
Robuke, v. t. dąpte k. H.
Right, a. ḥagg, H.
Reproach, s. chyglí

Spread, v. t. pongsutáná
Sign, s. chakhíná
Spread, v. t. bagare k.
Shoulder, bákhá
See, v. t. huryáná
Son, s. marí, p. mark
Say, v. t. indáná
Speech, s. vankáná
Share, v. t. iustáná
Separate, v. t. juddo k.
Stoop, v. i. mursáná
Surround, v. t. tiritáná
Sleep, v. i. narmáná
Serpent, s. tarás, p. taránk
Shoe, s. sarpm, p. sarpk
Shut, v. t. kondé k.
Smell, v. t. muskáná
Six, a. sárung
Seven, a. yerúng
Speak, v. t. indáná
Stone, s. tongi
Summit, of a mountain, s. chendé
Shew, v. t. hursutáná
Sojourn, v. i. mulkgirí k.
Save, v. t. pisutáná
Sister, s. selár, pl. selárk
Strive, v. i. tarutáná
Salt, a. kharo
Salt, s. sawar
Smit, v. t. jiáná
Slime, s. chiklá
Steal, v. t. kaláná
Stealer, s. kalle
Seize, v. t. boitáná
Sun, s. suryál
Set, v. i. as the sun, mulitáná
Seem, v. i. láganá (it seems)
Spring, s. jírvá
Seed, s. vijá
Swim, v. i. pohe m.
Second, a. dísero
Small, a. chuðor m. and f.
Star, s. sukum, p. sukkuk
Set, v. t. irrána
Skin, s. thol, p. tholk
Sunshine, s. adá
Stand, v. i. nitáná
Salute, v. t. sewájár k.
So, conj. áhun
Surely, ad. kharo
Send, v. t. rohitáná
Scream, v. i. kílitáná
Similar, a. lekhá
Sit, v. i. udáná
Side, s. khák
Shut, v. t. kehehi sávná
Shout, v. t. háká s.
Shade, s. dharmé
Search, v. t. parkáná
Seek, v. t. parkáná
Son-in-law, s. sanne, p. sannerk
Strike, as a tent, v. t. arutáná
Slay, v. t. joké våtáná
Self, s. tanai
Swear, v. t. kiriyá tindáná
Sheep, s. khálmányál p. -yálk
Shew, v. t. vehtáná
Sacrifice, v. t. tarhutáná
Split, v. t. pahítáná, applied to wood,
Shore, s. thari
Sand, s. waru
So many, a. iehchho
Sure, a. pakko
Simple, a. súdhó m. and f.
Sell, v. t. mománá
Sport, v. i. garsáná
Spring, s. as of a well, mongha
Sorrow, s. dukh, H.

Tie, v. t. dohtáná
Tent, s. pál, pl. pálk
Tell, v. t. samjhe k.
Throw down, v. t. våtáná
Two, a. ranj
Three, a. mung
Ten, a. pad, pl. palk
Twenty, a. visá H.
Take, v. t. yetáná
Turn, v. t. tiriláná
Turn, v. t. tirhutáná
This, dem. p., id, pl. íú, f.

er, pl. erk, m.
That, dem. pron., ad, pl. au, f.
or, pl. ork, m.

Touch, v. t. itáná
Throw away, v. t. wátsi s.
Take away, v. t. wóíána
There, ad. aggá
Top, s. chendi, the summit of hill
Tribe, s. got
Together, ad. undíkattho
Towards, prep. hikke
Thither, ad. hakke
Thence, ad. aggátál
Thus, ad. ihun
Thief, s. kalle, pl. kallerk
Thread, s. nül
Tree, s. morá
Tender, a. kauro
True, a. kharo
Truly, ad. kharo
Then, ad. aske
Teach, v. t. karutáná
Tire, v. i. doráná
Tire, v. t. dorsutáná
To-day, s. nenř
To-morrow, s. náří, ninne
Truth, s. kharopan
Tell, v. t. kenchutáná
Try, v. t. parkhe k.
Thicket, s. jhur
Town, s. nagar, p. nagark H.
Thigh, s. jángh H.
Trough, s. dôngá
Thing, s. chiz, p. cházk
Therefore, conj. ten láyáno
Themselves, rec. pron. ápus ḡ. 
apus te, among themselves áapus ḡ.
Additional Gondi Vocabulary.

V.

Vegetable, s. bháspálá
Voice, s. leng
Village, s. nár, p. nárk
Very, ad. pará
Victuals, s. tindáná undáná
Void, a. sínó
Visit, v. t. kalitáná
Vagabond, s. mulk-gírí k. v.
Veil, s. ašám
Value, s. rokar II.

W.

Walk, v. i. handáná
Weep, v. i. aráná
Wife, s. rot-tá

Who, inter. pro bor
Whose, bonhá
Whom, bon
Wealth, s. dhan-daulet
Why, ad. bári
Warn, v. t. indáná
Woman, s. ár, p. ásk
Where, ad. baggá
Whence, ad. buggátál
Whither, ad. beke
With, prep. sín
Wilderness, s. dongur
Whip, v. t. jíáná
Waterpot, s. sora
Well, ad. bes, chokhó
Wash, v. t. nuráná
Wash, v. t. sukkáná
Wish, v. t. cháhe m.
Water, s. yer
Water, v. t. to cause to drink, uhtáná

See interr. pronouns.

[person. applied to the to wash clothes.

The woman of the house.
Wanderer, s. mulk-giri k. w.  
Womb, s. potá  
Wean, v. t. onhá pál chhute k.  
Wander, v. i. bhule máteke wallitáná  
Work, s. dhandho  
Witness, s. gohái, pl. goháirk  
Wood, s. katíá  
Weigh, v. t. joko k.  
Well, s. kúa H., pl. kúaṅg  
Wonder, s. achambhá H.  
Wonder, v. i. achambhá k.  
Wearied, pp. dorsí  
Weary, to be, v. i. doráná  
Window, s. khíṛkí  
Wrangle, v. i. tarutáná

Year, s. warsá  
Yes, ad.inge  
Youth, s. raior, p. raiork  
Young, a. raior, f. raiá  
Yesterday, s. náří, ninne

Numerals.

The Gonds in this district count the length of ten in the Gondí, and then use the Hindí numerals.
The Vāstu Yāga and its bearings upon Tree and Serpent Worship in India.—By Pratāpachandra Ghoshā, B. A.

(Read 7th September, 1870.)

In the history of human progress, the feeling of fear has perhaps proved as active an agent in invention as necessity. The philosophy of fear is most interesting: originating in the want of strength, or in a feeling of want of strength, fear often, to use a paradox, concentrates, if it does not create, strength. It impels an individual to flight, sometimes with such extraordinary rapidity as to baffle all pursuit. The energy spent in avoiding a danger if concentrated and better directed, might, in many cases, lead to the overcoming of the obstacle; but as the mind shrinks within itself at the very idea of danger, it slackens the nerves for all action except flight. A man runs with the greatest velocity when impelled by fear. In the very flight he may have unconsciously overcome several difficulties, which, in sober moments, he would rather have fled from, than manfully encountered and overcome. It is contagious, because the exhibition of fear in a companion damps the hope of relief from that quarter: it makes one feel lonely, the most favourable condition for engendering fear. It advances as hope recedes, after the faith in our own strength has been shaken. It originates superstition; for when human aid fails, the mind naturally looks to the supernatural and the mysterious: mantras, charms, and sacrifices are resorted to, with a view to propitiate the imaginary evil-doers, and sacrifices are selected to suit the nature of the evil spirits.

In the earliest portraits of the Aryan race, as delineated in the Vedas, we find their ideas and their thoughts centred in their homes, their cattle, their fields, and in the discomfiture of their enemies. Their wants were few, and their prayers, therefore, were less varied; and their ceremonies were, probably, equally simple. But this simplicity bore within itself the seed of a very complex system of thought. Everything that was useful in some way or other, everything that was beautiful or awful in nature, or that excited unusual feelings, or suggested new ideas, was estranged from the ordinary and associated with the supernatural.
A new current of thought soon after set in. In the freshness of imagination during the primitive state of society, comparisons, metaphors, and allegories, were soon changed into real entities, and mythology rapidly gained ground in men's minds. Thus the Purāṇas, by a natural poetical idea, made the sun and the moon, which witness all that is done on the earth, the spies of the divine ruler—a myth describing the all-pervading nature of their rays. In the Vedas, they are regarded as the universal witnesses of all ceremonies. The Rāhu, the ascending node, is derived from the verb literally meaning to abandon, void, hence also black, darkness, shadow, &c., and is represented in mythology as having no body, the umbra of the astronomers. The umbra may be said to devour as it were the luminaries. Later mythology makes Rāhu a trunkless head, an ingenious mythological adaptation of the umbra which devours, but inasmuch as it has no body, the moon comes out from the throat. Again, poetic imagination or extreme fear, personifies qualities, and that to such an extraordinary extent, that while describing the blood-thirsty vengeance of S'akti, she is said to have, in the Chhinnamastā incarnation, cut off her own head from the trunk, and with the gaping trunkless skull gluttonously drunk her own blood which springs with the warmth of life. However hideous the conception is, it is the result of the license allowed to poets to use partial similitudes. To such flights of unshackled imagination, the variously formed sphinxes of the Chaldeans are but mere flutterers of the wings. As allegories illustrative of the concentration of force to overcome difficulties, and the adaptation of means to a purpose, the achievements of Durgā offer many interesting instances. On the occasion of vanquishing the mighty Asuras, Sumbha and Nisumbha, and their general, named Mahishásura,(the buffalo-demon) the several gods are made to direct their energy to their weapons for the purpose. The goddess Durgā, representative of this union, sprung forth with ten arms fit to crush several Asuras at one fell swoop. Kāli, another incarnation of Sakti, in the war with Raktavija, a demon multiplying his race, as his name implies, from the drops of blood flowing from his body, and touching the earth, is represented as having licked up the blood as it streamed forth from his person with a view to arrest that dreadful propagation.
Many of these myths, again, may be traced partly to oriental hyperbole and partly to the many-sided meanings of the words used in describing them: figurative expressions were seized and new myths were invented in illustration of them. Others again are illustrative of national customs; thus the protruded tongue of Káli has been the theme of several fanciful tales. With some, in the heat of the battle, Káli was so maddened, that the gods despaired of the world, and sent S'íva, her husband to appease her. S'íva crept among the dead soldiers lying on the field, and contrived to pass under the feet of Káli, who no sooner perceived her husband trampled under her feet, than she became abashed, and, in the fashion of the women of the country, bit her tongue as expressive of her regret and indelicacy.

It is amusing to follow the line of argument put forth in the Puránas in support of these myths. In some instances, they approach so near the ludicrous, that were it not for their thorough adaptability to the state of native society of the time, their fallacies would have been long ago exposed, and the whole Pauránic system spurned and despised.

S'aktí is Force. Originally a sect of Hindus worshipped force and matter as eternal. The word being in the feminine gender, its personification is a female divinity of supernatural powers, and every occupation which called for great exercise of energy and power at once selected her as tutelary goddess, and she is now the most popular of all the three and thirty millions of the Hindu pantheon. S'áktatism has since imbibed so many brutal practices of cannibalism, human sacrifice, and bacchanalian rites, that the very name of a S'ákta, inspires horror and disgust; nevertheless the unholy Tantras, which propound and explain the principles of this doctrine, and give rules for worshipping the different forms of S'akti, are increasing in number and popularity. They were, until lately, comparatively unknown beyond the frontiers of Bengal, but copies of MSS. are now demanded from every quarter of Hindustan. The Tántric system is of Bengali origin, and its rites and customs are intimately interwoven with those of the hill tribes, especially those of Nepal and Assam. Demonology is a principal feature in the S'ákta faith, and the various nocturnal ceremonies are fixed which
were much in vogue in Bengal, even as late as about fifty years ago.

Nor did fear and superstition stop with the creation of gods out of poetical objects. In men's anxiety to avail themselves of supernatural aid, they did not hesitate to borrow from foreign and otherwise hated sources.

Sattipir, Manikpir, Shāhqummā Fqīr, Shāh Furid, Ołahibī, and many other similar dii minores and saints, found their places in Hindu mythology entirely from this cause. In jungly districts and infested rivers and creeks, Kālu Rāgā and Dakshin Rāgā are as commonly worshipped as the local Pīrs and Ghāzs. It is remarkable that Kālu Rāgā and Dakshin Rāgā are represented by trunkless mitred heads. They are held to be guardians of the forest, and they ride on tigers and crocodiles. On the 30th day of the month of Pausha, these two forest demigods are worshipped, and with them earthen figures of their tigers and crocodiles. But this is limited to the southern districts of Bengal, where these ferocious animals abound. They are worshipped as Kṣetrapālas or field gods, and are said to have originated from the heads of Brahmā, the creator, cut off by Śiva. To them sacrifices of goats and ducks are offered, perhaps more to appease the tigers and the crocodiles than the gods themselves.

That the same principle of appeasing the unmanageable and the dreadful is the basis of serpent worship, is easy to demonstrate. The serpent goddess is worshipped in the *Euphorbia antiquorum*. The goddess mother of the serpents, and goddess presiding over them, is Manasā, the object of love and devotion, and, as the name implies, an allegorical creation. Indeed, tree and serpent worship may be said to have originated partly, if not entirely, in the imagination of the people, and in figures of speech. The chief of the serpents is *Rī, eternity, literally endless, of which the universally acknowledged symbol is a coiled snake. Though represented as the support of Vishṇu, while floating on the fathomless sea of chaos before creation, (God in eternity), he is, in the Puranas, described as having the form of Vishṇu, meaning, perhaps, the eternity of Vishṇu. Thus the Puranas describe him as
“A thousand-hooded, four-armed &c.”*

In Puránic mythology, he is the bed on which Náráyana is said to have rested before creation, and will rest after the creation is destroyed.

* फनशवसुम्या चतुर्विंशं विरोहितम्।
* नवाद्वयवाचाराः पिन्धशवुश्ताचरम्।
* पीताम्बराः रेवं शुकुराचारदारं।
* कारणे दृशिणं पद्मं गद्यं तस्वयमध्यं करे।
* दधानं सर्वंस्वकृष्टं सर्वास्मातः मूर्त्तिम्।

Here Ananta, (eternity) in the form of a serpent is described as doing menial work and waving a fan. But elsewhere he is said to be an incarnation of Vishnu.

The myth of the Atlas serpent named S'esha (the end) is acknowledged to be allegorical. Thus the Kurma Purána.

It is the Hindu form of chaos. The figure in it was, as usual, soon forgotten, and the frequent earthquakes that visited parts of India were accounted for by a slight extension of the idea contained in the myth. The प्रेष, the serpent of eternity, has a thousand hoods, and upon one of them he holds the earth. At times he relieves himself by changing the load from one to another hood, and the motion caused by his replacement of the load is said to be the cause of earthquakes.

Vishnu is repeatedly brought in contact with the serpent. As the presiding god of the sun, in fact the sun himself (sun = Vish-
νu = Hari) he is an enemy of Rāhu, whose stellar form is that of a serpent, and who, as a demon, was cut into two by Vishnu’s discus on the occasion of the distribution of nectar churned from the ocean of life, *alias* light, the sweets of knowledge to the gods. Rāhu (to be abandoned) is, as we have said before, also black, darkness, or ignorance. According to the *Graha Yajna Tantra*, an astrological work of great importance amongst the Hindus, the presiding god of Rāhu is *Kāla* (Death = Time), and the subordinate god (*प्रत्याधिक्षरता*) is a serpent:—an idea which reminds us of the tree of knowledge and the serpent in the Mosaic legend. Rāhu is the lord of bones, and it presides over the southwest quarter of the globe, (*निर्मिति*) over misfortunes and calamities. Rāhubhedi, the destroyer, or literally the dissector, of Rāhu, darkness, is Vishnu, alias Surya (the Sun), who has also the name of Rāhuḥā, the killer of Rāhu. Its mythical origin is distinctly acknowledged in astronomical works, in one of which we find:—

चच्चुत्तु दर्शणं राजस वेणज्ञयमेवसुचिते।

"When the Rāhu is perceptible by the eyes, it is called an eclipse."

In the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, Krishna, or Vishnu incarnate, in one of his miracles, is devoured by a great ophidian demon, in whose stomach he plays several tricks, and at last, getting out of it, exhibits the whole universe dancing on the tongue of the serpent (eternity), whom he afterwards overcomes (as creator). He is also described as breaking the several heads of Kāliya, a Nāga king of Romanak country, whom Krishna would have completely destroyed, had not some of his wives, who were Nāga women, interfered. Garuda, the bird-god, is the vehicle of Vishnu, and though a step-brother to the Nāgas, is their deadly enemy.

In the Mahābhārata, Parikshita, grandson of the Pāṇḍavas, is described to have defiled the body of a sage while in his meditation with a dead snake, whereupon the Muni’s son cursed him. To carry out this malediction, *Tukshaka*, commonly identified with the Gecko that makes a “*tak tak*” noise, and sometimes with the dragon-lizard, one of the great serpents, visited Parikshita, attired as a Brāhman, and made the usual salutation, and blessed the king by offering him a small plum. No sooner held the king the
proffered fruit to his nose, than a snake, the takshaka serpent, issued forth from it and stung him. The Rájá fell a victim to the virulent venom of the snake. Janmejaya, his son, with a view to avenge the death of his father, instituted a Yajna, entitled sarpa-satra, the snake-sacrifice. The priests with their mantras poured purified ghí into the blazing altar, and snakes from all parts of the world, coming in millions, fell senseless into it, and were soon consumed. The sacrifice went on till Takshaka's turn came, and when the unswerving priest offered his āhūti (oblation of ghí) with a powerful mantra to Agni invoking Takshaka, the great serpent felt deeply the irresistible influence of the sacrificial fire. Yet unwilling to yield to it, and trembling at his approaching doom, he fled to the court of Indra. But the mantras of the sacred munis were even more potent than the lord of the immortals, and Takshaka was wrenched from his hiding-place. He hovered over the blazing flame, and was about to fall into it, when Āstika, the offspring of the intermarriage between an Aryan and a Naga woman, a nephew of Vásuki, the serpent king, interfered. He begged of Janmejaya to put a stop to the sacrifice, and thereby saved the serpent race. Both these stories, however, appear more like poetical versions of border warfare with antagonistic races, than pure myths.

These stories regarding the Nágas and serpents are obviously mythical, and may be explained away by unravelling the allegories upon which they are based. In none does the true reptile, the snake, make its appearance. Nor is this remarkable, for the authors of Sástras have carefully separated the Nágas and Sarpas, the ophidian race from true snakes. The Nágas are a class of demigods, some of whom at will assume the forms of men, but generally have the lower extremities of their body ending in a snake's tail, while above the waist they are shaped like gods and men. In some cases, however, their heads are backed by hoods of serpents. But this form of the Nága, though frequently found in sculptured stones, appears to be a later representation. Everywhere in the Puráṇas, the Nágas speak like men, and have bodies like them. The Sarpas on the other hand are a family of reptiles not at all connected with the Nágas, and are in no Puráṇa found to speak or act like men. Nor are they ever worshipped by the Brahmans, though a later
Upapurâna, one of those interpolations, which has mixed the real with the unreal, and has complicated our meagre historical data, describes them as descendants of Nâgas, much degenerated and enfeebled.

In the whole cyclopaedia of Hindu sacrifices and ceremonies, no sacrifice connected with Nâgas or Sarpas, is more frequently practised and with greater eclat than the Vâstu Yâga. It is, indeed, considered a Vaidic rite, and without it no house, temple, or tank is fit for divine or human use. It is a ceremony that every Hindu has to perform, and without it none can inhabit a new house. Vâstu is partly a Vaidic god. He is the tutelar deity of the house, and is regarded by the Hindu with a peculiar veneration; for the homestead has a sanctity in his eyes which is not met with in other countries. To have the privilege of dwelling in the house of his forefathers is an object of pride with him, and the greatest misfortune that can happen to a Hindu is the loss of his domicile. Few things appear more dreadful than when an incensed brâhman pronounces the awful curse "Let doves take possession of your Vastu" (domicile), and an enemy vows vengeance by threatening to sow sesamum in the Vâstu bhita, or the site of the homestead, that is to say, to reduce the homestead to a field under the plough. Each Vâstu, or domicile, is believed to have a representative snake, called the Vâstu-Sarpa, which is regarded with great awe. If the Vâstu-Sarpa is seen to abandon a house, it is an unlucky omen, and the perpetuity of the house, the continuity of the race or family, is believed to be endangered.

The Vâstu Yâga ceremony is performed in the manner described below.

Vâstu Yâga.—On the morning of the day previously fixed for entering a new house, the owner performs the usual morning prayers and ablutions, and having thus purified himself, he presents pieces of gold to brâhmans according to his means. A water-pot is filled with water, and on it are placed fruits, flowers, and mango leaves. It is decorated by Brâhmans with curd and rice, under the usual mantras. The owner then touches respectfully the tail of a cow, crowns his head with garlands, anoints his person with sandal-wood paste, and places his lawful wife on his
left bearing a ghaṭa on her loins and a kula with grains on her head. Thus prepared, he enters his new house. The water-pot mentioned above, is carried by a Brahman, who leads the procession.

The Abhyudayika Sraddha and the pujā of the sixteen Mātrikās with the ganadhīpas is performed at a separate place.

In the new house, the owner, having made the dchamana, commences the Vāstu Yāga.

It is begun with formally making a resolution (Sankalpa) to complete the rite, and for this purpose the Raddhati says:—‘Let him sit on an Asana (carpet) or a mat of kusa grass with his face towards the east, and let him pronounce “om tat sat” “om, to-day in the month of (here mention the lunar month), in the (here mention the bright or the dark fortnight,) on (here mention the number tithi or lunar day), I, of (here mention the family) family or gotra (here mention the name) with a view to avoid the defects and evils of this human habitation, perform the Vāstu Yāga.”

The Sankalpa hymn is then to be repeated. Let him next worship Viṣṇu and the nine planets, and let him next let drop the Vasudhārās, of melted butter, against a wall so as to run in a given number of lines. The Ayushmya hymn is next repeated.’

The appointment of priests (Varana):—‘The Brāhmans, previously selected for the performance of the sacrifices and ceremonies, have to be seated on carpets with their faces towards the north. The Yajamāna is to propitiate them with sandal paste. Let him then pronounce “Om. I am blessed. Om. On the occasion of this Vāstu Yāga (enjoined by holy writ) do you, the respected three, pronounce ‘Om Svasti’ om, blessed be the act.”

The three priests respond “Om Svasti.”

The Yajamāna: “Om, on the occasion of this Vāstu Yāga ceremony, do you three pronounce om riddhim (om prosperity).

The priests respond “om, may you prosper.”

Let rice be scattered around by the Brāhmans present with the mantras which commence with “Om, Svasti no Indra viḍḍhasrava, Svasti no Pusha visvaveda, Svasti, &c.” “Om, may Indra, propagator of ceremonies, bless us; may Pushá, &c.” Then let the hymn “Om Suryah homo yamah kīlah, &c. “In the presence of the sun, the moon, death, time, twilight, bhutas (spirits), day, night, wind,
dikpati (gods of the ten cardinal points), earth, sky, inhabitants of the firmament (kashara), and gods, as Bráhma witnesses, I promise.”

The Bráhma or chief priest should be appointed first.

Let the Yajamána, seated as before with joined palms, address the Bráhma, “Om, you are Sadhu (gentle,) be seated.

Let the Bráhma, reply “Om! verily I am sadhu.”

Yajamána :—Om, I will propitiate you.

Brahma :—Om, do propitiate.

Let the Yajamána then offer sandal wood paste, flowers, cloth, and ornaments to the Bráhma, and let him next touch his right thigh and say, “Om, this day (as mentioned before) in my promised Vástu Yága ceremony, I do hereby appoint you (state the name of the Bráhma) of — family, of — pravara, worshipped with sandal wood &c., to perform the duties of a Bráhma.

Brahma :—“Om! I am appointed.”

Yajamána :—Om! perform the duties of a Bráhma as directed (in the Sástras).

Brahma :—“Om, according to my knowledge I shall.”

Should the Yajamána be not qualified to perform himself the homa, let him appoint a Brahman as a hotá, in the same way as the Bráhma is appointed. Then let the Achárya, Tantradháraka, and Sadasya be appointed in order.

The sacrificial altar, Vedi, should be eight cubits long, and eight cubits broad, and one cubit high. It should be purified by sprinkling successively the urine of the cow with the Gáyatrí mantra, cow-dung with the mantra which commences, “Om Gandhadvaram durodharshyam, &c.,” cow’s milk with that which commences “om Apyayasva, &c.,” curds with that which begins with “om dadhi křávno, &c.,” and lastly, ghi (clarified butter) with om tejosi, &c., kusa grass and water should be sprinkled with “om deva satva &c.” Then, let autumnal paddy, winter paddy, muga, wheat, mustard, sesamum, and barley be mixed with water and scattered on the Vedi.

The Vástu mandala is a square diagram of mystic import. It is thus described in Vástu Proyogu :—“Commencing from the north-eastern corner of it, at the four corners four sticks of khadira, Mimosá catechu,
each 12 fingers long are to be nailed down with the following mantra: om Sisantu te talé nágá, &c., "om, O you serpents, fast runners, protectors of all animals, enter under this Vedi, and stay in this house, continually bestowing on me long life and strength." By the sides of these sticks, with the following mantra, make offerings of mása "om Agníbhīyo pyātha sarpebhyo. ‘Om to the Agnis, to the serpents, and to those others who are dependent on them, I offer this pure and excellent food.'

Join the four pegs with strings each four cubits long and with these as sides describe a square. Divide this square into 64 smaller equal squares, and with fine coloured powders fill them in the manner described."

Here follow directions for filling up the squares, and the names of 45 nágas or serpents presiding over particular single squares or groups of them.

Having invoked forty-five nágas or pitris on the squares, place by the side of the four pegs, four water-pots decorated with cloth, garlands, &c. On the south-eastern corner close by the water-pot invoke Viḍārī on a black square. On the middle of the eastern side of the square, without it, invoke Skandha on a yellow square. On the southern Aryamana, red. On southwest near the water-pot Putaná, black. On the west Jambhaka, black; on north-west, Pápa-rákshasi black, on the north Píli-pínja, black; on the north-east near the water-pot Charaki, black.

The sacrifice.—On the ghata (water-pot) beyond the squares invoke the nine Grahas (holders-planets) and worship them one after the other. Commencing from the east towards the four sides distribute mása with the following mantras "om bhútáni rákshasávápi, &c., om bhútás (spirits,) or rákshasás (demons) whosoever dwell here may they all receive again this offering as I do my dwelling house."

Then with rice and flowers invoke Is'á; "om! Is'á, come hither. This pádyá is given to Is'á, Om! This food is offered to Is'á, Om! These three handfuls of flowers are offered to Is'á."

Similarly let the following be invoked and worshipped in the several squares in order:—Páryanya, Jayanta, Sakra, Bháskara, Satya, Bhṛṣya, Vyoma, Hútása, Pushtá, Vitatha, Grhakshata, Vaivásvata, or Yama, Gandharva, Bṛngu, Mṛya, Pitṛs, Daunvarika, Su-
The Vástu Yága.

In the square for Brahman, Vasudeva is to be invoked and worshipped with sixteen upachíras, or articles of worship. There also Lakshmi and Vasudevaganas, are to be worshipped. In the same square with the same kinds of offerings Dhará (earth) is likewise to be worshipped with the following. Om sarvaloka dharam, &c. "Om, supporter of all creation, female figured, well ornamented, be propitiated." In the four squares of Brahman is to be scattered rice, and thereon a new strong water-pot filled with water is to be placed, and into it gold and silver pieces and Sarpoushadi are to be dropped, and the whole covered with a Vardhañi. In this water-pot, the four-headed deity, Brahman, should be invoked and worshipped with sixteen kinds of offerings, upachíras. Towards the north-eastern corner of this water-pot, another pot full of pure water into which have been put the five ratnas (jewels) and gold and silver pieces is to be placed and, tying round its neck a pair of new clothes, a garland, twigs of Asvatha, (the religious fig) vata (the banian), mango, plaksha (the vulgar fig) and Udumbara (the sacrificial fig) trees. Placing upon these a dish filled with barley, the priest should recite the mantra "Ajighra Kalasam, &c." also the invocation, Varuna, the water-god, om Varunasyothambhanamas'ı &c.

Then follows the invocation of the holy places "om Gangádyá Saritah, &c." Om, all the rivers beginning with Ganga, oceans and seas, all rivers, all oceans, all seas and all lakes, destroyers of ill-luck of Yajamána, come hither." Then are to be dropped into the water-pot various kinds of earth, such as earth from stables, from where elephants live, from ant-hills, from the confluence of rivers, from the banks of a lake, from the fields where cattle graze, and from the ruts of chariot-wheels, also water from sacred places, and sarvoushadi and durvá grass.

On the west of this water-pot, according to the rules of his own Grihyasutra, let the owner or his representative Hotá establish the
fire (sacrificial) and repeat Virupáksa hymn and make Kushandiká.

Having finished the Kushandiká, Agni under the name of Prajápati, should be worshipped according to the rules of Aditya Purána “Om pingabhrú, &c.” “Om! brown-browed, brown-bearded, brown-haired and brown-eyed, high-featured, red-stomached, seated on a goat, seed-wreathed Agni, you are powerful.” Then are to be offered one hundred and eight oblations or áhutis to Brahma with a mixture of honey, ghi, sesamum, and barley. And next, ten offerings should be made to each of the worshipped gods.

The Viścapanchaka homa, or five offerings, with the leaves of the tree Marmeloséglops has then to be performed. The five hymns for the purpose have Visvámitra for their rishi; they are in Jagati metre, their god is Vástu, their use lies in the propitiation of Vástu. “Om Vastosphté prati, &c.”

Then with ghi alone, “Om Agnaye, &c. sváhá. Om to Agni, the originator and supporter of Sacrifices, this is given to Agni.” After the principal sacrifice and the Mahávyáhrti homa are over, the itushní samit has to be offered without any mantras. Then follow the práyaschitta homa, the chanting of the Vámadéva hymn, and taking a handful of curd, repeat the following, “Om Yajnam Gachchha, &c.” Om, the sacrifice be ended, &c. Finally the fire is to be extinguished with curd.

This is to be followed by offering to the Vástu gods rice boiled with milk with the mantra ‘esha páyasá vali om Isáya namah,’ and so on. “This offering of milk and rice to Is’a, and so on, to other Vástu gods.”

Then uttering Svasti perform Sántí.

Om in the Sánti work, om, do you three pronounce, “I am blessed.” The following are the directions for the performance of the ceremony of Sánti.

Let the priest sprinkle on the Yajamána, seated with his sons and family facing east, water from the Sánti-ghata with the mantra, “Om, Surástvámabhi sincchantu, &c. Om, may the gods purify you with water; may Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara, Vasudeva, Jagannátha as well as Sankarshana purify you. May Pradyumma and Aniruddha give you victory. May Akhandala, Agni, Yama,
Nairta and Varuna Pavan Cuvera and Siva and Sesha with brahmans and dikpálas ever purify you. May all the assembled gods bless you with reputation and fame, wealth, memory, reasoning, health, veneration and mercy, ingenuity, modesty, bodily comfort, quietude, and loveliness. May the planets, the sun, the moon, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, all the planets, together with Ráhu and Ketu propitiated, purify you. May devas, danavas, gándharvas, yakshas, rákshas, serpents, rishis, munis, cows, devamátás also deva-patnis, adhvraas, snakes, daityas and apsaras, weapons, all S’astras, rajas and carriers and medicines, jewels and the degrees of time, lakes, seas, mountains, holy places, clouds, rivers, prepare you towards the attainment of piety, desires and wealth! Om, Svasti.”

The Vástu yága, described above, is evidently a sacrifice invented by the ancient Aryan conquerors with a view to propitiate the aborigines or primeval owners of the land. Such a practice is not uncommon in Hindu theosophy. Everything that has a place in a ceremony, is worshipped or propitiated. The earth is pacified before lighting up a sacrificial fire, and is appeased after the hóma is over. The tree from which faggots are collected is worshipped, and is propitiated by mantras. The sacrificial goat even is first addressed with a proper prayer to the effect “that beasts were created by Brahmá for sacrifice, and killing in a Yajna is therefore no killing (नक्सात् यथे वधायते.).” Again, “Indra, Soma, and other gods, for the sake of sacrifice became beasts and so forth.” Indeed, without a preliminary archaní (worship), no offering is deemed fit for presentation and no god is prepared to receive any without it. The Vétálas and Pisáchas (the gods of the aborigines) are first propitiated, they have the precedence in all ceremonies. In days of yore, such ceremonies were very frequently interrupted by the dasyus and daityas, and the holy sages who celebrated them, were often obliged to ask for assistance from princes and warriors for protecting them against such depredations. In the Rámayana, Visvámitra carries with him young Rámachandra and Lakshmana to protect his sacrifice. In the performance of a srúddáha, the first offering is made to the Bhusvámi, the lord of the soil, and the Smírtis teach us that it is not lawful to perform any ceremony on another man’s soil without satisfying
his claims, and though rajas and owners of their own houses perform the sraddha on their own land, they have still to make offerings to Vastu Purusha, which we fancy represents the aboriginal owners of the country. The modern expounders it is true identify the Vastu Purusha and the Bhusvami with Vishnu, but as a separate plate is always offered along with it to Vishnu, neither Bhusvami nor Vastu Purusha can mean anything else, but what it literally says, unless it be a typical offering to the sovereign of the country.

In the Vastu Yaga, one of the oldest ceremonies of the Aryans, Vastu is the principal god, and though the aborigines themselves are not worshipped by name, the Nagas is no doubt the ostensible object of worship. The several gods, properly pitrs, (ancestors,) manes, former owners, that occupy the several mandalas, are also the names of Nagas. The Vastu is the god Earth, quite distinct from Dhara, the mother-earth (terra), and in the prayer he is represented as the supporter of the world.

All the gods are pervaded by Vastu, Vastu pervades the creation; he is the supporter of the earth. Salutation be unto you, O Vastudeva!

It is remarkable that nowhere in the Puranic or Tantric cosmogony, is Vastu named as distinct from Sesha, or the primal snake (नननादुको, eternity).

The supporter of the universe is air, above which is the atlas-tortoise (colosschelys atlas?) upon which rests the Sesha, and upon it the earth.

The Vastu Yaga therefore, appears to be a memorial of the foundation of the new Aryan home and of the Nagas, a race of powerful aborigines of India. Their name is connected with the several vegetable products of the soil, which the first Aryan settlers soon found to be useful and worthy of preservation. Thus—

Nagapasa, or the lasso, a weapon of the Nagas; Nagavandhu the religious fig tree (Ficus religiosa), the friendly shelter of the Nagas; Nagarenu, Nagaja, and Naga Sambhava for vermilion, litharge, and garna, all probably first mined by the Nagas; Naga pushpika, the golden Jasmine (Jasminum fruticans); Naga Kesara, the Mesua ferrea flower;
Nāga pushpa, Calophyllum inophyllum, Nāga Valli, the betel-leaf plant (Piper betle), Nāgaphala (Trichosanthes dioica). Words bearing ample evidence not only of the Nāga origin of the things they indicate, but of the Nāga influence on the Aryan settlers. The word Nāga is also used for an elephant, for lead, and for tin. Even as the word Uzbak was a term of abuse with the Mogul emperors of Delhi, so was Nāgabit among the Aryan, meaning the veriest rascal.

In the Vāstu Yāga for consecrating a tank, a long pole is sunk in the centre of the new excavation, and this pole in Sanscrit is Nāga yashti, or the Nāga pole. In course of the ceremony, several Nāgas presiding over the several quarters of the maṇḍalas, are worshipped, and though in later times, the practice of throwing golden images of serpents, frogs, and tortoises, in a freshly excavated tank is observed, the Nāga yashti cannot be said to have any connection with reptiles or snakes. The application of the term Nāga to the reptile class, is probably due to the fact of the aborigines living in a wild jungly country, infested by snakes, having been snake-charmers, and great adepts in handling and killing such reptiles; a figure of metonomy, confounding the Nāga aborigines with the Nāga serpents.

Ananta is worshipped on certain days of the year, and if Ananta were a reptile and not an allegorical myth of eternity and the creator, we should have had all over India, idols of serpents like those of other gods. In no place, however, have we observed an idol of a serpent, made and worshipped, unless as an appendix to idols of some other more important gods, though Manasā and Nagas are common in our ceremonies. Ananta chaturdasi is a common ceremony. It is performed for fourteen years, and after the completion of the period, the devotee ties round his right arm a cotton string made of fourteen threads having fourteen knots. The ceremony is specially serpentine in its name and forms of worship, but nowhere does the actual reptile appear. Ananta is worshipped as Vishnu, and the cord round the arm, promises perpetual enjoyment of heavenly bliss.

Nāga panchami is an auspicious day for the worship of the Nagas. On the occasion, Manasa is worshipped in the Euphorbia plant. This is an instance of tree-worship connected with serpents. It may
properly be called a case of reptile worship. But though the Hindu propitiates Manasa with a view to be saved from snake-bites during the next twelve months, on no account whatever does he worship idols of snakes. Here it may be noted that Ananta is classed among the great snakes. The Sastra runs thus—

After Vishnu has gone to sleep on the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight, let the goddess Manasa abiding in the milky-juice tree be worshipped. After Vishnu has retired, and all the other gods on the fifth wane the Pannagi (she-serpent) awakes. One who worships the Devi and makes obeisance to her, and on the fifth day makes offerings to the Nagas, commencing with Ananta, one of the great serpents, has never to fear from snakes. Devi Purâna.

The several Nágas mentioned to be worshipped are: Ananta, Vásuki, Padma, S’ankha, Kamvala, Karkotaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Sankhaka, Kāliya, Takshaka, &c.*

Of these the first eight serpents serve for the consecration of a tank. Their names are inscribed on mango leaves, and these are put

* Anantás vāsūkini pārṇī sāhan karmañcchita ch.

Tathā kośartha nāmā dhaturaśuḥ śāhu.

Kālīyām tathāśrāvāปितāṃ śaiva maṃśaśaś ch.

Yogasāpāhāti nāgamā dṛṣṭānāś dīvām bhṛto.

Gaṇapāraṇāh.

Shēy: pārṇā sāchāprśa: kūntār: bhāpālakā: |

vāsūkiniḥ chaśrayāṃ kālīyaśa śāhām vahā: |

Ērāvāna dhaturaśuḥ kośarathāuśbhavā: |

Yohāṃ cātamaṇḍapāṃ śrāfāye khācharavā: |

Pūyaśrāyaśābhāśuḥ tathā saivābhāśaḥ vahā: |

Sahāpāraṇāh.

Anantās vāsūkini: pārṇā sāchāprśa: tathā |

Kūntār: kośa: bhāpā śāhā nāma: prakāśita: |
in a pot full of water. A boy is made to draw one out, and the name that is drawn out first becomes the presiding deity of the tank. In other words, the Nāga aborigines being propitiated are entrusted with the protection of the tank. The protecting Nāga is then to be well fed.*

This was no doubt an ingenious method of meeting the difficulty, when several Nagas presented themselves as candidates for the guardianship.

The Naga-yashti or the Naga flag-post, or the rod as it were of the guardian Nāga, is to be made of one of the following trees common in the Nāga hills. A piece straight and free from crooked knots is preferred.

\[ वेणक वारणक्षेत्र पुद्यांग नामकेशरं। \]
\[ चुलुकेशस्य निम्बाद्वायुः खादिरं। \]

The trees recommended are: Bamboo, Varuna, the Punnaga, Messua ferrea, Mimusops elenchi, Azaddirachta indica, and Acacia catechu.

The Nāga, it appears, has to plant the post on the banks of the tank, so that no other Nāga may come and interfere. The Nāga yashti, or Puhī kāthā, is now made upwards of 30 feet long, and is driven into the ground at the geometrical centre of the tank. But such practices, denoting a forgetfulness of the original motives, are not at all rare among the Hindus.

The Das'ahurā is a festival in honour of the monsoons and the first freshes in the river. It is, according to Hindu mythology, the anniversary of the day when Bhagiratha, an ancestor of Rāma-

\[ * \text{नागानामस्मात्मानिन विकिषितानि दशक दशकः।} \]
\[ ततः कुष्णे च विंशतिः गायत्रि च विशदाद्वै॥ \]
\[ उष्णेऽपि पवित्रायां तत्वेऽव नामकयते। \]
\[ यथा नामाज्यस्तव स्वेते ज्वालायं: सुन्तः॥ \]
\[ तव समुच्च्व गम्भरे दुधात्र चोरस्य पायसः। \]
\[ कपिलः। \]

Having inscribed the names of the eight Nagas on separate leaves, drop them into a pot filled with water, and raffle them with the Gāyatrī mantra. On taking out one leaf, the name of the (presiding) Naga appears. The Naga whose name is taken out by the boy, is the guardian of the tank. Worship the said Naga with Chandana, &c., and give him milk and rice boiled in milk.
chandra, brought down the river Ganges from the heavens. On the same day, the goddess Manasá is also worshipped in the *Euphorbia* plant; and bits of green lime, *uchchhe* (*Momordica charantia*), and jack fruit are swallowed as safeguards against the venom of snakes. Another mythical specific for the same is a compound of lentils and *nim* (*Azadirachta indica*) leaves.*

A remarkable myth connected with the Nágas, is the bestowal of the art of music by *Sarasvatí* upon *Kamvala* and *Asevata* nágas mentioned in the *MárkaNDeya Puráña.*†

This implies a toleration of the aborigines quite inconsistent with the feeling of hatred, disgust and animosity which prevailed amongst the first Aryan settlers, and which is so pointedly displayed in the Rig-Veda, and can only be accounted for on the supposition that in course of time the two races were reconciled and came to a compromise. The Aryans remained engaged in intellectual occupations and religious worship, while such works as tilling the soil, tending the cattle, dancing, singing, and playing on the lute, &c., were left to the more intelligent of the aborigines. And though the invention of a

* सन्तुं निम्ब्यान्फान्त्व चानिक्षिप्तमार्त्यां रवि।

अपि रोयानिविस्माय तिबा: किं कारिथि।

हथविन्नांशः।

He who eats lentils with Nim leaves when the sun enters Aries, what can even the enraged Takshaka do to him?

† ज्ञायंति सत्यमादेश्च हुज्जानपदर्थ तथा।

चतुर्विंद्रं पदं तात्लं विंज्ञानार्थ लघु चर्यं।

ययं एक तथा लघुं सया द्वियं चतुर्विंद्रं।

एतद्वव्यामान्तमात्सात्स विप्रं नद्यांपरछ वात्स।

अस्यान्तमान्तमात्सात्स शरस्यन्योयं ग्रन्थं।

सत्यमादेश्च हुज्जानपदर्थ तथा।

तद्न्यं च सया द्वियं च भवतं कामलस्य च।

यथा नान्यं स्ूलोके पावलं वापि यद्गम।

माकंडेयपुराण।

Through my favour you, noble chief of serpents, (bhujagendrapara) shall learn the four kinds of feet, the three kinds of measures of time, the three harmonies, the pause, as also, &c., &c., given by me, from my favour, you noble chief of serpents, shall also learn in connexion with these, the distinction between vowels and consonants. All these have been imparted by me to you and to Kamvala, in a manner, the like of which none had before either on earth or in the lower region.
The Vástu Yága.

[No. 3,]

The name of a good man is always considered a good omen, and one of the morning duties of the Hindus is to pronounce the names of the most eminent of their historical personages. Among these we find the name of Karkotaka, one of the principal Nágas. It may be said that the name of a Nága is enjoined to be uttered with a view to propitiate him; yet when it is associated with such names as Nala and Damayánti, the inference is inevitable that the person named was held in great estimation for some merit or other; possibly it was the name of a person who had acted in a friendly manner to the Aryans.

Having bowed to the earth, let Karkotaka be remembered.

If the above be at all ambiguous as to the use of the name of this Nága, the following from the Mahábhárata is at once positive and conclusive.

The uttering of the names of Karkotaka Nága, of Damayánti, of Nala, and of Rítaparña, the hermit Prince, destroys all sin.

From what we have stated above, we are led to believe, that serpent-worship in the true sense of a creature worship, was never prevalent in India, though the Hindus entertain a kind of respect for the allegorical characters Anánta and Vásuki. This worship may in the present day be seen practised under peculiar circumstances by several hill tribes, but it must be admitted that such a practice does not obtain among the Aryans. The serpent, as an emblem of eternity, may be respected; but then it is the worship of Vishnu, the eternal creating principle, it is the emblem, the form, rather the curve of the serpent and not the reptile. Serpents have crept into our mythological legends; but in whatever form they come, they were openly put down as enemies of Vishnu. The cow
as the giver of milk from which ghi is made, is respected and tended with care, not because she is the true goddess Bhagavati (goddess of prosperity), but because she confers so many benefits on the Hindus. In the month of Vaisákha, the hottest month in the year, the cow is worshipped every morning, if we may so call the practice of careful tending. The matron of the house fans the cow, anoints her hoofs and horns with oil and turmeric, gives her tender heads of grass and fruits and vegetables. With a napkin her hoofs are cleaned. Some have gone so far as to raise the dust of the hoof to their own heads.

If figures of Nagas occur in sculptured stones, they are sometimes mere ornaments, serving the purpose of a twisted cord, a cornice, or a frieze, or forming when hooded the best fanciful supports of thick architraves or bases of pillars, more beautiful perhaps than horses, lions, and elephants, subjects equally common, but of more difficult execution. In nature, what can be deserving of greater admiration than the graceful undulations, curves, and attitudes of a hooded snake standing erect when enraged. If serpents at one or two places appear as receivers of homage and respect, they are then invariably represented with human faces, and as such, they are nothing but allegorical representations of the aborigines, whose nether parts were coils of snakes—

“The one seem’d woman to the waist, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast; a serpent arm’d with mortal sting.”

Or they are mere fanciful figures, as the dragons, &c., of mediæval Christianity. Their occurrence in architectural ornamentation does not lead us to a belief that they were ever objects worshipped; they are what Caryatides were to Greek architecture.

Crocodiles, frogs, monkeys, parrots, and various other birds and animals occur in the architectural remains of India, and with the ludicrous scenes describing the pranks of these animals and birds occur several scenes in which these are represented as adored. Nevertheless no Hindu ever worships a crocodile or a frog. The hanumán, a monkey with black face and hands, is an object of worship in the North-Western Provinces; but this monkey represents the Mahávira (the great hero), the allegorical personifi-
cation of brutal force. In vulgar superstition the mouse is the carrier of Ganes'a, the peacock of Kártika, the owl of Lakshmi, and so on, but the Hindu has never been seen to worship any of these as animals, though they are respected on account of their deities. Again, if a Nága appear in a dream, the person is said to be soon blessed with numerous children, a myth apparently connected with the aborigines of the soil, and their influence is still to be seen in the surname of a family of the lower order of Káyasthas of Bengal. It is remarkable also that this Naga family has Vasúki for its gotra.

It is interesting to note how advantage has been taken of the spectacle mark on the hood of the coluber naja (the Cobra de Capello) and the myth about the foot mark of Krishna interwoven with it.

Káliya, a Nága prince of Romanaka, used to live in a tank in Vrindávana, and Krishna on one occasion broke its several heads, and would have destroyed him altogether when his two wives interfered. The Nága was let loose and was ordered to return to his country. But as he was afraid of Garuđa, the carrier eagle of Vishnu, he prayed that he might be saved from the attacks of the bird. Krishna then assured him that he and his tribes bearing Krishna's foot-mark should be exempted from the attacks of Garuđa.*

Of tree worship, if worship it is to be called, as it amounts to little more than a recognition of benefits received, many instances may be quoted in addition to what has been adduced by Mr. Ferguson. In a country like India, anything that offers a cool shelter from the burning rays of the sun, is regarded with a feeling of grateful respect. The wide-spreading banyan tree is planted and nursed with care, only because it offers a shelter to many a weary traveller. Extreme usefulness of the thing is the only motive perceivable, in the careful rearing of other trees. They are protected by religious injunctions, and the planting of them is encouraged by promises of eternal bliss in the future world. The injunction

* सत्यादिप्रभुविनी करारि दुष्टनांश। द्विगुरु त्रिसङ्गम्यायायभविता तस्मि किष्टिधः॥
against injuring a banyan or a fig tree is so strict, that in the Ramayana even Rāvana, an unbeliever, is made to say, “I have not cut down any fig-tree in the month of Vaisakha, why then does the calamity (alluding to the several defeats his army sustained in the war with Rāmachandra and to the loss of his sons and brother) befall me?”

The medicinal properties of many plants soon attracted notice, and were cultivated with much care. With the illiterate, the medicinal virtues of a drug are increased with its scarcity; and to enhance its value, it was soon associated with difficulties, and to keep it secret from public knowledge, it was culled in the dark and witching hours of night.

Trees have frequently been identified with gods: thus in the Padma Purāṇa, the religious fig-tree is an incarnation of Vishnu, the Indian fig-tree (F. indica) of Rudra, and the Palāsa (Butea frondosa, Roxb.) of Brahma.*

In the Varāha Purāṇa, the planter of a group of trees of a particular species is promised heavenly bliss, and it is needless to point out that from the names of the trees recommended, the extreme utility of the act must be acknowledged. Thus it is said, “he never goes to hell who plants an asvatha, or a pichumarda, or a banian, or ten jessamines, or two pomegranates, a panchamīra, or five mangoes.†

The Tithitatva gives a slightly different list, substituting two champakas, three kes‘ara, seven tāla-palms, and nine coconuts, instead of the banian, the jessamines, the pomegranates, and the panchamīra.‡

* अन्यायस्यं भगवान् लिंगिकम् दिशारेव्य न भंगः।
   पुरवे रुपवतितन्त्रेयाः श्रीरूपवादक्।
   पद्मपुराणम्।–उत्तरकृतेऽ।
† अन्यायस्यं पिचुस्मेव नूषाधिज्ञं दशपुष्पजाती।
   देवो न दशा दार्शिस्मात्मायं गुहासवायो नरकं न यातिः।
   वराहपुराणम्।
‡ अन्याय एकं पिचुसदेव एको देवो चय्यका चीणो च केशराणि।
   सम्भवं नाला नं नारिकेलाः। गुहासवायो नरकं न यातिः।
   निच्छिन्तचम्।
As early as the Rámáyana, the planting of a group of trees was held meritorious. The celebrated Panchavati garden where Sítí was imprisoned, has been reproduced by many a religious Hindu, and should any of them not have sufficient space to cultivate the five trees, the custom is to plant them in a small pot where they are dwarfed into small shrubs. Such substitutes and make-shifts are not at all uncommon in the ecclesiastical history of India. In Buddhist India, millions of miniature stone and clay temples, some of them not higher than two inches, were often dedicated when more substantial structures were not possible. The Panchavati consists of the as’vatha planted on the east side, the vilva or Ægle marmelos on the north, the banian on the west, the Emblica officinalis on the south and the asoka on the south-east.*

The Skanda Purána recommends a vilva in the centre and four others on four sides; four banians in four corners, twenty-five asokas in a circle, with a myrobalan, on one side, as the constituents of a great punchavatí.†

Superstition has always been active in drawing nice distinctions between the auspicious and the inauspicious, and it is curious to observe how the auspicious qualities of some plants have been extolled. Some are considered auspicious when planted near a dwelling house.

No tree with fruits or blossoms can be cut down, as the following sloka threatens the cutter with the destruction of his family and wealth.

* अश्वद्विन्त्यब्रह्म वन्धा अश्वाकं तर
  वद्यत्यक्षयकिमवर्त्ये स्थायिते पञ्च दिवु च ||
  अश्वाकं स्थायिते प्राचि विल्चमुकिर्भागतः
  वर्त पञ्चिकां तु भारीं द्रविषिकलया
  अश्वाकं चंडिकः स्थायं नपस्यां च चरेन स्रिः

† विज्वंद्रं समथ्या चतुरंद्रं चतुरमत्रं
  चतुरमत्रं चतुर्यं वेदंस्यक्रियाप्रेषेलं
  अश्वाकं वद्यते लालं पञ्चिन्तितिस्मितः
  दिक्वदिशा सामस्तकुस्तिः वेदं परमेश्वरी
  अश्वद्विन्तं चतुरंद्रं ददनं पञ्चवटो भवेऽ

स्न्त्यपराणं
Therefore never cut down any tree that bears good flowers or fruits, if you desire the increase of your family, of your wealth and of your future happiness.

Superstition has associated supernatural properties with many plants, and several have been identified with the gods.

The *durva*, a kind of grass very common in all parts of India, is excellent fodder for cattle. It is an essential article in the worship of all gods. It is said to have originated from the thigh of *Vishnu*.

The religious fig tree makes one rich, the *Jonesia Asoke* destroys all sorrow, the *Ficus venosa* is said to be useful in sacrifices, and the *Nim* gives much happiness. *Syzygium Jambolanum*, promises heavenly bliss, and the pomegranate a good wife. *Ficus glomerata* cures diseases, and *Butea frondosa* gives the protection of Brahma. The *Calotropis gigantea* is useful as it pleases the sun every day, the bel-tree pleases Siva, and the *Pátalí* pleases Párvati. The Apsaras are pleased with *Bombax malabaricum*, and the Gandharvas with *Jasminum*, the *Terminalia chebula* increases the number of servants, and the *Mimusops elenchi* gives maid-servants. The *Tul* is injurious to children, and the *Mimusops elenchi* productive of large families. The cocoa-nut gives many wives, and the vine gives a beautiful body; the *Cordia latifolia* increases desires, and the *Pandanus odoratissimum* destroys all.*

* * *

* धनोचायचबच्चे अभेलकं श्राकनामं ।
  अंता यज्ञः प्रार्त्ता निग्राचार्यः कृतः ॥
  अभेरको नाकस्ता प्रार्त्ता भारतारा दारिज़ तया ।
  दुम्रो रोगनाशितं पवाश्च रा वर्तः सत्या ॥
  चकुः पण्यः चापकार नित्य वृक्षे विनिर्भावकः ।
  ष्रीयतः प्रस्ते वेयः पाद्यायान्तु याभः ॥
  प्रस्तयायामपरमः कृद्द गम्भेरतरः ।
  विभोकं दासविद्वेओऽक्षेतायुर्द्वारः ॥
  अप्पायायामक्षालः कुकुरः कृतवदनः ।
  वज्ञानयात्माया स्वायमेकः कृतवदनः ॥
  रतिक्षः तत्त यो क्षेता स्वायऽक्षेत्रः ॥
  पद्मः श्राकनामं ॥

* *
The tamarind tree is considered most inauspicious, and, according to the *Vaidya Sástras*, is very injurious to health. The *Carica papeya* plant is more so. Though an introduced plant, the natives were early acquainted with the injurious influence of the exhalations from the leaves of the plant. The Sunflower, *Helianthus*, is supposed to emit gases that destroy miasma.

There is no department of Hindu literature in which the hyperbole has not an important part. The *Haritaki*, one of the myrobalans, is so much valued, that in the following sloka it is said to be more invigorating than the milk of a mother.

Prince, eat Haritaki: it is as beneficial as the mother, the mother may occasionally get annoyed, but never the swallowed Haritaki.

The following trees are said to have peculiar virtues.

- *The Indian fig tree*, if on the east side of a house, is always auspicious; so also is the *Udumbara* tree if on the west, and the *pipul* if on the south, &c.

The following are supposed to have a peculiar influence on particular spots.
The cocoa-nut tree near the dwelling-house confers wealth on the family, and if on the east or north-east of an encampment, the tree is the donor of sons. The mango tree, the best of trees, is auspicious at every place, and if situated on the east, gives wealth to men. The Bel tree, the jack tree, and the citron tree, and the plum tree, are in all situations conducive to prosperity.

The Durvāshtami is one of the many vratas observed by Hindu females. It is celebrated on the eighth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādra.

On the day fixed for worshipping Durvā, a fast is observed, and Durvā, Gauri, Ganesā, and Siva, are worshipped with rice, fruits, and flowers.

Durvā is described as

Dark as the petals of a blue lotus, held on the heads of all gods, pure, born from the body of Vishnu, anointed with nectar, free from all sickness, immortal, incarnation of Vishnu, and giver of good children and virtue, wealth and salvation.

A thread, with eight knots, and fruits, &c., are presented to Durvā, and the following prayer is then read:

Durvā, you are called immortal, and you are worshipped both by gods and asuras. Having blessed us with prosperity and children, fulfil all our wishes. As you extend over the earth with your suckers and branches, in the same way give me healthy and immortal children.
After the usual puja, the thread with eight knots is tied on the left arm and the worshipper listens to the legend of Durvā repeated by the officiating priest.

When the Kahiroda ocean was churned for nectar, Vishnu had with his arms and thighs held the Mandar hill, and the forcible rotation of the hill shed some hair off his body.

These were carried by the waves to the other bank and became pure green Durvā. Thus originated Durvā from the body of Vishnu, and upon Durvā, the excellent nectar, generated from the churning of the ocean, was placed.

The Asokāshtami, the Arunodaya Saptami, and the Madanotsava are three other vratas in which trees are worshipped.

From the Sakrotthāna, the rising of Indra after the new moon preceding the Durgā puja, the whole fortnight is devoted to one or other form of tree-worship.

Asokāshtami is observed on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra. Eight blossoms of *Jonesia asoka* in water are drunk, with the following mantra:

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तमष्रोकशरामभोर्यों मधुमामस्कुर्द्धवं ।
*किवानिम्रोकशशाशिम् माम्रोकशुद्रकु ॥
```

In the Bhavishya Purāṇa, the vrata of Arunodaya Saptami is described.†

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* मणगकशशिमा चाढ्छ्र ये चितवनि पुनर्वंस ।
चैवे सारस हिवल्लाम् न ते वास्कुमपूर्यः ॥
† समावदशप्रचारण चारकप्रचारण च भिररिच निबधाय ।
चढ़नामतं पारं यथा यथाव जन्मव ॥
समा रोगश्रोकश सावारो चन्द्राव समाव ॥
चढ़ावतः सवदशः तुम्बांतस्थवर्तकने ।
चट्टादलविविधाना चाष्ये द्यादादित्यत्यथे ॥
```
In the month of Chaitra on the thirteenth lunar day, the Madanotsava is celebrated and the Asoka tree is worshipped.

But the most important instance of tree worship is the Durga-puja. Although the festival is a rejoicing at the promising crops in the field, and although it may be traced to the solar myth and Ushá or dawn worship, it is undoubtedly one of the most extensive festivals of tree-worship.

Along with the goddess Durga, the Nava patrici or the nine leaves are worshipped. The nine are

- *The following mantras are repeated before cutting the twig.*

Sripahala tree, you are born on the mountain Mandar, Meru Kailasa and at the top of the Himalaya, you are always a favourite of Ambica. Born on the top of the Sri hill Sripahala! You are the resting-place of prosperity, I take you away to worship you as Durga herself.

Om Vilva tree, most prosperous, always a favourite of Sankara, I worship the devi, having taken away your branch. O Lord, you must not mind the pain generated by the separation of your branch, for it is said the gods have worshipped Durga, having taken away your branch, I bow to the Vilva tree born on the Himalaya mountain, favourite of Parvati and embraced by Siva. You are auspicious in action and a favourite of Bhagavati; for the sake of Bhavani’s words, give me all success.
The following are the mantras for worshipping them:

\begin{verbatim}
० रामानिधिः सङ्क्षणः ।
० दुःधिः दैविः समागच्छ समिधायसिद्ध कष्ठः ।
० ज्ञानेपर्व तत्वं मातिः कृष्ण समेकः ।
ो कद्भागिधिः कालिः कः ।
ों संग्रीषुतुरुषुषु कहीमूलाभुत श्रविते ।
मम चानुग्रहाय चागसामि हरणीः ॥
\end{verbatim}

* With the following mantras the nine plants are anointed with water.

\begin{verbatim}
० सन्ध्याणः स्थिरायाय विभेदः स्वानाथः ।
नमसः नवपविच लः नससः चरणाधिकः ।
० कथिः स्थिरायायाय सदा सिद्धिप्रदः शिनिः ।
दुःधिः हृदयं मर्यव्र महाने विद्यां कृष्णः ।
० हरिः हरिः हर्षायाय श्रेष्ठेऽविधा श्रादा ।
हन्रुपासिः दैविः स्तं चर्थिः श्रादा महीवः ।
० जयति जयायाय जगता जयकारिणः ।
क्षारातील हृदयं स्तं जयः हृदयं मर्यव्र समः ।
० श्रीदेवीलोकान्तेः सदा विजयविहः ।
दृढः से चसकासाय व्रजश्रावः भव सर्वदा ।
० द्वादशवचिनाशय चुवाः श्राय सदा भूविः ।
निर्मित्वा फलकासाय श्रीदृढः लः हरिणेः ।
० स्मृताः भव सदा दुःधिः चरित्राः भाषकारिणः ।
भयं लः पुजिता दुःधिः स्मृताः भव सर्वस्मिनः ॥
० सागरा मानवाः दृष्टिः मानीयः हुरादुरः ।
श्रावासिः सहादेवं मानं दृढः समेकः ।
० वस्तोसं स्मार्युपासिः भास्याः प्रायदाधिः ।
सम्मरायानं चिनेऽबुधं स्मृतं कामप्रदः भवः ॥
\end{verbatim}
Om, salutation be to Bráhmani, the goddess dwelling in the plantain tree. Om, Devi Durgá, welcome, come near us. In the Brahma form distribute peace to all. Om, salutations be to you.

Om, salutation be to Kāliká, the goddess dwelling in the Arum plant. Om, good-natured in the war of Mahisha demon, you became arum plant. Om, the beloved of Hara, come hither for my blessing.

Om, salutation be to Durga, the goddess, dwelling in the turmeric plant. Om, Haridra, you are Hara incarnate. Om, good-natured you are Umá incarnate. For the destruction of my ill-luck, do receive my puja and be propitiated.

Om, salutation be to Kárñiki, the goddess, dwelling in the Sesvania plant. Om, during the destruction of Sumbha and Nisumbha,
demons, goddess of success, you were worshipped by Indra and all gods. Be pleased with us.

Om, salutation be to Sivá, the goddess, dwelling in the vilva tree. Om, beloved of Mahadeva and beloved of Vishnu, beloved of Uma, vilva tree, I salute you.

Om, salutation be to Raktadantiká (blood-teethed), the goddess, dwelling in the pomegranate tree. Om, formerly in the war, you became Dádimi in the presence of Raktavija demon, you acted the part of Uma, therefore bless us.

Om, salutation be to Sokarahitá (devoid of sorrow), the goddess, dwelling in the asoka tree. Om, Asoka tree, you please Siva and you destroy all sorrow. Make me sorrowless in the same way as you please Durgá.

Om, salutation be to Chámundá, the goddess, dwelling in the Mán tree. Om, on whose leaves rests the Devi, beloved of Sachi, for my prosperity receive my pujá.

Om, salutations be to Lakshmi, the goddess, dwelling in the rice plant. Om, for the preservation of the life of all beings you were created by Brahma. Om, preserve me in the same way as you please Umá.

The following is a list of plants regarded by the Hindus with religious veneration. Some of these are worshipped on certain occasions, and others are connected with several forms of worship.

अशोक—Jonesia asoka.
चन्दन—Ficus religiosa.
काकडु—Calotropis gigantea, R.
कामकाक्की—Emblica officinalis, Gärtn.
कला—Colocasia antiquorum, L.
कदम्ब—Nauclea cadomba, Roxb.
केकड़—N. cordifolia, Roxb.
कदर्की—Musa paradisaica, L.
मन—Azadirachta indica, Ad Juss.
पत्ताश—Butea frondosa, Roxb.
पालिनात्साहर—Erythrina indica, Lam.
पद्म—Punica granatum, L.
दुंगो—Cynodon dactylon.
धूपुरा—Datura alba, Rumph.
Vastu Yoga.

1870.

^o^f Mimusops elengi, L.
^r^t Ipomoea reptans, Poir.
^r^t Ocimum adscendens, Willd.
^r^t Acacia arabica, Willd.
^r^t Aegle marmelos, Cuv.
^r^t Salvia plebeia, R.

Colocasia indica.

Pterocarpus santalum, L.
Adenanthera pavokina, L.
Zrophis aspera, Retz.
Sarcostema acidum, Roxb.
Leucas martinicensis, R.
Curcuma longa, Roxb.
Mirobalans cheduba, L.
Poa cynosuroides, Retz.
O. sanctum, L.
Saacharum spontaneum, L.
Acacia catechu, L.
Phoenix sylvestris, Roxb.
Sesbania ceapytiaca, Pers.
Cocos nucifera, L.
Strychnos potatorum, L.
Mangifera indica, L.
Bignonea suaveolens, L.
Ficus glomerata, Roxb.
Ocimum vellosum.
Oryza sativa, L.
Guilandina bonduc, L.
Agati grandiflorani, Desre.
Ficus indica, L.
Desmodium gyrans, L.
Terminalia moluccana, Roxb.
Ocimum basilicum, pilosum, Benth.
Clerodendron viscosum, Vent.
Hiptage madablota, Garts.
Phaseolus roxburghii, W. A.
The Bonhara Temple.

Extracts from my Diary regarding the Bonhara Temple near Omerpore, Behár, and other Antiquities of the place.—By BABU RASHBIHARI BOSE, Sub-Divisional Officer, Banka, Bhagalpur.

December 7th, 1869.—At 5 p. m., I went to Bonhara, which is almost contiguous to Omerpore, to see the large dighi or tank and the mosque on its bank, which are generally ascribed to Prince Sháh Shujá‘. The tank is about 1300 feet in length and about 700 feet broad. It is gradually filling up, but is never dry; and in the centre, the water is said to be very deep. Traces may be seen of the large masonry steps leading to it on the eastern bank, on which the mosque stood. Old people still remember that there was a covered passage leading from the mosque to the tank, by which Muhammadan ladies could carry water to the former, without exposing themselves to the gaze of the multitude bathing in the latter. The mosque has entirely disappeared, several mounds of bricks embedded in the earth being all that is left to mark the spot where it stood. But a marble slab which was placed on it by the founder, bearing inscriptions in Arabic, may still be seen by the side of a tomb latterly erected near the place. The inscriptions, I was told, had never before been deciphered,* though many of the learned had attempted it. But as it grew dark, I was obliged to return to camp.

December 8th, 1869.—On enquiry, I learnt that the mosque, which, in the language of the peasantry, had been as high as the tallest of the palm trees, was pulled down by Zemindar Baneeprasad Chowdry for the sake of some hidden treasure it contained,

* The inscription was published in the Proceedings of the Society for November, 1870.
but which no one dared to touch on account of the solemn injunction, said to be recorded on the marble slab, to the effect that the offender, if a Hindu, was to eat beef, and if a Muhammadan, was to take pork. For seven days and nights, so runs the legend, the treasure consisting of gold and silver coins, was carried in carts to Baneeprasad's house. He was formerly one of the greatest and richest zamindars in the Sub-Division, but the moment the hidden wealth was dug up in spite of the solemn injunction, the ghost of the original owner haunted him day and night: he never after prospered in whatever he undertook; he became almost insane; his wealth disappeared, no one knew how; his estates were sold; the indigo factory he had raised on the western bank of the tank with the bricks taken from the mosque, fell into disuse; and at last he died a ruined man. This is believed to be the fate of all who misappropriate hidden treasure. In some cases, the treasure is supposed to be guarded by hideous snakes, wasps, or ghosts. The treasure often appears to its intended victim in dreams, reveals the place of its concealment, and asks him to sacrifice his son or sons before digging it out. If he misappropriate it without sacrificing what is wanted, his children are sure to die, or he himself becomes blind. Few people in this country therefore run the risk of misappropriating hidden treasure. It is then no wonder if Baneeprasad, after committing the sacrilege, was haunted by a guilty conscience, and was reduced from affluence to poverty, as is proved by the condition of his grandsons at the present day. It must have been in a moment of deep repentance that he rebuilt a tomb erected to one La'l Khán which he had pulled down, and placed on it the tablet belonging to the mosque.

At 7 a.m., I went to the place with a Maulawí, in order to decipher the inscription on the tablet. After poring over it for nearly an hour, he declared his inability to proceed further than the first line, especially as the ignorant mason had placed the slab upside down. After the kacheri was over at 4 p.m., I therefore visited the tomb once more, and after having rubbed some ink and oil over the inscription, obtained an impression of it on paper, which was made over to several learned Maulawís to decipher. Afterwards I went to see another very old tank about a mile further north, which goes
by the name of Namáz Taláo, signifying "tank for prayer." It is situated in the midst of a large plain, and is now used as a place for the cremation of the dead.

At 4 p. m., I went to see the remains of the old fort of Débéí Raja at Dumráwan which is about a mile north from the town of Omerpur. The fort was about a mile or more in circuit, consisting entirely of mud walls surrounded by a deep ditch. The only approaches to the fort were by seven large gates, some of which are still to be seen. The walls near these gates are tolerably high, but in most places they are scarcely more than two or three feet above ground, while in few places they have been levelled with the ground by the cultivator's plough. There was a small fort within the fort for the accommodation of the women, and in it there is a small tank which still goes by the name of 'Ranee Gurrea,' or the Ranee's tank. Near this tank lie some bricks to mark the spot where stood the palace of the Raja or his seraglio.

It was within this fort that the last struggle for independence made by the Khetaurí Raja against the Muhammadan invaders appears to have taken place. Tradition has preserved an anecdote regarding the romantic courage and prowess evinced by Débéí Raja during the contest.

It is said that being besieged by the Muhammadans in his capital, and finding himself unequal to the contest, he resolved to abandon his capital, and left it at night with his little band of devoted followers. A washer-woman, who was with child, could not run so fast as the soldiers wished. One of the latter having thereupon sneeringly observed, with reference to her pregnancy, "Who told you to bring yourself to this pass?" she replied:—"The Raja told me to do so; for had I known he would cowardly desert his capital, I should not have been what I am." This speech being reported to the Raja, he felt ashamed of his cowardice, immediately returned to his capital with his troops, contested, at fearful odds, every inch of ground with the enemy, and was at last cut off to a man.

It is believed by some that the Raja had an improper connection with the washer-woman.
An Account of Copilmuni and its Antiquities, in connection with the Fair held there in March, 1868, being extracts from my Diaries of a cold weather tour in Sub-Division Khulna in Jessore.—By Babu Rashbihari Bose, Sub-Divisional Officer, Banka, Bhagalpur.

March 20th, 1868.—I examined many respectable people about the origin of the fair, but no one could give a satisfactory account. They have lived up to old age, as their fathers did before them, without troubling themselves about the inquiry. They even wondered why I took the trouble of asking them about it. According to them, the fair is held because it has been held before.

I called and examined the mohunts of the place, who are the descendants of Bagnath Mohunt, a recluse of great sanctity who is said to have buried himself alive near the temple or rather the hermitage of Copil; but they could give me no other information than that the fair used to be held before the time of their great ancestor, though on a smaller scale than at present.

March 21st, 1868.—On my way back, I found a large number of pilgrims going to bathe in the Copotuc, which, during the Baroni festival, is considered to assume the sacred virtues of the Ganges. The vast multitude of pilgrims that come to bathe in the stream at this time of the year, has no doubt given rise to the mela, or fair. But the difficulty lies in accounting for the Copotuc being considered at the time of the Baroni to be as sacred as the Ganges.

On my return to my tent, I received a visit from the priest of the temple of Copileshuri, the goddess who is supposed to preside over the destiny of Copilmuni. He was unwilling to relate the traditions connected with the fair, they being, he said, idle stories which were not fit for the ear of a hakim. Being, however, pressed on the subject, he stated that it was on the thirteenth day after the full moon, (the day of the Baroni festival) that Copil became Sidha, or had his prayers accepted in heaven, and it was to commemorate that event that he instituted the fair, which had continued to be held on that day. This account does not satis-
factorily explain how the Copotuc came to assume the virtues of the sacred Ganges. The priest further related that the daughter of one Bungsi Chakrabati came one evening to light up the temple of Copileshuri, but both the girl and the goddess thereupon disappeared from the temple. The bereaved father having searched for his child in vain, at last fell in dhurna before the temple. On the third day, the goddess appeared to him in his dream, and said, she had destroyed the girl for presuming to enter her temple in an impure dress, and that her own stone image having deserted the new temple so profaned, had retired to the ancient temple built by Copil, which was to be found beneath the waters of Copotuc, but that she would continue to accept the offerings made in the former before an image built of clay. The priest further related a story about Báganath Mohunt to the effect that he sent something which cannot be mentioned with decency, enclosed in an earthen pot as a present to the emperor of Dilhi; but when the enraged monarch ordered it to be thrown open, he was surprised to see it filled with the sweetest things in the world. Some of the jagirs granted to Báganath on that occasion are held by his descendants up to this day.

Around the tomb of Ja'far-Auliá, a Muhammadian saint who died about seventy years ago, and a few yards from those of the great Copil and Báganath, was gathered this day a large crowd of pilgrims, chiefly women, who had come to bathe in the stream. These women kept up singing the whole night through, almost disturbing the bones of the mighty saint.

At night, I received visits from a large number of respectable men of the surrounding villages. In reply to my inquiries about the origin of the fair, one of them stated that Copil's mother having expressed a desire to go on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at the time of Baroni, when that sacred river is thought to become specially sacred, Copil said she need not take so much trouble, as he could bring the goddess herself to grace the stream flowing beneath her cottage. Accordingly on the day of Baroni, Copil invoked the Ganga, and the goddess testified her presence in the Copetuc by thrusting her hand out of the water, the rest of her body remaining buried under the waves. It is said that at the request of Co-
pil, she agreed in future to appear at that place for an hour at the
time of the Baroni festival, in consequence of which the stream flow-
ning under the hermitage of Copil became sacred on that particular
day, and attracted crowds of pilgrims from the surrounding villages.

March 22nd, 1868.—At dawn, I went to the river side to wit-
ness the bathing of the pilgrims. In order to have a better view of
the scene, I entered a boat on the river, and rowed up to the
place where the hermitage or the temple of Copil is supposed to lie
buried beneath the waters. To my front was the tomb of Ja'far-
Auliá, which both Hindus and Muhammadans revere as con-
taining the mortal remains of one who knew the past, the present,
and the future. On my right, stood the Nimba tree which is said
to have witnessed the birth, suicide, and resurrection of Bágnath
Mohunt: for three days after he had buried himself alive under its
shade, his disciples could find no trace of his body under the earth.
On my left was the temple of Copileschuri, containing the un-
sightly image of a naked goddess standing with up-lifted hands
and protruding tongue over the prostrate body of her divine lord,
and rendered still more hideous by wreaths of bloody heads hang-
ing by way of ornament from her neck down to her knees. In the
space enclosed between these sacred monuments of by-gone ages,
were assembled about four thousand pilgrims, eager to wash off
their sins at the ghát where Copil’s mother is supposed to have seen
the Ganga. Husbands going arm in arm with their bashful wives,
and women taking their infant children on their breasts, rushed
promiscuously to the stream. Many of them were provided with a
small piece of bark from the plantain tree containing a few grains
of rice and teel, some leaves from the tulsi, a piece or two of
ripe plantain, and some sweetmeats. Over these they pronounced
mantras dictated by their priest, and then throwing a portion
into the stream, greedily devoured the rest. Several were seen to
offer sweetmeats to Copileschuri, which gave the officiating priest
an opportunity of playing the part of a shopkeeper with a venge-
ance; for he had set up a shop of his own, from which the
pilgrims were required to purchase the sweetmeats, as being most
acceptable to the goddess, and as soon as they were offered before
her image, they were again transferred to his shop and sold to the
next pilgrim who called for the purpose. In this way he appeared to have realized a profit of a rupee on every pice worth of goods he had in his shop.

Among the pilgrims, I could not find a single káyast, boido, or brahman. All the lower classes of Hindus, almost without a single exception, were present. The reason is, the three higher classes named above do not believe in the sanctity of the Copotuc at the time of the Baroni. This would seem to prove that Copil was born of low parentage. Indeed, he is suspected by some to be an ancestor of the present mohnuts of Copilmuni, who are Ju-gis (cloth-weavers) by caste. Hence his influence over the higher castes of Hindus is very small. It is necessary to state that Copil is a different individual from his great namesake who figures so conspicuously in the Ramayan, and is said to have destroyed sixty thousand sons of Rajah Sagur on being disturbed by them in his devotions, which subsequently caused the Ganges, in compliance with the prayers of one of their descendants, named Bhagirath, to pour from the heavens like an avalanche over the Himalaya, and thence thundering down to the plains, pass over the spot where his ancestors had been reduced to ashes.

March 23rd, 1868.—At night I received visits from the respectable people of Mahmúdkati, Hurridhahe, &c. One of them stated, on the authority of an old man who had again heard it from his grandfather, that on the day of the Baroni festival, Copil became Sidha, and being anxious to test the fact by ocular demonstration, invoked his favourite goddess. The goddess came riding over the waves, and when she departed, Copil threw himself into her waters and died praying that on the anniversary of his death she would make her appearance on that spot for an hour. This, however, differs from the popular account given above.

March 24th, 1868.—I heard a legend about Copil. It is said, he used daily to bathe in the Ganges at dawn, and then perform his morning prayers at his hermitage on the banks of the Copotuc, the distance travelled being about three days' journey.

March 26th, 1868.—At dawn I took a walk towards the famous old tank known by the name of Lahona Khulna. It is perfectly dry and overgrown with tall trees, which the superstitious
wood-cutters dare not touch. The barren women from the surrounding villages come to bathe in a well in the tank, in the belief that a dip in its waters would make them fruitful. Almost contiguous to the Lahona Khulna, flows the small rivulet which goes by the name of Magra. The readers of the immortal work called Kavi Kunkun Chandi are aware that Lahana and Khulna are the wives of Dhonoputty Sadager, and that the Magra is the river where his son Srimunto Sadager encountered a terrific storm raised by the goddess Chandi to test his sincerity and devotion to her. It is therefore believed that Copilmuni or its neighbourhood is the place where the scene of Kavi Kankan Chandi is laid. In proof of this, people further appeal to the remains of ancient buildings found buried in the bosom of the earth at a place called Agra, which is about a mile north-east of Copilmuni, while the Lahana Khulna and Magra are situated about two miles towards the south-east. But the poet lays the scene of his hero's birth-place at Ujaini, or Ujeni, which is the name of the capital of Malwa. This discrepancy may, however, be reconciled by the supposition that the place was formerly called Ujani, which was afterwards changed into Copilmuni by the famous anchorite of that name. A pandit suggested to me the improbability of a small place on the banks of the Copotuc bearing the classical name of Ujaini, on which I reminded him that the contiguous village was called Agra. It is natural for a man to associate himself with great names; and if Dhonoputty Sadagar or his son Srimunto chose to call his maritime port according to the city of the Great Akbar, he might as well designate his birth-place the capital of the romantic and heroic Vikramaditya.

March 27th, 1868.—At dawn I took a walk as far as Agra, with a view to see the remains of ancient buildings supposed to have belonged to Dhonoputty Sadagar. In several places there are little hillocks of earth in the form of cones, whose apexes are about twenty feet above the level of the surrounding country. In these lie buried magnificent brick structures which have sunk entire in the bosom of the earth,—time's all destroying hand having as yet worked upon them in vain. In one place are to be seen walls about eight feet broad, which probably once formed the wings of a
gigantic temple. In front of it are the remains of a pucca road which seem to have extended as far as the river. The cultivators in the neighbourhood told me that for a mile or two around, bricks might be found in various places only a few inches under ground. Considering all that has been stated before, it is impossible to resist the conviction that Copilmuni and its neighbourhood contain the ruins of a large city whose splendours have long since passed away.

March 28th, 1868.—At night, I heard two legends about Ja'far-Auliá. They are as follows:—A certain man had a cow which he prized much, but it sickened and died. Being extremely poor, he goes to Ja'far-Auliá and cries till his eyes are red. "Why do you cry," said the prophet, "Your cow is not dead, it is only sleeping." Thereupon he called one of his disciples, and said, "Take this stick which I give unto thee, and having touched the cow with it, call the animal hither." The disciple goes to the field and striking the cow with the stick, says, "Why sleepest thou so long? Come, thy master calls." The cow rose as if it had been sleeping, and followed the disciple to the cottage of Ja'far-Auliá.

A disciple of Ja'far-Auliá once did a wrong act. The saint said to his other disciples, "Go and throw him into the river in a gunny bag, after closing its mouth with a string." The disciples did as they were directed to do, but the bag would not sink and floated down the stream. The prophet was at the time on his way to the Sundarbun. When he had completed a day's journey, the disciple within the bag cried and said, "Master, behold I am not dead. Take pity on a fallen creature and restore me to thy favour." The saint thereupon ordered his disciples to take the bag from the river, and let out the culprit, considering him sufficiently punished.
On the Funeral Ceremonies of the Ancient Hindus.—By Bābu Rājendralāṭā Mitra.

[Read November, 1870.]

Two elaborate papers have already appeared on the funeral ceremonies of the Hindus. The first, by H. T. Colebrooke, was published in the Transactions of this Society about seventy years ago,* and an abstract of it was soon after issued in Ward’s History of the Hindus. It contains the modern ritual as given in the Saddhi Tattva of Raghunandana and other current works on the subject. The second, entitled Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen, appeared in the 9th volume of the Zeitschrift of the German Oriental Society. Dr. Max Müller, its author, gives in it the whole of As’valāyana’s Sūtras on the ancient ritual, and quotes largely from the Rīg Veda Saṁhitā and the aphorisms of Kātyāyana. A portion of it, that bearing on the sepulchral ceremonies, has since been rendered into English, by that learned scholar, and published by Professor Wilson as a part of his Essay "on the supposed Vaidik authority for the burning of Hindu widows."† Dr. Max Müller is of opinion that—"These burial ceremonies have been described in detail by As’valāyana only, and it is possible that the burial was

† Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVI, pp. 201-214.
not considered as an essential part of that class of rites which is comprehended under the name of *Samskāra.*' Such, however, does not seem to be the case; for the whole of the funeral ceremonials, including those required to be observed at burials, are given in detail in the sixth chapter of the *Aranyaka* of the Black Yajur Veda, aphorised by Baudhāyana and Bharadvāja in their Sūtras, and commented upon by Sāyana Achārya. I find that Hiranyakesī also has written on the subject, but I have not his work at hand to refer to, nor has Sāyana noticed him. A hand-book for the performance of funeral ceremonies, professing to be founded on the rules of Hiranyakesī, exists in the Society's Library and is entitled:—*Hiranyakes'yanveshi-prayogamanī;* but it is a compilation by a modern author, Abhayaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, and does not correspond with the rules of the other Sūtrakāras. It treats of the whole of the rites due on the first thirteen days after death, but it does not anywhere quote the rules of Hiranyakesī, and so simplifies the operations detailed in the works of the early writers that it cannot be accepted as a trustworthy guide to the most ancient ritual.

The *Aranyaka* describes the ceremonies under the title of *Pitri-medha,* or rites for the welfare of the manes, and gives all the mantras required for the ceremonials of the first ten days after death, leaving the *srūddha,* or the rites meet for the eleventh day, altogether unnoticed. The mantras are taken mostly from the Rig Veda, and arranged in consecutive order, but without any clue to the particular rituals for which they are intended. The two Sūtrakāras supply this deficiency, and as they point out several peculiarities not to be found in *Ās'valāyana,* I propose to give here a summary of the subject. The bulk of the mantras and the rules are the same as given by *Ās'valāyana;* but as that author's work, lately published by the Society, has already been commented upon by Dr. Max Müller, it is not necessary to notice it in detail.

The first mantra given in the *Aranyaka* refers to the performance of a homa immediately after the death of a man who had always maintained the sacrificial fires in his house. According to Baudhāyana, four offerings should be made, while touching the

* Vide passim Grimm's Essay on the Burning of the Dead, and Dr. Roth's article "on Burial in India."
right hand of the dead, to the Gārhapatya fire, with a spoon overflowing full of clarified butter. Bharadvāja prefers the Ahavanīya fire, and is silent as to whether the offering should be fourfold or not. Āśvalāyana recommends the rite to be performed at a subsequent stage of the funeral. All three take it for granted that death has happened within the house, if not near the place where the sacrificial fires are kept, and none has anything to say regarding the taking of the dying to the river-side, or of the ceremony of immersing the lower half of the body in water at the moment of death, (antarjali) which forms so offensive a part of the modern ceremonial in Bengal, and which has been, by a flourish of incisive rhetoric and at a considerable sacrifice of truth, called "ghat murder." Looking to this negative evidence against it, to its total absence in other parts of India, and to the oldest authorities on the subject being the most recent of the Purāṇas, it may be fairly concluded that it is of modern origin. None of the authorities usually quoted, enjoin it as a positive duty, and it has come into general practice probably since the date of Raghunandana and his contemporary SmṛitiKāras of the 16th century.*

* The authorities usually quoted are the following:—

**śraddhavīs 1870 | gṛhadāyāḥ brhajantīḥ prājanām kṣaṇāthāmi varāṇeḥ kāhen tathārtham
dravīdām mahāvamḥ parāḥ ||

"I shall relate to you, O handsome-faced, the merit of giving up life in the Ganges. I give him (who does so) my own rank, and pour in his ears the mantra of the Great Brahma." Skanda Purāṇa, quoted in the Suddhi tattva.

**śraddhavīs 1870 | gṛhadāyāḥ brhajantīḥ prājanām kṣaṇāthāmi varāṇeḥ kāhen tathārtham
dravīdām mahāvamḥ parāḥ ||

"He who fasting dies with half his body immersed in the water of the Jāhnavī (Ganges), is never born again, and attains equality with Brahma." Agni Purāṇa, quoted in the Prāyaskṛta tattva.

**śraddhavīs 1870 | gṛhadāyāḥ brhajantīḥ prājanām kṣaṇāthāmi varāṇeḥ kāhen tathārtham
dravīdām mahāvamḥ parāḥ ||

"The embodied who dies with its body up to the navel in water, attains the fruit of all the sacred waters, tirthas. There is no doubt about it." Skanda Purāṇa.

**śraddhavīs 1870 | gṛhadāyāḥ brhajantīḥ prājanām kṣaṇāthāmi varāṇeḥ kāhen tathārtham
dravīdām mahāvamḥ parāḥ ||

"After giving up the body in the Ganges there is no second birth." Kriyā-yogasāra.

**śraddhavīs 1870 | gṛhadāyāḥ brhajantīḥ prājanām kṣaṇāthāmi varāṇeḥ kāhen tathārtham
dravīdām mahāvamḥ parāḥ ||

"Even the crime of Brāhmaṇicide may be expiated by giving up the body in the Ganges." Kriyāyogasāra.
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After the homa, a cot made of Udumbara wood (Ficus glomarata) is to be provided, and, having spread on it a piece of black antelope skin with the hairy side downwards and the head pointing to the south, the corpse is to be laid thereon with the face upwards. A son, brother or other relative, or in their absence whoever takes the lead, should next address the corpse to give up its old clothing, and dress it in a new suit.* The body is then covered with a piece of unbleached, uncut cloth, having fringes on both sides; the operation being performed while repeating a mantra.† Then, wrapping it in its bedding or a mat, it is to be borne on its cot to the place of cremation. The removal, according to some authorities, should be made by aged slaves; according to others on a cart drawn by two bullocks. The mantra for the purpose, says, “I harness these two bullocks to the cart, for the conveyance of your life, whereby you may repair to the region of Yama—to the place where the virtuous resort,”‡ clearly indicating that the most ancient custom was, to employ a cart and not men. As valáyana suggests one bullock. Anyhow, the ancient Sútrakáras evince none of the repugnance to the employment of Súdras for the removal of the corpse of a Bráhman, which the modern Smárthas entertain on the subject. According to the latter, none but the kith and kin of the dead should perform this duty, and the touch of other than men of one’s own caste is pollution, which can be atoned for only by the performance of an expiatory ceremony.§ When Sir Cecil Beadon, the late Lieutenant-

* The mantra for the purpose says:—

“Give up the cloth thou hast hitherto worn; remember the ishta and purta sacrifices thou hast performed, the fees (to Brahmans thou hast given) and those (gifts thou hast) bestowed on thy friends.”

† “This cloth comes to thee first.”

‡ This prejudice first manifested itself, though in a mitigated form, in the time of Manu, who says, “Let no kinsman, whilst any of his own class are at
Governor of Bengal, proposed the removal of the Hindu dead of Calcutta by the Mutlah Railway to Gariáh, the strongest opposition was offered by the people, on the ground that it would involve a most serious pollution and loss of caste, to allow a corpse to be touched by other than its own caste men. They quoted a number of texts in support of their opinion, including those given above, and had no doubt custom—a greater authority than written laws—to plead in their favour; but the most revered and most ancient of their Sástras was opposed to them, for it recommended for the Bráhman dead a bullock cart as the most fitting conveyance, and a Súdra slave as its substitute.

The road from the house to the burning-ground used to be divided into three stages, and at the end of each, the procession used to halt, deposit the body on its cot on the ground, and address a mantra. As'valáyana says nothing about the division of the road into stages, nor of the mantras to be repeated, but recommends the procession to be headed by the eldest member of the family. The first mantra in the Aranyaka runs as follows: “Pushá, who knows the road well, has well-trained animals, to carry you, and is the protector of regions, is bearing you away hence; may he translate you hence to the region of the pítris. May Agni, who knows what hand, cause a deceased Brahman to be carried out by a Súdra; since the funeral rite, polluted by the touch of a servile man, obstructs his passage to heaven.” Chap. V. ver. 104. The following are the subsequent authorities:

"The Bráhman (dead) should not be removed by a Súdra, or a Sudra (dead) by a Bráhman. Vishnu.

"Whoever causes fire, grass, wood, and ghi to be brought by a Súdra (should perform an expiatory rite). Yama. I shall now relate to you the mode of purification as ordained by Manu, from the pollution caused by a dog, Súdra, an outcaste and the low dying in the house of a Bráhman. Ten nights for a dog, month for a Súdra, twice that time for an outcaste, and twice that for the low. The house should be forsaken in the case of the lowest, says Manu. Vrihanmanu. A house becomes purified in three days after the death of a Bráhman; the courtyard outside of the house is purified in one day by the touch of fire, and by smearing it with cow dung. Yama."
is meet for you, bear you away.”* The commentator in explaining the term Anashṭapas’u “well-trained animals,” attempts to include in the text the slaves recommended by the Sūtrakāras by the remark “the human bearers are two-footed animals, and the two bullocks four-footed animals:” vāhakāh manushyāh dvīpāt-pasavah anadvāhaḥ chatuspātpaśu. The second and the third mantras are, in substance, very much like the first, and call for no remark.

A most important member of the funeral procession is an animal called anustarani or rājagavi. An old cow is recommended as the most appropriate, next a black one, next a black-eyed one, next one with black hairs, and lastly one with black hoofs. If none of these are available, a black tender-hoofed goat may be substituted. Aśvalāyana recommends an animal of one colour, or a black kid, and says that it should be brought with a rope tied to the near forefoot. The animal is to be brought with the mantra, “Protector of regions, this is an offering for thee.”† An oblation is to be poured on the fire in connexion with this offering with the idd or chamasu spoon, saying, “May this prove acceptable to wealthy Agni.”‡

According to the Sūtrakāras, the cow should be sacrificed, but should any accident happen at the time of the sacrifice, the fore left foot is to be broken, and the wound being dressed with dust,

* Mantra to be repeated at the end of the first stage.

† Mantra to be repeated at the end of the second stage.

‡ Mantra to be repeated at the end of the third stage.

“The life, the life of the world wishes to take charge of you. May Pushā, leading, protect you in the difficult road; may the divine sun, leading you by the way of the virtuous, place you where the pious dwell.”
the animal is to be set free. The mantra for the sacrifice says: "Companion of the dead, we have removed the sins of the dead by thee; so that no sin or decrepitude may approach us." The address after the immolation runs thus: "Companion of the dead, we have made thy life inert; thou attainest the earth by thy body, and the region of the manes by thy life. Pardon us and our children in this world." A third address to the cow follows when her body is being dusted, it is to this effect—"O dear one, say not that I am so killed, for thou art a goddess and virtuous, going to the region of the Pitris, travelling by the adorable sky: keep us well supplied with milk in this and the future world."

If it be necessary to let loose the cow, she is to be made to walk thrice round the pyre, while the leader repeats a mantra each time, then sanctified by another which simply says, "Mayest thou be a source of satisfaction by thy milk to those who are living (in my family), and those who are dead, and those who are just born, as well as those who may be born hereafter," and, lastly, let loose with the words, "This cow is the mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Adityas, and the pivot of our happiness, therefore I solemnly say unto all wise men, kill not this sacred harmless cow. Let her drink water and eat grass. Om! I let her loose."

The next operations are to dig a trench, arrange fuel thereon, wash, shave and pare the nails of the corpse, and place it on the pyre.
On the Funeral Ceremonies of the ancient Hindus. [No. 4, along with the wife. They were probably performed without the aid of any mantra, for the Aranyaka does not allude to them. The trench, according to Āśvalāyana, should be twelve fingers deep, five spans* wide, and as long as the corpse with its hands uplifted. The corpse, in the opinion of some, should be disembowelled, and the cavity filled with ghī. When placed on the pyre, it should have in its hands, if a Brāhman, a bit of gold, if a Kshatriya a bow, and if a Vaisya, a jewel. The wife should lie down on the left side of the corpse according to Baudhāyana and Sāyana. Āśvalāyana recommends that she should be placed near the head on the north side. The chief mourner, or he who is to set fire to the pyre, should then address the dead saying, "O mortal, this woman, (your wife), wishing to be joined* to you in a future world, (lit. to obtain the Patiloka, or the region of husbands) is lying by thy corpse; she has always observed the duties of a faithful wife; grant her your permission to abide in this world, and relinquish your wealth to your descendants."

† A younger brother of the dead, or a disciple, or a servant, should then proceed to the pyre, hold the left hand of the woman, and ask her to come away, saying, "Rise up, woman, thou liest by the side of the lifeless; come to the world of the living, away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who holds thy hand and is willing to marry thee."‡ In a subsequent mantra, she is to be asked to bring away the bit of gold above alluded to, from the hand of the corpse. The words for the purpose are—"For the promotion of thy wealth, and glory as a Brāhman woman, and beauty and power, take the gold from the hand

* Aratni extending from the thumb to the tip of the index finger.

† दूर्य नारी पतिलोकं हस्तानि नियमतं उप ला सत्यः प्रेसं। विश् पुराणमनः पालयणि नस्ये प्रजा इविशेषं चेचि

‡ उद्दोऽय पर्यमधिर्जीविकोतिवामुनीष्ठ एचि। इव भ्रातस्म दधिपा-स्वमेत्युत्पन्नि निलसमिबमन्भू॥

चे 'नारी' ले 'दरात' मम्प्राणि 'स्त' पतिं 'उपशेव' उप्यश्यायं करोपि,
'उद्दोऽ' चाप्रायात्मकसिमापुरुवित्र, 'जीविकसमभ' जीवित्य भ्रातिसमसमिबसिद्धय,
'एहि' आग्नयं। ले, 'इवहायत' पर्मियाहकातः। 'दृधिया' पुनर्विवाहे चेचि;
'पर्यं', 'जनल', 'जावते', 'चिभिरसमभू' भाभिमुखम समय भ्रा.मिदः।

The Rig Vedic reading of this verse will be noticed further on.
of the dead, (and abide) in this (region); we (shall dwell) here well served and prospering, and overcoming all presumptuous assailants."* The scholiast of As'valáyana says the remover of the widow, and not the widow, herself should take the gold, and that in the event of his being a slave, this and the two preceding mantras should be repeated by the chief mourner, and Wilson and Max Müller take it in the same sense; but Sáyána's comment is opposed to this interpretation.† The words to be addressed to a Kshatriya or a Vaidya woman, are the same, the words bow and jewel being respectively substituted for gold, and Kshatriya and Vaisya respectively for Brähmana. Under any circumstance the removal of the widow and the articles is completed. The Aranyaka contemplates no alternative, and the Sútrakáras are silent on the subject, shewing clearly that when the Aranyaka was compiled, the inhuman practice of burning the living wife with her dead husband, had not obtained currency in the country, and as we know from the writings of Greek authors that the Sáti rite had formed an important part of the Hindu funeral ceremony three centuries before Christ, and at least four centuries before that the Rámayana and the Mahábhárata, alluded to it, it may be pre-

This verse does not occur in the 10th Mandala of the Rig Veda, but the counterpart of it, in connexion with the bow, occurs with a different reading, thus—

Dr. Max Müller renders the last as follows: "I take the bow from the hand of the dead, to be, to us, help, glory, and strength. Thou art there, we are still here, with our brave sons; may we conquer all enemies that attack us." Dr. Wilson's version is slightly different in words, but is in substance the same. "Taking his bow from the hand of the dead that it may be to us for help, for strength, for fame, (I say) here verily art thou, and here are we: accompanied by our valiant descendants may we overcome all arrogant adversaries."—Jour. R. As. Soc., XVI, p. 292.

† द्वे वारि ले "विवे" समद्वः "स्थायः" द्रव श्रवणात्यथे, "तेजस्य" कान्ययेन, "व्हायः" दंतवर्णले, "समस्यस्त" पुष्पस्य, "हभातः" "वुर्विण्य" "क्षार्दान" सन, "ब्रह्म" लोके निभत्। "वर्ग" यावः "देव" लोके, "सुस्मिता" सुर्य सवसाना: सन, "स्मृति: अस्मासः सह सहमासानाः, "विब्यः" "श्रवितसः" सनम् श्रुत्व "अयेष"।
On the Funeral Ceremonies of the ancient Hindus. [No. 4, sumed that our text dates from at least eight centuries before the Christian era. The allusions in the Rámáyana and the Mahábhá-
rata may, possibly, be interpolations, and if so, the Aranyaka may be a century or two later, but that it was compiled long before the advent of Alexander in India, and that Baudháyana flourished be-
fore Bharadáyá and Kátáyána cannot be questioned.

The sacrificial vessels which the defunct used to employ in his ceremonial rites, are now to be placed on the different parts of his body; the Agni-hotra-havani, filled with butter and curds, on the mouth; the sruva spoon, broken into two, on the nostrils; two bits of gold or the butter spoon, (ajyasruva) broken into two, on the eyes; the práśitra-harana, broken into two, on the ears; the kapála pot, broken into fragments, on the head; a pot-sherd on the forehead; and, the chamasa spoon on the head. The mantra for the purpose consists of a prayer to Agni not to injure the chamasa spoon.* Ásvaláyana arranges the sacrificial vessels differently; he places the juhú on the right hand, the upabhrit on the left hand, the sphya, sacrificial knife, on the right side, the Agnihotra-havani on the left side, the grávna on the teeth, the kapálas on the head, the dhruvá on the breast, the sruva on the nostrils, the prášitra-harana on the nostrils, the chamasa and the pdtri on the belly, the sami on the genitals, the pestle and mortar on the lower part of the thighs, the arañi on the upper part of the thighs, the súrpa on the feet, and other vessels on the body as convenient. He says, further, that the fat of the slaughtered cow should be placed on the head and on the eyes with the mantra “Agni &c.” and her kidneys on the hands with the mantra “Ati” &c., her heart on the cardiac region, and her flesh and organs on other parts of the body; and that, in the event of the cow being let loose, imitations of her organs made with rice and barley meal, should be placed on the parts mentioned; the fat being replaced by cakes. The Aranyaka

* दससम्य चमरं मा विजीकृरः प्रिया देवानामुव साम्यान। एष चमरम्य देवपालसुत्सिंह से चन्द्रि चार्धमातदान।

"Destroy not, Agni, this spoon; it is dear to the Devas and the performers of the Soma rites. This spoon is the drinking vessel of the Devas; may the im-
mortal Devas therefore make us happy."
On the Funeral Ceremonies of the ancient Hindus.

1870.

says nothing about these offerings, nor recognises any substitute. Possibly Baudhāyana and Bharadvāja have provided for them; but I have not the necessary MSS. at hand to ascertain it. The Aranyaka, after arranging the sacrificial vessels, gives the mantra for covering the corpse with the raw hide of the cow, which should be entire with head, hair and feet, the hairy side being kept uppermost. The mantra for the purpose is addressed to the hide; “Cuirass, carefully protect this body from the light of Agni; envelope it with thy thick fat, and marrow; holding this impudent Agni, desirous of seeing and consuming it by his vigour, allow him not to go astray.”*

The pile is now ready to be lighted, and a fire should be applied to it with the prayer: “Agni, consume not this body to cinders; nor give it pain; nor scatter around its skin or limbs! O Jātavēdas, when the body is fairly burnt, convey the spirit to its ancestors.”† A second prayer to the same divinity is due when the fire is in full blaze, but its purport is not very different. It is followed by an address to the organs of the dead. It says, “May thy organ of vision proceed to the sun; may thy vital air merge in the atmosphere; mayest thou proceed, according to thy virtuous deeds, to heaven or earth or the region of water, whichever place is beneficial to thee; mayest thou there, provided with food, exist in corporeal existence.”‡

If instead of a cow, a goat is brought with the corpse, it is to be tied with a weak string near the fire, so that it may break its bond and escape. The chief mourner should then offer twelve oblations to the fire with a spoon made of palāsa wood, for which the Aranyaka supplies the necessary mantras. Nine prayers next follow, of which the first four are addressed to Agni, the fifth to Yama, the sixth to the messengers of death, and the last three

* "वर्णमं परिगब्यव्रक्षमाण्यमेंसा पीक्षा च। नेत्याधुष्टेवर्षमा जाश्याम् द्विधिथ्यानः परिधृष्टाः।"

† "मैत्रिवेद्या स्मरितं मरुणश्रेष्ठं मासमाणं चिह्नितं सा शरीरं। च्या श्रृं तु कर्षणाः जातवेद्वेदाः एवजं चिह्नितं पितरोः।"

‡ "स्थे ते चक्राणभक्तु वालसायम् चाच गन्धम् गंधिर्विच च धर्मणा। चिपो वा गन्धम् च ददात नाते चित्तसाप्येषु प्रतिसतिष्ठा शरीरः।"
for a good region for the deceased. The one addressed to Yama describes him as having two cerberi for warders at his gate. "King Yama, place this spirit under the care of thy two four-eyed dogs, which guard the roads and your mansion, and whom men avoid: keep it in ease and free from disease."* The dogs are the offspring of Saramá; long-snouted, self-satisfied, and exceedingly powerful; they are the messengers of Yama and roam about in search of men. The last three prayers I shall give entire. "1. Some purify the Soma juice, others worship with clarified butter, others again follow true knowledge (madhu vidyā) in quest of felicity; may this spirit attain the same (reward). 2. May the award of those who fight in the battle-field, and of heroes who sacrifice their lives, and of virtuous men who grant a thousand gifts, await this spirit. 3. May the award of those who in penance pass a blameless life, and of those who are gone to heaven by their penance, and of those who have performed most rigorous austerities await this spirit."†

After this, leaving the funeral pyre to smoulder, the chief mourner excavates three trenches to the north of the pyre, and lining them with pebbles and sand, fills them with water brought in an odd number of jars. The people who followed the procession are then requested to purify themselves by bathing in them; which being done, a yoke is put up with three palása branches stuck in the ground and tied at the top with a piece of weak string, and they are made to pass under it. The chief mourner passes last, and then, plucking out the yoke, offers a prayer to the sun. Thereupon, the party proceed to the nearest stream, and without looking at each other, purify themselves by bathing and a prayer

* ये ने खानी यम रचितारो चतुरधो पौर्णरी वचलवा। ताम्यां राजन परिद्वेश्यं खंडः चाक्षु अनसीवं पेरिः॥
† साम एक्षेम् पवले हस्तनेक उपासने। येघो सह प्रसावति तारखिदेवापि गच्छनात॥
चे युथेन्द्र प्रधनेषु शूरायो च तनुजय॥ चे वा सतवद्विजिश्वासाःकेरिदेवापि गच्छनात॥
नवाय चे अनायायापसा चे शुयगतः॥ तत्परे चे चिरे मदस्त तारखिदेवापि गच्छनात॥
to Prajápati. Ās'valáyana says nothing of the three trenches, but
takes the people at once to the river to bathe, where "they im-
merse themselves, and on rising throw a handful of water into the
air while they pronounce the name of the deceased, and that of his
family. They then get out of the water, put on dry clothes, and
after once wringing those that they had on before, they spread
them out towards the north, and sit down there themselves till the
stars are seen. According to others, they do not go home before
sun-rise. Then the young ones walk first, and the old ones last,
and when they arrive at their home, they touch, by way of purify-
ing themselves, "the stone, the fire, cow-dung, grain, (tila seed,) oil
and water before they step in."* This part of the ceremony and
the mourning which follows, have been described by Mann,
Yájnavalkya and others, and need not be further noticed. The
Aranyaka is entirely silent on the subject.

For the ceremony of burial, the first operation is, the collection of
the half-burnt bones. This should be done according to Ās'valáyana
on the 11th, 13th or 15th day of the wane; Baudhayána enjoins the
3rd, 5th or 7th from the day of cremation. The dates tritiyá, pan-
chami and saptami are, given in the feminine gender in the text, and
cannot imply day, as in ordinary acceptance they indicate the age
of the moon. As the ceremonies, however, of the tenth day are given
in a subsequent part of the work, and the Prayoga noticed above
names days, it is probable, that the morning of the 3rd, 5th or
7th day is meant, the elipse in the sútra being supplied by the
word titihi in the sense of a day. The first act is to sprinkle milk and
water on the cinders, and to strike on the heap with an udum-
vara staff to separate the bones. This is done while repeating
five mantras. The cinders are then collected and thrown to-
wards the south side, leaving the bones behind. Three oblations
are next offered to Agni with a śrava spoon. Thereupon the senior
wife is to come forward, and, with two bits of red and blue strings
to which a stone is tied, to draw out the bones with her left hand
saying: "Arise hence, and assume a (new) shape. Leave none of
your members or your body behind. Repair to whichever place
you wish; may Savitá establish you there. This is one of your

* Journal Royal As. Soc. xvi, 213.
On the Funeral Ceremonies of the ancient Hindus. [No. 4, bones, be joined with the third (other bones) in glory; having joined all the bones be handsome in person; be beloved of the gods in a noble place." The bones should then be washed and deposited in an urn, or tied up in a piece of black antelope skin. The urn or bundle is then to be hung from the branch of a sami or palása tree. Should the bones belong to a person who had performed a Soma sacrifice, they should be burnt again; otherwise they should be buried. For the latter purpose, an urn is absolutely necessary, and after placing the bones into it, it should be filled up with curds mixed with honey, and then covered over with grass. Āśvalayana recommends an urn with a spout for females and one without it for males. Two mantras are given, one for pouring the mixture, and the other to be addressed to its droppings.

Subsequently a proper place having been selected, a funeral procession should proceed to it in the morning, and the chief mourner should begin the operations of the day by sweeping the spot with a piece of leather or a broom of palása or sami wood. Then, yoking a pair of bullocks to a plough, he should dig six furrows running from east to west, and, saluting them with a mantra, deposit the urn in the central furrow. The bullocks should now be let loose by the south side, and water sprinkled over the place with an udumvara branch or from a jar. The covering of the urn is then removed, some aromatic herbs, sarvaushadhi, are put into the urn, and subsequently closed with pebbles and sand; each of the operations being performed while repeating an appropriate mantra. A mantra should likewise be pronounced for every one of the operations which follow, and these include, first, the putting of bricks around the urn; 2nd, the throwing thereon some sesamum seed and fried barley; 3rd, placing some butter on an unbaked plate on the south side; 4th, spreading there some darbha grass; 5th, surrounding the tumulus with a palisade of palása branches, and 6th, crowning the whole by sticking on the top a flowering head of the nala reed—arundo karka. The operator then anoints his body with
old ghi, and, without looking at the urn, places it on the spread grass, invokes the manes, wipes the urn with a bit of old rag, sprinkles some water with an udumbara branch, or from a jar, having covered his own person with an old cloth, and then buries the urn with bricks laid over it.

Some charu rice is then cooked, sanctified by a mantra, and while the chief mourner repeats five others, is put on the five sides of the urn. Sesamum seed and barley are now scattered around, some herbs put on the mound and more bricks added. Water should subsequently be sprinkled on the place, a prayer should be addressed to the gods, a branch of the varuna tree and a lot of brick-bats, a sami branch and some barley, should be placed on the mound, and the dead be invoked to translate himself to whichever region he likes. “Go to the earth, go to the void above, go to the sky, go to the quarters, go to heaven; go, go to heaven, go to the quarters, go to the sky, go to the void above, go to the earth, or go to the waters, wherever embodied thou canst live with the good and in peace.”*

A few holes being now dug round the mound, the ceremony of burial is completed. The operations, it will be seen, though oft-repeated and tedious, are of the simplest kind possible; the prayers are throughout addressed for the sensuous enjoyment and ease of the dead, and no where is any indication given of a desire for spiritual benefit, liberation from the wheel of transmigration, salvation or beatitude. Even sin is lightly looked upon, and the prayer for redemption from it, is slight and casual. The whole ceremony is of the most primitive type, and bespeaks an epoch of remote antiquity. It is worthy of note also that the double ceremonial of first incineration and subsequent burial, was common among the Greeks, Romans and other ancient Aryan races, and that in the fifth century before Christ, the remains of Sákyya Buddha were disposed of in the same way.

The last ceremony I have to notice is called s'ántikarma or rites for the well-being of the living. It should be performed on the

* प्रशिक्षितो गच्छानारिचं गच्छ दिर्वं गच्छ दिश्यों। गच्छ सुवर्गं च सुवर्गं दिश्यं
गच्छ दिर्वं गच्छानारिचं गच्छ प्रशिक्षितो गच्छायो वा गच्छ यदि तत्ते स्वतं विद्यमापयु
प्रजनित्वं मस्येः॥
morning following the ninth night after death, i.e., on the tenth day. This is an addition to the shaving and paring of nails and bathing, which are enjoined by mediæval and modern Smrītikāras, and are still current. Āśvalāyana recommends that this should be performed on the burning-ground on the 15th of the wane, i.e., on the day of the new moon. But our text fixes the day, and leaves it optional with the mourners to select any place out of a town, whether it be a burning ground or not, that may be convenient. The relatives by blood both male and female, having assembled, a fire should be lighted, and they should be requested to sit down on a bullock-hide of a red colour spread on the ground, with its neck-side facing the east, and its hairs directed towards the north. The request should be made in the following words: "Ascend on this life-giving (skin), as you wish to live to a decrepit old age. According to your seniority attempt carefully to abide on it. May the well-born and well-adorned fire of this ceremony bestow long life on you. Even as days follow days, and seasons are attached to seasons; even as the young forsake not their elders, may Dhātā so prolong the life of these (people) according to their age."* The assembly being thereupon seated, the chief mourner offers four oblations to the fire with a spoon made of varuṇa wood. The relatives then rise up, and placing themselves on the north of the fire, and facing the east, recite a mantra, while touching a red bull. The women are then requested to put on collyrium with these words—"Let these women, who are not widowed, who have good husbands, apply the collyrious butter to their eyes; without tears, without disease, worthy of every attention, let these wives enter the house."† The collyrium should be made of a substance called traikakaṇḍa which is brought from the Trikakut or triple humped peak of the Himalaya, meaning evidently the sulphuret of antimony or sur-

* आराधनायुजर्षयमात्मायमनुष्योऽनुपूर्वः दत्तायायायलिए। इस बलक्षणायमिमां 
पुरोषो दोषंमायु: करु जीवं व। इस उपमायुः स्वमिति वयांविधंवियांमिति ज्ञानं। यथा न पूर्वस्तिमः 
जन्मायेति भारारुपः स्वस्तिमः कल्याणः।
† इस वारीरविध्वः चुपकीर्पाक्षवः स्पिंया सम्मानः। अस्तवः अस्मीवः: 
हुःच्छव आराथं जनविषयाय यानिकम्य।
mà of the Indian bazars. It should be applied with the three central unexpanded leaves of the kusa grass which are thin, pliant, and pointed, like a camel hair brush, and answer the purpose better than the iron or stone style or bodkin which up-country women now use. The leaves being afterwards thrown away on a bundle of that grass, while repeating a mantra, the party proceed towards the east, leading the bull and saying: "These men, forsaking the dead, are returning. This day we invoke the gods for our good, for success over enemies, and for our merriment. We proceed eastward, having well sustained long lives."*

The last of the party, who is the chief mourner, should then recite another mantra, and with a sami branch efface the foot-marks of the bull that precedes the party. On the departure of the last man, the Adhvaryu should place a circle of stones behind him as a wall to prevent death overtaking those that have gone forward, praying—"I place this circle (of stones) for the living; may we and others not go beyond it in mid-life; may we all live a hundred autumns, driving death away by this heap."† The party then repair to the house of the chief mourner and feast on kid and barley, cooked for the purpose. Separate mantras are given for the eating of the two articles.

The most important of all the mantras above quoted, is the one which is intended as a direction to women to put on collyrium. It was first translated by Colebrooke, in 1795, as "the only Vaidik authority for the rite of Sati." Before him the compiler of the twenty-eight Sūritis had quoted it for the same purpose, and no doubt thousands over thousands of deluded women, in the moment of their greatest grief, have been sent to the blazing pyre with this

* रसे जोवा वि मर्गीराववर्चुदुद्रा देवलसियो चच। श्राध्वामा चन्ये 
रषय शासीय आयाः पतरर धानाः।

This verse, in the original, occurs a little before the one about the application of the collyrium. I have displaced it for the sake of consistency.

† रसे आवेशः परिषिथ दयासि मा चालानादपरो च देवमें। 
श्च चौवुः 
शरदः प्रूचक्षितिरो चाहुः द्रुश्ये पर्वनेन॥

Most of the mantras quoted above occur in the 10th Mandala of the Rig Veda, but their readings there are different, and they do not appear in the same order. Wilson's translations thereof do not, therefore, in many essential particulars, correspond with what I have given above. Vide Journal R. As. Soc. XVI, 201-2.
miserable passport to heaven. Dr. Wilson was the first to suspect, in 1856, in a paper published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. xvi, p. 201), that "it had reference to some procession, one possibly accompanying the corpse, but had nothing whatever to do with consigning live females to the fire;" and, for a guess, it was as close as it well could be. The late Sir Rájá Radhákánta Deva wrote a reply to this paper, in 1858, and in 1867, in a foot-note about three times larger than the paper to which it is attached, a writer, in the same periodical, (Vol. II, N. S. pp. 184-191,) entered into an elaborate verbal and punctilious criticism, but the ceremony for which the stanza was intended or to which it was applied, was left undetermined. In Rájá Radhákánta's letter to Dr. Wilson, a quotation was given from the Sútras of Bharadvája which gave the real clue to it, but none noticed it at the time. The true bearing is now made manifest, for, I believe, few will venture to question the authority of Baudháyana in such a matter. His words are—āthaitáh patnayo nayane sarpishá samśris'anti: "Now these women smear their eyes with butter." Bharadvája says, strínám anjalishu sampátaavanayanatimándríriti: "For placing of the sampáta in the hands of the women the mantra Imá nárih, &c." According to Ás'valáyana, the verse should be repeated by the chief mourner when looking at the women after they have applied the collyrium; imá náriravídhaváh supatnirityanjíná iksheta. This difference is due evidently to the authors belonging to different sákhás. Anyhow, it is abundantly clear that the verse was not intended to recommend self-immolation, but to be addressed to female mourners, wives of kinsmen, having their husbands living, not the widow, to put on collyrium, or to look at them after the operation. The Prayogákára says, tatah sampátapátramándáya sabhatrikastrínám anjalishu sampátaan avanayati, "then taking the sampáta pátra he places it on the hands of the women who have husbands, with the mantra imáh, &c."

The reading of the stanza appears differently in different recensions. According to Raghunundana, as given in the Śerampur edition of his works, and in my MS. it is as follows :—

![Translation of the stanza]

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Colebrooke's version, apparently taken down from hearsay, has—

On the Funeral Ceremonies of the ancient Hindus.

Professor Wilson's reading, quoted from the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rig Veda, differs materially from these; it runs thus:

Dr. Max Müller accepts this reading, correcting only suratnārahanu into surētvā ā rohantu. Our text, as quoted on page 256 and founded upon six manuscripts and the concurrent testimony of the Sūtrakāras, differs in one important particular. It replaces the last word of the first line, saṃsviś'antu, usually translated “let them enter,” by sammaś'antu, “let them smear.” It changes also suratnā “well ornamented,” into susētvā “well served” or “worthy of every attention.”

With such differences in the text, it is not to be wondered at that the English renderings which have been, from time to time, published, should be markedly different. Colebrooke was the first to take the stanza in hand, and he translated it into—“Om. Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives, adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire. Immortal, not childless, nor husbandless, well adorned with gems, let them pass into fire, whose original is water.”* Ward, Macnaughten, Rāmamohana Rāya and others have adopted this reading, and given translations more or less different from each other. But as the reading itself has not yet been traced to any authentic MS. of the Vedas, it may be dismissed without further notice.

Wilson's translation runs thus: “May these women, who are not widows, who have good husbands, who are mothers, enter with unguents and clarified butter: without tears, without sorrow, let them first go up into the dwelling.”† Max Müller's rendering is nearly the same. He writes—

"Es treten ein die Frau'n, mit Oel und Butter,
Nicht Witwen sie, ein, stolz auf edle Männer.
Die Mütter gehn zuerst hinauf zur Stätte,
In schönem Schmuck und ohne Leid und Tränen."‡

The writer of the foot-note above alluded to, adopts Max Müller's reading, but attempts to improve upon his translation by the following:—"Let these women, unwidowed, having good husbands, and with anointing butter on their eyes, enter their houses. Let the mothers, pearless, pearless, possessed of excellent wealth, go up to the house first." He adds "I have here followed Sāyāna, save in not rendering यां राज्ञा by "approach," ब्राह्मण. What is meant by स्थिनि, Sāyāna's "house," is not obvious."*

The most material error in the above translations is due to Sāyāna. That great commentator, when he took up the Rig Veda, depended more upon the lexicographic meanings of words than upon the relation of the mantras to the ceremonies of the Yajur Veda, and hence many discrepancies are to be met with between his interpretations and those of the ancient Sūtrakāras, and sometimes in his own interpretations of the same verse in the Rig, Yajur and the Sāma Vedas. Nowhere is this more prominently apparent than in his commentary on the stanza under notice, in the Rig and the Yajur Vedas. When he met with it in the former, he wrote:

"रसा नारोरिति। अविधाय: पव: पति: अविगुप्तपितका: जीवद्वत्का द्यथः। सुप्लोऽधः। शामनपितका: दसा नारो: लाय्या अश्रुनेन सर्वतोग्रहणेन शारणा ध्रुवेन तत्सहवातः सतः: शंविष्णु श्रमण:। प्रचुरः तथाः अनव: अष्टु-विभिन्नं: श्रद्धा: श्रान्तिः। सुविष्णु: श्रीविष्णुश्रान्तिः। इति प्रचुरः तथाः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः। अनवः: श्रीविष्णुभवातः।

Subsequently, with the light of Baudhāyana, Bharadvāja and Hiranyakes'ī, he perceived the true bearing of the stanza, and then interpreted it thus:—


That the last is the most consistent rendering may be accepted without hesitation.

The meaning of the stanza, word for word, would be _imáh_ "these," _nárih_ irregular plural nominative of _nári,_ "woman," alluding to the ladies of the kinsmen who have assembled at the ceremony; the regular form is _náryah._ The women have for epithets, _avidhaváh_ "not widows," or "unwidowed," and _supatní,_ "having good husbands," (supatí). Those who apply the stanzas to concremation explain the first word by "not to be widowed," a meaning which it cannot be made to bear, there being neither any rule nor analogy to support it. The next word _ánjanena_ is an adjective qualifying _sarpišá,_ both in the instrumental case, meaning "with colloryious butter." The next word _náyane_ is in the locative case—"on the eye." The verb necessary for these elements should be one which means "applying or "smearing," and this is what we have in _sammríṣántám,_ "let smear," from the root _mríṣ_ "to smear." The _Rig Vedic_ reading _saṃvís'antu,_ from the root _vis'_ "to enter," can have no relation to the instrumental, except as entering with the butter applied to the eye, in which case the ordinary plan would be to convert the instrumental and the locative into one epithet, serving as an adjective to the nominative, women. It is therefore probable that the root _vis'_ had, in ancient times, the meaning of decorating or putting on, as we have now the same root used to indicate "dressing," _ves'a,_ whence _ves'yá_ "a woman who lives by her dress,—a harlot." Yáśka adopts this meaning when he includes _ves'-ati_ among the verbs for ornamentation, _kántikarma._ Sáyāna, not perceiving this when he commented on the _Rig Veda,_ took the word in its ordinary signification, and so interpreted the stanzas as to make the women first enter their own houses—_sagrihín prvis'antu,_ and subsequently the house _'jonī_ of the chief mourner; in so doing he had to supply what he supposed was an elipse, and entirely to mislead his readers. The new reading of the word in the _Aranyaka_ now leaves no doubt on the subject.

The words of the second line _anás'raváh_ "tearless," _anamiváh_ "diseaseless" or free from pain either of body or mind, (it has been loosely rendered in one of the above quotations by "not miserable," ) _sus'evaḥ_ "well served," all refer to, and are epithets of, _janayah_ "wives" which follows. In the _Rig Veda_ tho last epithet is
changed to suratnáh "well ornamented" without in any way altering the construction. The verb is árohantu "let ascend" or "proceed," and agrees with the nominative janayah "wives." The dative is jonin "to house" in the singular, the house of the chief mourner, where they are to partake of a feast, and not that of the females. The last word agre, "first or foremost" is an adverb qualifying the verb árohantu.

The words ájanena sarpishá have confounded all the European translators. Wilson has rendered them into "unguents and butter," and Max Müller into "oel und butter." One has dropt the word ájanena and used only "butter;" he is particular in reminding his readers that he has followed Sáyāṇa, but his assurance must be received with some reservation, for the scholiast neither omits the first word nor is remiss in explaining it; his words are anjana-súdhanena sarpishá "with butter for making collyrium" or anjanahetuná sarpishá "with butter the source of collyrium," that is, as I have rendered, "with collyrious butter, or collyrium made of butter," the other element of the unguent being, as stated in a subsequent mantra, a mineral of the name of traikakuda, which I guess to be sulphuret of antimony or surmá. The object of the mantra is to prohibit the use of the ordinary collyrium, which is differently made. The usual practice to this day is to smear a little butter or oil in the bowl of a spoon, and to hold it over a lamp, so that a quantity of lamp-black may be deposited on it, and when the two are mixed together with the fingers, they constitute the collyrium. The sulphuret is still used in the North-West Provinces.

The second mantra to which I wish to draw the attention of the reader is the one with which a brother, student, or servant of the deceased is to remove the widow from the pyre; inasmuch as it clearly shows that the widow at the time was not burnt, but taken to abide in the land of the living, and to marry if she liked. That the removal was positive and final, and not nominal, is evident from the rules of the Sútrakáras. Baudháyana says, "He who approaches her should, holding her by the left hand, take her up," tán pratigatah savye pauravaṅhpayo'payati. This is done after obtaining the permission of the deceased by a formal mantra,
ante p. 247, and on the 3rd, 5th or 7th day after the cremation, the widow, or the eldest widow, if there should happen to be more than one, is expected to go to the burning ground and collect the bones of the dead with her left hand. As'valáyana is equally precise, and adds that, should the widow be removed by an old servant, the chief mourner should repeat the mantra, (Karttá vrishale japet, Sútra, 4. 2 19). The author of the Prayoga, it is true, takes this direction to apply to pregnant women only who should not be burnt alive, but his authority in such a case is of little value, when opposed to that of the oldest Sútrakáras, and the evident purport of the mantra. It may be also observed that the widow is to take away the gold, bow and jewel, which are put into the hands of the Bráhman, Kshetriya and Vaisya dead respectively—with which, according to a subsequent mantra, she is to live in wealth, splendour and glory in the society of the remover, in this world, and this she could not do, if she were immolated.

The mantra, as given in our text, ante page 248, is slightly different from a similar stanza in the second S'ukta of the second Anuváka of the 10th Mandala of the Rig Veda, and quoted by Wilson and Max Müller in the papers above alluded to; the words itásu and abhisambabhura of our text being replaced by gatásu and abhisambabhutha. The words, however, are synonymous, and therefore the difference is of no moment. The second word, a verb, is, in the Rig Veda, in the third person, dual irregular, having for its nominative tvá “thou,” understood, and in our text it is in the third person singular, both may therefore be taken as Vedic peculiarities.

The most important word in the mantra is didhishu, which Sáyaña, when commenting on the Rig Veda, took to imply impregnation diddishoh garbhasya nidhatoh. In the Aranyaka he accepts it in its ordinary well-established dictionary meaning of a man “who marries a widow” or “the second husband of a woman twice married,” as Wilson gives it. The result is a material difference in the meaning. The version given by Wilson is as follows:—“Rise up, woman, come to the world of living beings, thou sleepest nigh unto the lifeless. Come: thou hast been associated with maternity through the husband by whom thy hand
was formerly taken." Max Müller's reading is closely similar. He writes—

"Steh auf, o Weib! Komm zu der Welt des Lebens!
Du schläfst bei einem Todten—Komm hernieder!
Du bist genug jetzt Gattin ihm gewesen,
Ihm, der Dich wählte und zur Mutter machte."

In our version, following Sāyāna’s second and more recent commentary, we take the word hastagrābhasya "of him who holds thy hand," and the other predicates in the present tense, and the didhishu in its crude sense, and apply them to the party who holds the widow’s hand while lying on the pyre. This appears the most consistent and in keeping with the whole ceremony, and therefore preferable to referring them to the dead. The only objection to this reading is to be found in the fact that the verb is in the past perfect tense, but seeing that Pāṇini has laid down more than one special rule for the use of the past for the imperative (Liñārthe let 3, 4, 7, &c.), and Sāyāna has accepted the same, it is perfectly immaterial. In a pamphlet on the impropriety of widow marriage, lately published by some of the Professors of the Benares Sanskrit College, the word jivalokam "the world of living beings" has been rendered by martyrlokat anyam, "other than the region of mortals," but such a meaning is not admissible either by any positive rule or by analogy. Sāyāna renders it, in one place, by—"the region of the living sons and grandsons," jivānām putrapaurādīnām lokam, and in another, by "aiming at the region of the living creatures," jivantam prāyisamāhambhikalaksya. Other interpretations of the Professors are equally open to question, but it is not necessary to notice them. That the re-marriage of widows in Vedic times was a national custom can be easily established by a variety of proofs and arguments; the very fact of the Sanskrit language having, from ancient times, such words as didhishu, "a man that has married a widow," parapūrvī "a woman that has taken a second husband," paunarbhava, "son of a woman by her second husband," are enough to establish it; but it would be foreign to the subject of this paper to enter into it here.

† Zeitschrift, IX, p. vi.
Some Account of the Rishis or Hermits of Kashmir.—By Lieut.-Col.
D. J. F. Newall, R. A.

I have already in a paper on the Hindú pilgrimages of Kashmír* alluded to the fact of many shrines being equally held in reverence by the Hindú and Muhammadan, and have stated as the reason that the fragments of overthrown or ruined Hindú temples had been used in the construction of the Moslem Ziárats or Mosques, and also that the Kashmir Muhammadan in some degree still clings to the superstitions of his Hindú ancestors. As an illustration of this assertion, I now proceed to give some account of an order of recluses which in the earlier years of the Muhammadan occupation of Kashmir attained considerable celebrity in the Moslem world, I mean the order of "Rishis" or "Hermits," who from about A. H. 782 [A. D. 1380], when the celebrated Sayyid ʿAli Hamadání, and his son Mir Muhammad Hamadání, fugitives from Persia, appeared in Kashmir, and began to attract proselytes from amongst the various native religious sects existing at the period in Kashmir. Abul Fazl records that in his time 45 places of worship existed to Siva, 64 to Vishnu, 3 to Brahma, 22 to Budha, together with nearly 700 figures of serpent gods, in Kashmir; and these numbers may be taken approximately to represent the religion of the country at the period of Muhammadan usurpation. Note that the worship of the Tree and Serpent, that mystic and primitive form of superstition, entered largely into the character of the religion, and may have in its sylvan proclivities in some degree influenced these Muhammadan Rishis or Hermits in the solitudes. I would further add that the tendency to seclusion so characteristic of Budhism may have also influenced these solitaires. We have an instance of the cave of Bhima Devi (near Martund),† formerly the residence and burying-place of the ascetic king Areer Rhyie, who lived about A. D. 330, being adopted for a similar purpose by Muhammadan faqir in modern times, and the tomb pointed out as that of Areer Rhyie, who was probably a convert to the

* Vide Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, July, 1866.
† The small cave temple of Bhammojo in the immediate vicinity is probably a Buddhist temple attributed to Bhuma-joyotis—the planet Mars—as its tutelary "Rishi." Vide Cunningham’s Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture, p 251, and Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1848, p. 254.

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Budhistic schism. The said tomb, however, is probably that of some more modern recluse.

Deeply imbued with the çufism of the age and country from which they emigrated, these Sayyids and their followers seem to have imported into Kashmír the doctrines of the Shi'ah sect, and with them that tendency to mysticism and miracle making, so characteristic of the sect: perhaps also shocked at the tyranny and self-assertion of Timur Lang (Tamerlane), at that time dominant in Central Asia, they may have sought refuge in the regions of abstract thought as a solace for the worldly repression under which they laboured. Be it observed that the human mind has ever tended towards mysticism and solitude at times when tyrants flourished, and in the present case, no doubt, the wrath of Timur had been aroused against these Sayyids, who perhaps may have attempted to usurp an independence of act and speech displeasing to a barbarous oriental conqueror.

Be this as it may, they and their disciples appear to have found in Kashmír an apt soil in which to transplant their religious dogmas; and in the succeeding years the remarkable sect of which I am about to attempt some short account arose from amidst them.*

At page 6 of my "Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir" published in the Society's Journal, September, 1854, I alluded to the Historian Muhammad 'Azím as the chief authority for the chronicles of this sect. They are also described in the pages of Firishtah and Abul Fazl as a very respectable order in their time (A. D. 1600), some 2,000 in number, abstaining from luxury and sexual intercourse, living on berries and the wild fruits of the mountains, in the remote corners of which many of them had taken up their abodes for purposes of meditation and seclusion. In some instances they had constructed shrines or zidrats, many of which remain to this day, attesting in their traditions their founders' austerities and virtues, and forming local schools of holy men or priests, whose influence on the whole has been beneficial to the people, as promulgating the principles of humanity and moral virtues, as contra-

* The Tazuk i Jahángírí also contains many facts deserving of attention regarding Kashmír hermits; but I have not consulted it in drawing up this paper.
Some Account of the Rishis or Hermits of Kashmir.

Distinguished from the religious dogmas and propaganda of the Moslem faith. Before proceeding to enumerate a few of these worthies and their holy acts and miracles, real or pretended, as recorded by the Historian Muhammad 'Azim, I must premise that Shihabuddin, fourth (or according to some, fifth) Muhammadan king of Kashmir, styled the Iconoclast, had died in the year 1376, A. D., and had been succeeded by his brother Qutbuddin, in whose reign the famous Sayyid 'Ali Hamadání alluded to above, arrived in Kashmir; and his advent is recorded in the following couplet, which also contains the date (A. H. 782):

Page 6. "Sayyid 'Ali Hamadání. This celebrated Sayyid was a fugitive from his native city, Hamadan, where he had incurred the wrath of Timur. Seven hundred Sayyids are said to have accompanied his flight to Kashmir, where he remained six years, and which he named the Garden of Solomon (Bágh-i-Sulaimán). He died at Pak'hli whilst on his return to Persia (A. H. 786.)

"His son Mir Muhammad Hamadání was also a fugitive, and brought in his train three hundred Sayyids to Kashmir, where he remained twelve years.

"These two emigrations of fugitive Sayyids fixed the religion of the country, and were doubtless the chief cause of the religious persecutions, which ensued in the following reign. They established shrines all over the country, many of which remain to this day. They originated the sect of rishis or hermits, which are described by Abul Fazl as a very respectable and inoffensive order in his time, some 2,000 in number, living upon fruits and berries and abstaining from sexual intercourse; their numbers, however, afterwards declined, until they were quite extinguished by the courtiers and creatures of the Emperors of Delhi. Muhammad 'Azim, the Historian, enumerates many worthies of this sect. * * * Kashmir having been, previous to this influx of zealots, in a transition state as to religion, the
Some Account of the Rishis or Hermits of Kashmir.  [No. 4, advent of a Muhammadan saint such as Sayyid 'Ali seems to have hailed with enthusiasm, and proselytism to have commenced in real earnest."

Previous to the advent of Sayyid 'Ali, however, the noted Faqîr Bulbul Shâh had appeared in Kashmir, and been instrumental in the conversion of Ranjpoj (or Ranjú Shâh) to Islâm. He is famed as the first Moslem who appeared in Kashmir. His original name was Sayyid Sharafuddin, and he was so holy, that singing birds (bulbuls) are said to have nestled in his hair and beard. At his instigation, Ranjú Shâh is stated to have built the first mosque ever constructed in Kashmir. Bulbul Shâh died in A. H. 727, according to the following distich—

\[
\text{بادل قدس گفت خاص الله}
\]

which corresponds with A. D. 1327. I scarcely, however, include the three above-named amongst the number of Rishis properly so called, and which I now proceed to enumerate.

1. Shaikh Nuruddin, whose zîrat is still extant in the Trahal pergunnah, is stated to have ‘repented’ at 30 years of age, and to have lived for twelve years in the wilderness, marvellously subsisting on grass. After that, he sustained life on one cup of milk daily, and finally reduced himself to water alone for 2½ years, when he died. He was born in the reign of Qutbuddin, about the time of Sayyid 'Ali’s advent is Kashmir, as is expressly recorded in the histories.

2. Bâbâ Pâm Rishi (Father Grey Beard) was minister of Zain-ul-'abidin. One day observing ants carrying grain to their stores, he fell into meditation, and became impressed with the necessity of laying up stores for the ‘life to come,’ and accordingly renounced the world, and established his hermitage in the Bongil pergunnah, where his monastery is seen to this day, close under the lovely plain of Gul Murg. It is an instance of the remark made in the preliminary paragraph of this paper as to the Moslem and Hindú being often seen worshipping together at the same shrine. It is a noted resort even now.


4. Shaikh Pir Báz, of Utterhail.
5. Rajab-uddín, of Martund, was originally a soldier.
6. Haidar But, of Lar pergunnah.
7 and 8. Reygie Rishi and Nauráz Rishi.
10. Shaikh Hamzah Makháání. His ziárat is on the Koh i Márán. He flourished in the time of the Chaks.
11. Sayyid Ahmad Kírmání, and
12. Sayyid Madinah (of that city), flourished in the time of Zain-ul-Ábidín.
13. Sayyid Muhammad Hiçárí, a Sayyid and follower of Mir Muhammád Hamadání. Of him is related the following story: “Having fallen into a trance, a copious stream of water flowed down from his sleeves and garments. On enquiry as to this phenomenon, the Sayyid stated that one of his murids (disciples) was on a voyage to Mecca; and that his ship was sinking, whereupon he had prayed to his Pir Murshid (spiritual director) for help; which he (Sayyid Muhammad Hiçárí) had accorded, having, in spirit, plunged into the water to his assistance; hence the water from his garments.
14. Sayyid Muhammad Núristání was distinguished in the building of the Jámí’ Masjíd. It appears that the foundation kept sinking, and would not hold together, till this Sayyid appeared and personally applied to the work. He is also stated to have relieved indigent persons by converting a lump of clay into gold.
15. Sayyid Muhammad Madan detected by intuition dishes composed of game improperly killed (not halál).
16. Mir Husain Mántiqí (the logician), son of Sayyid Muhammad Amúr Mántiqí, went to visit the king (Zainul-Ábidín), and found him surrounded by women and musicians; whereupon, being displeased, he plunged into a river of water and was apparently lost; but shortly afterwards on the king’s approaching his home, he saw the Sayyid calmly sitting reading.
18. Núri Rishi. A miracle similar to that of the “Loaves and Fishes” is recorded of this hermit.
19. Bábá Latífuddín. Son of a chief of Murardwin. His name before conversion to Islám was Laddy Reyna.

This brings me to the end of the notes I have taken on the subject of the Hermits or Rishis of Kashmir, and I almost regret that my notes on the subject are so brief.

Without having inaugurated much philosophy, or displayed marked learning, these holy men seem in the main to have been actuated by motives of piety and a desire for moral advancement. We might smile at the weak credulity which has invested their memories with the attributes of superhuman wisdom and power, had we not parallel examples in sects of our own faith. We may fairly credit to many of them lives of purity and moral excellence. Dwelling amidst scenes of natural beauty and grandeur, the wild freshness of nature seems to have touched their hearts with something of its kindred influences. In them far beyond most orientals, do we recognise some germ of the romantic spirit of the north and love of the picturesque, which we fail to trace in the southern Semitic races, but gleams of which sometimes crop out in the Tātār and Mughul tribes. To complete this fragmentary sketch, views of the localities and ziārats alluded to would be requisite, as tending to shew the picturesque solitudes into which the musing spirit of these recluses led them to wander. We need not wonder at the choice of such retreats by calm and God-fearing men, where amidst some of the most glorious scenery this earth contains, they could taste of simple pleasures, exercise free thought, and 'look from nature up to nature's God.'

Forest of Kujear, Chumba, June, 1870.
Facsimiles of several Autographs of Jahangir, Shâhjahân, and Prince Dârá Shikoh, together with Notes on the Literary Character and the Capture and Death of Dârá Shikoh.—By H. Blochmann Esq., M. A., Assistant Professor, Calcutta Madrasah.

(With a Plate.)

Nos. 1. and 2. (Plate XIII, 1 and 2.) Autographs of the Emperors Jahangir and Shâhjahân.

The splendid MS. on the fly-leaf of which these two autographs stand, belongs to Babú Pratápa Chandra Ghosh, Assistant Secretary, Asiatic Society, and was described in the Proceedings of the Society, for July, 1869, p. 190, where the text and translation will be found, together with a remark on the historical value of Shâhjahân’s autograph.

The facsimiles of the plate are perfect and resemble the original in the minutest particulars.

The MS. has at the end the following remark—

from which it will appear that the book was copied in the end of Zī Qa’dah, 945 (April, 1539, A.D.) at Bukhârâ, during the reign of Abul Ghâzi Sulṭân 'Abdul 'Azíz Bahádur.

On the other fly-leaf there are numerous signatures of Librarians and officers who inspected the Imperial Library; hence the frequent عَرْض دیده شده, 'arz dídahshudah, ‘inspected.’ The term دیدن, 'arz dídan, which means to inspect, to muster, if not a usual phrase, appears to have been the technical term used at the Mughul Court; and if MSS. have on their fly-leaves the words عَرْض دیده شده, they are sure to have once belonged to the Imperial Library.

Jahángir’s spelling سیدم, for سیدم, is unorthographical.

The value of the MS. was fixed at 3000 Rupees.

In the Tuzuk i Jahángírí (Sayyid Ahmad’s edition, p. 81), mention is made of another master-piece of the same calligrapher, which was valued at 1000 goldmuhurs (9000 Rupees)—
"The Khán Khánán presented [in 1019, A. H.] a copy of Jámi’s Yúsuf Zalikhá, in the handwriting of Mir ’Alí, illustrated and gilded, bound in gold, a most splendid copy. Its price is one thousand goldmuhurs."

This MS. was evidently the fellow to Bábá Pratápa Chandra Ghosh’s MS.

No. 3. Another autograph of Sháhjáhán.

The second volume of the Pádisháhnámah which belongs to this adorer of God’s throne. Written by Sháhjáhán Pádisháh, son of Jahángír Pádisháh, son of Akbar Pádisháh i Ghází.

The MS. on the first page of which this autograph is written, belongs to the Asiatic Society, Bengal, (Persian MSS., No. 71).

The autograph contains a correction indicated by the letters (muqaddam) and خ (muakhlkar) above the first three words. The first word should stand second. It also shews that Sháhjáhán called the book Pádisháhnámah, and not Bádisháhnámah.

The similarity between autographs 2 and 3 is striking; and proves the genuineness of either. The former looks more flowing than the latter. Sháhjáhán was born A. H. 1000; hence he was 36 [solar] years old when he wrote the first (A. H. 1037). The 2nd Volume of the Pádisháhnámah ends with 1057 A. H.; thus when Sháhjáhán wrote No. 3, he must have been older than 56 years.

4. An autograph of Prince Dárá Shíkhoh.

He is the Sovereign!

The Masnáwi of Sultán Walád, in his own handwriting.

The writer of these words is Muhammad Dárá Shikoh.

The MS. on the fly-leaf of which this autograph is found, belongs to the Government of India, and was noticed in the Proceedings of the Society for August, 1870, p. 251.
The Literary Character of Dárá Shikoh.

A particular interest attaches to the religious views and the literary character of Dárá Shikoh. Aurangzib calls him an atheist, and the historians of his reign look upon his sentence of death as a service rendered to Islám. But from his works, it is clear that Dárá was no atheist, but had a strong leaning to Cófis and natural religion. With the Cófis he shared the belief that the ordinances of the Prophet are excellent for the unthinking masses: thinking places a man above the ceremonial law, and renders him free (ázâd). But the thinking man, whilst standing above the ceremonial law, is not necessarily opposed to it; in his search for truth he has reached a stage where revealed religion and its commands no longer apply to him. Hence it is unnecessary that he should formally renounce Islám; he may even outwardly conform to its ordinances. As far as he is concerned, Islám stands on a level with all other religions, e.g., Hinduisim, the study of the philosophy of which ceases to be objectionable, and may even lead to further emancipation of thought.* Hence Dárá Shikoh devoted his zeal to the translation of the Upanishads into Persian, and wrote at the same time his Safinat-ulauliyá, a biographical work on the lives of Muhammadan Saints. In style and arrangement, his book does not differ from similar works written by pious Muhammadans. Another book composed by Dárá Shikoh, treats of the principles of Cófisim.† The latter work only possesses a historical interest as being written by a Prince of Dihli. In the former work, the Safinah, Dárá Shikoh calls himself Muhammad Dárá Shikoh i Hanafi i Qádiri, to shew that he was a Hanafi Sunní and a follower of the great orthodox Saint 'Abdul Qádir of Gilán, whose disciples form the Qádiriyah Sect. The only MS. which I have seen, belongs to the Government of India, and was written in 1151, the 21st year of Muhammad Sháh. It contains 216 leaves, 15 lines per page, and is very worm-eaten. It begins with an alhamdu lilâh, &c. The next sentence is—

† MSS. are rare. The only one I have seen is preserved among the Delhi MSS. belonging to the Government of India. Its title is Risálah i Haq-numd.

35
Although the circumstances and the miracles of the Lord of mankind [the Prophet], and the excellent qualities of his companions, and of the twelve Imáms, and the sayings of the Saints, are clearer than day light, &c.

The books ends with the following sentence—

If there should be an error or mistake in this book (for man may err), the learned are requested to cover it with the hem of correction. Praise be to God, praise for now and ever.

In the Khazinat ul Aqfia (خريحة الإميا),* a very full compilation in Persian of biographical notes on Muhammadan Saints by Muftí Ghulám Sarwar of Láhor, there is a short notice of Muhammad Dará Shikoh i Qádirí (p. 163). Besides the Safinat-ulauliá and the Risálah i Haq-numá, the author mentions four other works composed by Dará,—1. The Sakinat-ulauliá; 2. The Sirr i akbar; 3. The Diwán i Iksir i A’zam; and 4. The Risálah i Ma’árif. I have not seen MSS. of these works. From an extract given by Ghulám Sarwar (p. 162), I conclude that the Safínah, like the Safínah, contains biographical notes on Saints. The titles of the other three works imply that the contents are Cúfíistic.

The interest which Dará took in the lives and the views of Muhammadan Saints is very conspicuous in the Safínah. He made it a point to visit their dargáhs, and has thus been enabled, in several cases, to give valuable historical details. Thus on a visit to Ghaznú, he took occasion to visit the tomb of the renowned poet and saint Hakim Sanái, and he states in the Safínah that the epitaph shewed Sanái’s death to have occurred in 525, A. H. The year of Sanái’s death is variously given in works on Persian Literature.

The Capture and Death of Dárá Shikoh.

The sad fate of Prince Dárá Shikoh deserves to be noticed. It created so much pity at the time, that the people of Dihlí for once

* Lithographed at Láhor, A. H. 1231- Royal Svo., 1072 pages text, and 18 pages Index. There exists at present no other compilation that is so full of notes on Indian Saints and their Dargáhs.

Muftí Ghulám Sarwar has also published another Persian book, entitled Ganj i Táríkh, which contains upwards of fifteen hundred Táríkh of Muhammadan celebrities. Lithographed at Láhor, Kohi Núr Press, Royal Svo., 256 pages, no index.
went into rebellion, instead of mutely looking, as had been their custom, on the atrocities which they called "decrees of fate."

The principal events of his capture and death are known from the European Histories; but the following particulars may assist future Historians in giving a more correct description of Dárá's fate.

Aurangzíb defeated Dará Shikoh in two battles. The first was fought on the 6th Ramazán 1068, or 28th May, 1658, A. D., at Samogar (سماوگر), 9 miles east of Agrah in the perganah of Fathá-bád; and the second, on the 27th and 28th Jumáda II, 1069, or 12th and 13th March, 1659, A. D., at Deorá (دیور), which lies 3 kos south of Ajmír. Dará fled on the evening of the second day, accompanied by his son, Sipíhr Shikoh, and a courtier of the name of Fírúz i Mewáti. Dará's wife and daughter, under the charge Khwájáh Ma’qúl, waited, far from the scene of the battle, at Aná-ságár Taláó, in the neighbourhood of Ajmír. As soon as the result of the battle was known, their Rájpút guards dispersed; but some came back and plundered the elephants and the mules that were laden with treasure. Dará met his wife next day.

After a flight of eight or nine days, Dará arrived at Ahmadábád in Gujrát. Finding no support, he fled to Kárí, whence Kánjí Kolí (کانچی کولی) guided him to Kachh. Here Gul Muhammad, whom Dará had made Faujdár of Súrat, joined the Prince with 50 horse and 200 footmen. But as the Rájah of Kachh would not take up his cause, Dará fled towards Bhakkar on the Indus, with the view of passing over Qandahár into Persia.

From here the details of Dará's flight and capture, as given in European Histories, differ materially from the Muhammadian sources from which they profess to be taken. Elphinstone says (fifth edition, p. 609)—Dará pursued his way [from Kachh] towards Qandahár, and reached the small territory of Jún or Juín, on the eastern frontier of Sindh. *** Dará's wife died at this place, ... and when the period of mourning permitted, he set out on prosecution of his journey to the Indus. So also Marshman, who, however, adds that the chief of Jún was a Rájah, whilst Elphinstone correctly supposes that he was an Afghán.

But the fact is that Dará crossed the Indus at Bhakkar, passed through the district inhabited by the Chandí tribe, where he and
his followers had to fight for their lives, and came to the territory of
the Magasis, the chief (mbrzā) of whom received him hospitably.
The chief town of the Chandis is Chandia (also called Dehí Kot,
Long. 67° 34, Lat. 27° 38), and the district of the Magasis, an un-
important Balúchí tribe, lies north of Chandia. Dárá then direct-
ed his march towards Dádar (Long. 67° 41'; Lat. 29° 26'), the Afghán
chief of which, Malik Jiwan, lay under obligations to the prince.
At Dádar, a town which is notoriously the hottest inhabited place
on earth, Dárá wished to rest from the fatigues of the journey.
Malik Jiwan sent his headman Ayyūb to receive him, and when the
prince entered the territory of Dádar, he arrived himself, and
took him to the town. Before they had entered Dádar, Dárá's
wife died. The corpse was taken to Malik Jiwan's residence, but
as it had been her dying wish to be buried in Hindústání soil, Dárá,
"with a disregard of circumstances that looks like infatuation," sent
away Khwájah Ma'qúl and the faithful Gul Muhammad—Firúz i
Mewáţí had left him at Bhakkar—with seventy horse to escort the
coffin to Láhor, where the princess was buried in the house of the
revered Miyán Mír, whose disciple Dárá professed to be.

After staying several days at Dádar, Dárá, on the 29th Ramazán
1069 A. H. (11th June, 1659, A. D.) left Malik Jiwan, and proceeded
to Qandahár. No sooner had he gone than Malik Jiwan—Kháfi
Khán says, his brother—fell on Dárá, made him and his son
prisoners, and sent reports of his doings to Bahádur Khán and
Rájah Jai Singh, who had followed Dárá beyond the Indus, and to
Báqír Khán, Faujdár of Bhakkar. Báqír immediately despatched
a courier to Aurangzíb at Dihlí.

The name of the treacherous chief of Dádar, Malik Jiwan (ملک
جیون) has perhaps been the occasion of the geographical errors into
which European historians have fallen. It looks as if Elphinstone,
or the author whose work he used, read مالک málik, 'owner,' instead
of مالک málík; and as if Jiwan had been arbitrarily changed to Jún,
in order to suit the word owner. But the name of the district and
town in Eastern Sindh to which Elphinstone refers, is جون Jon, not
Jiun. Jon, like U'ch, Daibal, Thát'hah, and other towns of the
shifting Indus Delta, is now an unimportant place between Thát'hah
and Amrkoṭ; at the time of Humáyún it was renowned for its
gardens (Akbarnámah). That Malik Jiwan was a Muhammadan, and not a Rájah, as Marshman says, is clear from the fact that he was chief of Dádar, and also from the title of Bakhtyár Khán, which Aurangzib conferred upon him as reward for his treachery. There is no instance on record that the title of Khán was ever “conferred” upon a Hindú.

Dará and Sipîhr Shikoh were escorted by Bahádur Khán and Malik Jiwan to Dihlí, where they arrived on the 14th or 15th Zí Hajjah 1069. They were confined in the palace of Khírzábád (Dihlí). On the 20th of the same month, Aurangzib ordered them to be paraded (tashhír) on an elephant through the streets of Dihlí, the inhabitants of which were to satisfy themselves that it was really Dará; else false Dáras were sure to create disturbances in future times. Behind them on the elephant sat the desperate Nazar Beg, one of Aurangzib’s ‘trust-worthy’ slaves, and Bahádur Khán’s troopers formed the escort.

Two days after Dará and Sipîhr had been lodged at Khírzábád (i. e. on the 16th or 17th Zí Hajjah), the people of Dihlí expressed their sympathies for Dará by attacking Malik Jiwan and his Afgháns, and the troopers of Bahádur Khán, as related in the histories. The leader of the revolt was an Ahádí of the name of Haibat. He was seized and executed. Aurangzib expected a general rising. “His Majesty, therefore, animated by a desire to promote the religion of the Prophet and obey his law, and compelled by circumstances and a regard for his own rule,” thought it necessary to kill Dará, “determined no longer to allow the Prince’s atheism (ilhád) and rebelliousness—each a sufficient reason in itself for killing him—to interfere with the peace of the country.” (Alámgírínámah.)

The order was given the day after Dará had been paraded in the streets, on the 21st Zí Hajjah 1069; and Saif Khán, and several trustworthy Cheláhs (slaves), as Nazar Beg, killed Dará in the beginning of the night at Khírzábád (Tuesday evening, 30th August, 1659).* His body was taken to Humáyún’s tomb, and buried below

* The last day (29th Zí Hajjah) of the year 1069 coincides with Wednesday, 7th September, 1659. Hence the 21st Zí Hajjah is Tuesday, 30th August. The Muhammadan Historian say, Dárá was killed on a Wednesday evening. This fully agrees with our computation; for the Muhammadan Wednesday commenced on Tuesday, 6 o’clock p. m.
the dome, where Dányál and Murád, Akbar’s sons, lie buried, and which was subsequently filled with corpses of other Timurides.

These details are taken from the 'Alamgírnámah, pp. 218 to 325, 408 to 415, 430 to 435, with which the Mir-át ul 'Alam and the Maásir i 'Alamgírí agree.

Kháfi Khán (Ed. Bibl. Indica, II, 82 to 87) differs from them in several particulars.

First, he makes Dárá’s wife die in the house of Malik Jiwan.
Secondly, Dárá is captured by Malik Jiwan’s brother.
Thirdly, Dárá is sentenced to death for heresy.*
Fourthly, Dárá’s corpse also was paraded in the streets of Dihlí.
Fifthly, he says, Dárá was killed on the last (29th) day of Zil-Hajjah, instead of on the 21st.

Bernier in his Travels gives a few additional particulars. He calls Malik Jiwan Jihon Khán; hence the correct pronunciation may be Malik Jion (چیدو). Bernier evidently did not know where Malik Jion’s territory was; but he calls him a Pat’hán. Dárá’s wife, according to his story, did not die a natural death, but swallowed poison at Láhor, to which town Dárá had been taken from Tattah,—which is most improbable.

The author of the excellent Miftáh uttáváríkh (Mr. Thomas) says that Dárá and his son arrived as prisoners in Dihlí on the 20th Zí Hajjah, 1069, corresponding to the 17th Sháhriwar of Akbar’s era; but that the day of Dárá’s execution was not certain, inasmuch as some sources mentioned the 21st Zí Hajjah, 1069, and others the 1st Muharram, 1070. The author evidently preferred the former date, as is shewn by his clever Tárikh on Dárá’s death (Metre Khafíf)—

\[ \text{قتل دارا شکوه شد تاریخ} \]

Wit seized the foot (last letter) of decorum (adab, the last letter of which is ب = 2) and said, Qatl i Dárá Shikoh (the murder of Dárá Shikoh) is the Tárikh. I. e.,

* On the next day [the day after Haibat’s execution] i. e., on the last day of Zí Hajjah, his Majesty ordered Dárá to be killed conformably to the decision of lawyers that he had stepped out of the boundary of the Muhammadan law, had brought Cufism into bad repute, and had passed into open heresy and schism. Kháfi Khán II, p. 87.
The Capture and Death of Dará Shikoh.

The Mukhbir ul Wāqilin, a collection of Tārikhs on Muhammadan Saints printed in the beginning of this century at Calcutta, has also the 1st Muharram, 1070, and from it the Miṣlah and the Khazinat ul Aqshā have evidently copied. But there is no historical evidence for fixing upon the 1st Muharram, 1070, as the day of Dará’s execution. Even Khafi Khán’s date (29th Zil Hajjah, 1069) is open to doubt, inasmuch as it differs from the date given in the contemporaneous histories the ’Alamgírnamah and the Mir-át ul ’Alam.

Dará Shikoh’s wife was a daughter of Prince Parwiz (son of Jahángir) by Jahán Bánú Begum, daughter of Sulṭán Murád (son of Akbar). Dará had married her on the 8th Jumáda I, 1042. Her name was Nádirah Begum, and according to Khafi Khán, Dará was much attached to her. The disease of which she died is called in the ’Alamgírnamah مل; but in Khafi Khán إسمها.

Dará’s children were (Pádisbáhu. II, 101, 337, 388)

1. Sulaimán Shikoh, born 26th Ramazán, 1044.
2. Mīhr Shikoh, born in Rabí’ I, 1048. Died after 40 days.
3. Mumtáz Shikoh, born on the last Jumáda I, 1053.
   b. Pák Nihád Bánú Begum, born 29th Jumáda I, 1051.
   c. Jahán Zíb Bánú Begum (married subsequently Muhammad A’zam).

Sulaimán Shikoh married in 1065 a daughter of Rájah Gaj Singh, Kháíst Khán, p. 730. His daughter, Salimah Bánú Begum, married Prince Muhammad Akbar, Aurangzíb’s fourth son. Their offspring was Nékúsiyar, who was proclaimed emperor at A’grah, but imprisoned by Ráfi’uddálaullah.

Sipíhr Shikoh married Zubdatunnissá Begum, Aurangzíb’s fourth daughter. Their son, ’Alí Tabár, was born on the 12th Jumáda I, 1087, and died in the end of 1088 (Maisir i ’Alamgír, pp. 125, 160)
Notes on the Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Húgli District.—By H. Blochmann, Esq., M. A., Assist. Professor, Calcutta Madrasah.

(With 5 plates.)

The following notes form the sequel to my paper on ‘Places of Historical Interest in the District of Húgli,’ which was published in the Proceedings of the Society for April, 1870. The inscriptions given in this article are all of Muhammadan origin; the more important ones are in Arabic, the Persian inscriptions being few and modern. The originals are at Tribeni, Mullá Simlá, Sátgáñw, Pañquah, and Dinánáth.

The earliest Arabic inscription mentions the year A. H. 698, or A. D. 1298; the latest belongs to A. H. 936, or A. D. 1530. They are all cut in basalt, with the letters raised, and the character of nearly all of them is Ṭughrá, which renders the reading difficult, and has probably been the reason why these inscriptions, though so near our metropolis, have never been collected.

Sátgáñw and Tribeni lie N. W. and N., respectively, of Húgli; but visitors will find it convenient to go to Mugrá, the Railway Station next to Húgli, as both places are each only about two miles distant from the terminus. Sátgáñw lies S. W., and Tribeni to the E. of the station.

Sátgáñw is reached by the Grand Trunk Road. Half way between Mugra and Sátgáñw, the road meets the Saraswati, or Sursuttee, now varying in breadth from three to six feet, but a few centuries ago a broad river. The old banks are still clearly visible. After passing the bridge, a ruined mosque will be seen to the right of the road. This mosque which, together with a few tombs near it, is the only remnant of the old capital of Lower Bengal, was built, as will be seen below, by Sayyid Jamál Dín (Jamáluddín), son of Sayyid Fakhruddin, who, according to the inscriptions, had come from Amul, a town on the Caspian Sea. The Khádím, who is attached to the mosque, knew nothing of this Sayyid; he said, Fakhruddín had come with his friends Sháh Çafi of Pañquah and Gházá Zafar Khán of Tribeni to Bengal.
This is, however, impossible, as the inscription on the mosque shews that Jamáluddin lived as late as A. H. 936. The walls of the mosque are built of small bricks, and are handsomely adorned, inside and out-side, with arabesques. The central mihrâb, or niche, looks very fine; but the upper part of the west wall having fallen down, half the mosque is filled with stones and rubbish, so that it is impossible to see the whole of the niche. The arches and domes are in the later Pat'hán style. Over each entrance, inside, there is a crescent. Near the S. E. angle of the mosque, is an enclosure with three tombs, where Sayyid Fakhruddin, his wife, and his eunuch, are said to be buried. The wall forming the enclosure is in many places broken down. I found two long basalt tablets placed slantingly against the inner side of the north wall. A third square basalt tablet is fixed into the wall; unfortunately, it is broken in the middle, and the wall is half pierced, to allow the customary lamp to be put into the cavity. These three inscriptions should be removed to a museum. It is impossible to say how they came into the enclosure. When the public buildings in Sátgá̄w and Tribeni decayed, pious hands, probably, rescued the inscriptions, and stored them up in holy places as Fakhruddin's enclosure and Zafar Khan's mosque and tomb, or even fixed them into the walls at the time of repairs, thus turning each of these astánahs into a sort of museum.

There is also an inscription on Fakhruddin's tomb; but it is illegible, though it could perhaps be deciphered, if the letters were carefully painted.

A short distance higher up the Grand Trunk Road lie the eleven huts, which form the modern Sátgá̄w. The ground between them and the Saraswatí, towards a small village of the name of Lál Jhápah, which lies W. of it, is very uneven, and looks as if it had been the site of an extensive settlement. At one place, not far from the road, the capital of a large pillar merges from the ground. The people called it púdisháhí jihpái.

From Sátgá̄w, a narrow footpath leads to Tribeni along the old right bank of the Saraswatí. The river itself appears to be nothing else but an arm of the Ganges (Bhagiruttee), though on the maps of the Húgli district, it looks like a river which takes
its rise near the Rajahpur Jhil, west of Habrah (Howrah). A khal passes from the Saraswati to the Ganges about five miles below the Botanic Garden. To the north of the mouth of the Saraswati lies the broad and high Tribeni Ghát, a magnificent flight of steps, said to have been built by Mukund Deo, the last Gajpati of Orísá; and S. of it, on the high river bank lies Tribeni itself with the Astánah of Ghází Zafar Khán, generally called by the people Gázi Čáhib ká dargáh. Tribeni is often called Tripání, and by the Muhammadans, Tripání Sháhpúr, or Fírúzábád. The people refer the last name to Fírúz Sháh of Dihli; but it is more natural to connect it with Shamsuiddin Fírúz Sháh (I.), king of Bengal, whose name will be found below in the inscription of Zafar Khán's Madrasah. The name of 'Tribeni,' or 'Three Streams' is said by the natives of the place to refer to the junction of the Ganges, the Saraswati, and Jamnah. The Jamnah, or Jabunah, flows into the Ganges on the left side, opposite to the southern extremity of the extensive island in the middle of the Ganges.

The curious legend of Zafar Khán has been related by Mr. D. Money in his article on the Tribeni Temple, published in the XVth volume of the Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1847, p. 393. The Astánah consists of two enclosures. The first, which lies at the road leading along the bank of the Húgli, is built of large basalt stones, said to have been taken from an old Hindu temple, which Zafar Khán destroyed. Its east wall which faces the river, shews clear traces of mutilated Hindu idols and dragons; and fixed into it, at a height of about six feet from the ground, is a piece of iron, said to be the handle of Zafar Khán's battle-axe. The second enclosure, which is joined to the west wall of the first, is built of sandstone. The Khídím of the Astánah, a man not altogether illiterate, told me that the western tomb was that of Zafar Khán. The other three, he said, are those of 'Ain Khán Ghází and Ghain Khán Ghází (عیسی خان غازی, and عیسی خان غازی), sons of Zafar Khán, and of the wife of Barkhán Ghází. The first enclosure contains the tombs of Barkhán Ghází (برخان غازی), third son of Zafar Khán, and of Rahim Khán Ghází and Karím Khán Ghází, sons of Barkhán. Mr. Money mentions a son of Zafar Khán of the name of Ugwán Khán, who according to the Kursínámah, or family register,
"of the Khádísms, defeated the Rájah of Húgli, conquered him, converted the infidels to Muhammadanism, and married his daughter. "After some time, Ugwán Khán also died at Tribeni."

About twenty yards to the west of the second enclosure, are the ruins of an old mosque, likewise built with the materials of an old Hindú temple. The low basalt pillars supporting the arches are unusually thick, and the domes, as in the Panduah mosque are built of bricks, of successive rings of stones, the diameter of each layer being somewhat less than that of the layer below, the whole being capped by a circular stone, covering the small remaining aperture. This corresponds to the domes described by Mr. Tremlett in his 'Notes on Old Díhli', p. 87 of this volume of the Journal. Two of the domes are broken. On the western wall, there are several inscriptions, as described below. According to the Arabic verses round about the principal Míhríb, the mosque was built by Khán Muhammad Zafar Khán, who is called a Turk, in A. H. 698, or A. D. 1298. The ground round about the mosque is very uneven; several basalt pillars lie about, and there are foundations of several structures, as also a few tombs, which are said to be the resting-places of former Khádísms.

I now proceed to the inscriptions which I have arranged according to their age.

A. Tribeni.

Inscription I. (Arabic and Persian.)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ور ולא لنا في الدنيا حسنة و في الآخرة حسنة نصر الله و

فائق قريب وبشر المؤمنين - قال الله تعالى إنما يعمر مساجد الله

من آمين بالله و اليوم الآخر وهو إمام الصلاة و آتي الزكوة و لم يخش

اللهم نعسي أولئك إن يكون (sic) من المهتدين - يعني هركة عمارت

مدة مسجد خدائي را يشفك و شبه إيمان آرنز، باشد رضأيت

يا خاتم النبوة (sic) بالخاضي و قول عليه السلام السمع السمعي و الإثمام

من الله تعالى - قال الله تعالى إن المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله

أحدا - بني هذا المسجد الجامع صاحب السيف و القلم ب بلورى
O God, vouchsafe unto us in this world a great comfort, and in the world to come a great comfort. [Qorán, II, 197.] A help from God, and an approaching gift; announce it to the believers. [Qorán, LXI, 13.]

God has said—'Surely he will build the mosques of God who believes in Him and in a future life, and performs his prayers, and gives the legal alms, and fears no one except God. Such perhaps will belong to those that are guided. [Qorán, IX, 18.] That means [Persian], every one who builds mosques for God, is certainly and without doubt a believer and will find guidance. And he upon whom be peace [the Prophet] has said—'To try and to begin is mine; but the completion rests with God.'

God has said—'The mosques belong to God. Worship no one else but God.' [Qorán, LXXII, 18.]

This Jami' Mosque has been erected by the Lord of the sword and the pen, the hero of the age and the period, Ulugh Majlis ul Majalis, the Majlis Ikhtiyár, the Commander-in-chief and Vazár of the town of Husainabad the Great, of the District of Sáj lá M a n k h bá', Commander of the Thân of Láo blá and the town of Hádíf gá'r, who is known as Ruknuddín Rukn Khán, son of 'Alá'uddín of Sirhát—may God grant him long life, without end, and may He lengthen his reign over mankind, may He cause the benefits to last for ever, which He bestows upon the faithful, may God give him victory over the Infidels, to the glory of the true faith. Amen, O Lord of the universe. (Persian) He who repairs this mosque, will find mercy with God; but should any one, which God forbid, dishonour this mosque, may God dishonour him.

This inscription is fixed into the west wall to the right of the northern Mihráb (niche) in the Tribeni Mosque. Like all other inscriptions in Tribeni and Sátgánw, it is in black basalt, and the let-
ters are raised. The characters are not in Tughrā, and look awkward. Regarding the geographical names, vide below. I have placed this inscription first, as it appears to be the oldest, or at least of the same time as the next inscription. In neither of them do we find an allusion to the reigning king.

The Jāmi' Mosque mentioned in the inscription cannot be the Tribeni mosque, which to judge from the next inscription, was built by Zafar Khān, although it is impossible to say when or wherefrom the slab was brought to the place where it now is.

To the left of this inscription is another in black basalt; but the letters are so broken and effaced, that only the words

"—uddin Abul Muzaffar Husain Shāh" are legible. As Husain Shāh (II.) reigned in the beginning of the 10th century of the Hijrah, it is clear that this inscription also has been brought to the Tribeni mosque from some other place.

Further to the left of these two inscriptions, we come to another Mihrāb, or niche. Although no Mimbar, or pulpit, stands within it, it would appear that this Mihrāb was the principal one. It looks like a walled up door; the posts are of black basalt, and on them there is an inscription. The post opposite to the threshold is horizontal, and above it there is a long inscription, which, together with the words on a small separate key-stone, forms a part of that on the posts. It is a long Arabic poem, a Qaṣīdah with a rhyme in sin. The letters are, however, in many places illegible, especially those over the niche. The poem commences on the right hand post, near the ground, goes upwards, and ends with a Tārīkh on the lower end on the other post. The following lines are all that I have deciphered.

\[
\text{Inscription II. (Arabic.)}
\]

(Zafar Khān's Mosque).

\[
\text{فيمرجومن الفقهة بانيد دعوة تثبيت إيمان اوان احذانس}
\]
\[
\text{جزى الله خيراتك حض رحمة وبرو احسن لعلا (؟) القلانس}
\]
And I [Zafar Khan] hope to obtain the pious wishes of such as are learned in the law, that God may strengthen my faith* at the time I am in the grave. May God reward me; for He is truly merciful, and liberal, and kind; and [I hope that] He will honor me.†

Then follows on the top—

* * * * * نصب ٍ و انضاج المدرس
نصير ٍ محمد يلقب بالبراب‌دان فاضي‌الجمالس (?)
في الدين حسبة يزجي به الرحمن من كل مدارس
The seventh and eighth hemistichs are illegible.

وَإِظهَارٌ دِينِ اللَّهِ مِنَ الْعَمَّ * * *
* * * لَعْضَةٌ قُبْلَ مِنْ الْإِلْدِينِ سَعِي
بِدْوُ (؟) سُلَاطِنِ السَّلَاطِينِ عَهْدَاء
The 15th and 16th hemistichs are quite illegible.

* * * بندرُ الْفِخْرُانُ هَيْبَةُ الْعَلَمِ * * *
* * * وْسِيدُ دُعَاءٍ أَخْيَرٍ بِعَدْ مَدِيرُ الْغَوْرَس
* * * وَقَلَعُ عِلْوُ الكُفُّرِ بِالْأَلْسَفِ وَالْقَنَا
* * * وَبَذِلُ كُنْزُ الْهَالِفِ فِي كِلٍ

* * Zafar Khan, the Turk, the lion of lions, **** and the most excellent one of builders of benevolent edifices, after the heroes, and by smiting the Infidels with sword and spear, and lavishing treasures on every **

The remaining lines to the 24th hemistich are illegible. Then follow the lines on the left post—

* * * وَتَعْظِيمٌ عَلَمَةِ الشَّرِيعَةِ جَمَالِةٌ لِإِلَّاَهِ اَلْعَلَمِ السَّمَاسَس
بِنَابِيَّ حَازٍ مِنْ سَمِيِّ وَصَادِها وَخَايَّ حَرَفِ الْوَقُفِ حِسْبَانٌ قَانُس

And by honouring all the learned of the faith, in order to elevate the standard of God (?).

The date is expressed by the Wafq letters جر ص ح خ ر، according to the reckoning of him who counts.

Unsatisfactory as the deciphering is, the date of the foundation of the mosque and the name of the founder have escaped the ravages of time. Zafar Khan is called a Turk, and the found-

* In allusion to the intihán ul qabr, or the examination in the grave. Shortly after the burial, the corpse is visited, according to the belief of the Muslims, by two angels who examine the dead man as to his creed.

† I have substituted for the sake of clearness the first person. The text has the third.

† The reading is very likely لَعْلَإِ الْقُلُُّ النَّاسِ، 'that He will raise his [Zafar's] turban,' i.e., that he will honor him. The preposition ل seems to depend from فِضْرَوْك.
ation of his mosque at Tribeni on the ruins of the old Hindú edifices which he destroyed, is expressed by 
\[
x + 8 + 90 + 600, \quad \text{or} \quad 698 \quad \text{A.H.}, \quad \text{which corresponds to} \quad \text{A.D.} \quad 1298. \quad \text{Zafar Khán's Madrasah, as will appear from the following inscription, was founded fifteen years later, in A.H. 713, or A.D. 1313.}

There is no doubt that the above verses are one of the oldest inscriptions, if not the oldest, in Lower Bengal.

_Inscription III._ (Arabic.)

(Zafar Khán's Madrasah.)

Praise be to Him to whom praise is due! This Madrasah which goes by the name of Dár ul Khairát [house of benevolence], was built during the reign of the Lord of munificence, the owner of the crown and the signet, the shadow of God on earth, the generous, the liberal, the great, the master of the necks of nations, the sun of the world and the faith [shams udder wa-ddán], who is distinguished by the grace of the Lord of the universe, the heir of the realm of Sulaimán, [Shams-suddén] A b u l M u z a f f a r F í r ú z S h á h—may God perpetuate his reign—(second slab) by order of the distinguished Khán, the generous, the respected, the liberal, the praiseworthy, the aider of mankind, the meteor of truth and faith, the supporter of kings and sovereigns, the patron of enquirers, K h án M u h a m m a d Z a f a r K h án—may God give him victory over his enemies and guard his friends.

_Dated 1st Muharram, 713._ [28th April, 1313].
This inscription is written on two long basalt tablets which are now imbedded in the northern side of Zafar Khan's tomb, in the second enclosure of the Tribeni Astánah. The second tablet, which commences with the words bi-amril Khán, &c., has been placed by the ignorant masons first, and was pretty correctly deciphered by Mr. D. Money. According to the Kursánámah preserved by the Mutawallís of Zafar's Tomb, it would appear that Zafar Khán came from Mágáw (مٍاَپُ ٍکَ ُحَمْ،), in the Parganah Kunwar Partáb, Chaklah Murshidábád (Makhçúcáábád).* From the above inscription it is clear that his name was Khán Muḥam-mad, Zafar Khán being his title. Common people, as Mr. Money says, pronounce Darap Khán, an interchange in position of an f and a liquid, as in qufl (Arabic, a lock) and gufl, the pronunciation current among the people. I heard also people pronounce Dapar.

The king mentioned in this inscription is Shamsu’dín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh Sul táh. His name is not given in the Tabaqát i Akbarí, nor by Firishtah, who copied from the Tabaqát. Mr. E. Thomas, the distinguished numismatician, was the first that assigned him his proper place. In his essay on the Initial Coinage of Bengal, which forms the basis of our historical knowledge of the early Muhammadan period of Bengal (Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1867, pp. 1 to 73), Mr. Thomas describes coins struck by this Fírúz Sháh of Bengal between A. H. 715 and 722; another coin perhaps belongs to the year 702. The above inscription mentions 713, and it is clear that Fírúz Sháh must have then been firmly established in Western Bengal.

It is remarkable that neither this inscription, nor the coins published by Mr. Thomas (l. c., p. 45), mention the name of the father of Fírúz Shah, or the words بِن سَلْطَان, which are not left out on the coins of Ruknuddin Kai Káús; and secondly, that the preceding inscription of A. H. 698, mentions no king at all, which agrees with the fact that up to the present time no coins have been found struck by a Bengal king between 695 and 702, i. e. for the beginning of the reign of 'Aláuddin of Dílí.

* I am told, there is a legend still current at Mágáw that Ugwán Khán, Zafar's son, defeated Mánpat Singh, Rájah of Birbhúm.
In point of execution and beauty of the letters, this inscription is superior to the preceding, which itself is vastly superior to Inscription No. I. It looks indeed as if all following inscriptions had taken this one as model. Even the latest inscription of Nūcrah Shāh of Sātgānū of the 10th century shews the same manner of execution. With the establishment of the Mughul government in India, the characters commence to change, and though Tughrā letters are still in use, they gradually drift into modern Nastaʿlīq.

The following inscription, which stands to the right of the Mihrāb gives the same date as No. III.

_Inscription IV. (Arabic.)_

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
* * *
تبارك الله احسن الخالقين خالق الخلق
* * *
تبارك الذي بيده الملك وهو على كل شيء قادر
تبارك الذي انزل القرآن على عبده ليكون للمعاليين فديرا
تبارك الله احسن الخالقين يا النبي و آله المسموات و الركائق
في غرة الحجر سنة ثمان عشرة و سبعمائة

Blessed is God, the great creator, the creator of the people, * * *
Blessed is He in whose hands the kingdom is. His power extends over every thing.

Blessed is He who has sent down the Qorán to His servant, that he may be a warner to all generations.

Blessed is God, the great Creator. O God, O God of the heavens, and the earth * * *

Dated 1st Muharram, 713.

_Inscriptions V and VI. (Arabic.)_

لا إله إلا الله هو أكبر القيم لا تأخذتها سنة ولا يوم - له ما في السماوات وما في الأرض - من ذا الذي يشفع عينده إلا بانه يعلم ما بين إديهم وما خلقهم ولا تحيطون بشيء من علمنه إلا بما شاء - وسع كرسيه السماوات والارض ولا يؤده حفظه و هو العلي العظيم *
This inscription is of no interest, and consists in a well known verse from the Qorán (Sur. II., 256), which is frequently used for inscriptions on mosques. The verse itself goes by the name of Ā' yat ul kursi, because the word kursi (throne) occurs in it. Muhammadans have a very high idea of its beauty; they often repeat it after prayers, and blow on their chests, or blow on their hands, which are then rubbed over the arms and the body. The blessings inherent in the verse are thus distributed over the whole body.

The inscription stands to the right of the words udder Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, mentioned on p. 285.

Another inscription of no value, to the left of the Mihrár, commences with the words—

Бесм الله الرحمن الرحيم *

After several illegible words, we find—

تبارك يا النبي و الله السماوات و البرج و وما فيه و الله الرحمن *

Of greater interest is the following.

Inscription VII. (Arabic.)

God has said, 'The mosques belong to God. Worship no one else besides God.' (Qorán LXXII., 18).

This mosque was built by the great Khán, the exalted grandee, Ulugh Ajnáal Khán—may God preserve him in both worlds,—the Commander of the army of the exalted nobleman I q r ár Khán, who is the guardian (jándár) of the honor of the royal Harem, Commander and Vazír of the District of Sáj lá M a n k h b ád, and the town of L á o b l á—may his exalted qualities endure for ever,—during the reign of the just, liberal, learned, and perfect king, Bár b ak Sháh, son of M a h múd Sháh, the S ú l t á n. Dated A. H. 860.
As far spelling and grammar are concerned, this inscription is one of the worst I have seen. Generally speaking, the Arabic of none of these inscriptions is classic. One curious mistake occurs on almost every Bengal inscription—the word برَبُّ abû is not changed to بَبُرُ abî, though in the genitive case. Thus in Inscriptions III., VII, IX, X.; and the word مشهور 'known as,' is not followed by the preposition بَيْن bî, as it ought to be; vide Ins. I and X. In the above lines we have بِلَابَلَأ for لََبَلَأ, and فيلْلأَهْدî, with the article, instead of فيلْلأَهْدî! The date is so extraordinarily expressed, that I at first doubted its correctness (Proceedings, 1870, p. 189). But the difficulty may be got over by supplying بَيْن the between the lines. We have تَبَلَدî for لََبَلَأ, and فيلْلأَهْدî, with the article, instead of فيلْلأَهْدî! The inscription lies at present on the ground in the enclosure where Zafar Khán is buried, between the entrance and the tomb. The surface of the stone is about a square yard, and its thickness about a foot. On turning it round, I found that the reverse contained numerous serpents and dragons, cut in relief, but partly mutilated. The stone is of the same basalt as the buildings at Tribeni.

Regarding the king and the date mentioned in the inscription, vide below No. X.

B. Mulla' Simla', near Biddibáți.

Biddibáți is the station on the E. I. Railway after Serampore. About six miles west of it lies a village of the name of Mullá Simlá, called on the maps Molnah Simla, where there is an old, low mosque, and the دَّارَگَاه, or tomb, of حَرَاز مُحَمَّد كَبِير قُلی of Ale¡ppo. The خَدَّاییم attached to the Dargáh know nothing about the saint, nor did they know the meaning of the inscription. They say that the mosque was built after Sháh Anwár’s death by some ambassador, who endowed it with lands, a copy of the sanad being preserved in the court at Húglí. They also point out two stones close to the tomb, where the saint used to kneel down (دوزنی) at the time of shaving, and the stones "still shew impressions of his knees." The saint is said to have been fond of looking-glasses; hence pilgrims bring often with them small looking-glasses, which are placed on the tomb.
But after buying them, they must not look in them on their way to the *dargāh*; "else misfortunes will surely befall them, as was the case with a man who some time ago, while on his way to Mullá Simlá, fell down dead, because he looked at his face in the glass which he had bought for the saint."

This curious custom of offering up looking-glasses seems to be connected with the birth-place of Sháh Anwár. Aleppo was formerly famous in the East for its glass wares.

The inscription is on black basalt, in *Tughrā* characters, and is fixed over the entrance to the *Dargāh*, although it must have belonged in former times to the mosque. The old mosque itself has at present no inscription.

*Inscription VIII.* (Arabic.)

\[ \text{God has said, 'The mosques belong to God. Worship no one else besides God.' [Qurán LXXII, 18]} \]

The Prophet—upon whom be peace—has said, 'He who builds for God a mosque on earth, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise. [hadīṣ.]

This mosque was built by the great Khán *Ulugh Mukhlīq Khán*, in the year 777 [A. D. 1375.]

If, as the Khádīms say, the ambassador got rid of certain difficulties by praying at the tomb, one might think that he would have shewn his gratefulness by mentioning the saint's name on the inscription; but the slab mentions neither Sháh Anwár, nor the king who reigned in 777 [Sultán-ussalátín].

I owe this inscription to the kindness of Maulawí 'Abdul Hai, of the Calcutta Madrasah.

*C. Saťga’nw.

*Inscription IX.* (Arabic.)

(Náčir Husain Sháh’s Mosque.)

\[ \text{God says, 'What a day will be the day of the resurrection! When the day of the resurrection comes, Allah will speak to the people and say, 'You were the first race, you were the first place of Allah, you were the first house of Allah, you were the first to believe and you were the first to be brought to Paradise.' [Qurán V, 6].} \]
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God has said, ‘That man will build the mosques of God who believes in Him and the last day, and performs the daily prayers and gives the aims demanded by the law, and fears no one except God. Such perhaps belong to those that are guided’ [Qorán IX, 18.]

And He whose glory is glorious and whose benefits are general, has also said, ‘The mosques belong to God. Worship no one else besides God.’ [Qorán, LXXII, 18.]

The prophet (upon whom be peace) has said, ‘He who builds for God a mosque in this world, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise’.  

(* * * two lines broken and illegible) [of him who is strengthened by proof and testimony, the refuge of Islam and the Moslems,   ناصیر الدین عالم مظفر خان为抓 自然 the Sultan.  May God perpetuate his reign and rule, and elevate his state and dignity.

This mosque was built by the great, exalted, and honoured Khan who has the title of  تربیت خان. May God preserve him from the misfortunes of the end of time by His benevolence and perfect grace.

In the year A. H. 861 [A. D. 1457.]

This valuable inscription is written on a thin basalt tablet and is fixed into the northern wall of the enclosure of Fakhruddín’s Tomb at Satganw.

Regarding the king mentioned above, vide Inscription X.

Inscription X. (Arabic.)

قال اللّه تعالى أنَّ المساجد لِلّهِ فلا تدعو مع اللّهِ إحدا * وقال النّبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: والدّین ابوا مظفر حسین شاه السّلطان خّلّد اللّه ملکه وسلطانه واعی امور و شانه و بناة البخاتر العظیم الموظّم الکرم المناطیب بخاطب تربیت خان سّلّم اللّه تعالى عی آفات آخر الزمان بدنّه وکمال کریمه.  

في سنة الجامدي السّلّیبی و ثمانمائیه. *

* The word مؤید, muyyad, seems to have stood before burhán.
In the name of Allah, on which benediction and peace be to the Prophet who founded the mosques and规定了 stakeholders.

God has said, 'The mosques, &c.' [Qorán, LXXII, 18]. And the prophet (may peace be upon him!) has said, 'He who builds a mosque on earth will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.'

This mosque was built during the reign of the just and liberal king Jalál-ud-dín Abul Muzaffár Fatḥ Sháh, the Sultán, son of Mahmúd the Sultan, may God perpetuate his reign!

The builder of this noble and great mosque is the Lord of the sword and the pen, Uğh Majlis Núr, commander and Vazir of the district of Sájlá Mankhád, and the town known as Simlábád, and Commandant of the Thánahs of Láoblá and Mihrbak, District and Mahall (Perganah) of Hadígar,—may God preserve him in both worlds!

Dated 4th Muharram, 892, [1st January, 1487.]. Written by the humble servant Akhund Malik.

This inscription is written on a long basalt tablet, which at present stands leaning against the northern wall of Fakhruddin’s enclosure.

Inscriptions Nos. I., VII., and X. mention—

1. The District of Sájlá Mankhád.
2. The District of Hadígar.
3. The Thánahs of Láoblá, or Láobalá,* and Mihrbak, the first of which was called 'a town' in inscription VII.
4. The town of Simlábád.

* There is a place 10 miles E. of Tribeni, on the other side of the Húglí, called on the maps Láopallah, near the Jamnah or Jabunah, mentioned above on p. 282, on the border of the 24-Parganahs. In an Arabic Inscription, 'Láopallah' would have to be spelt 'Láobalá.' It is also noticeable that there are several Muhammadan villages near this Láopallah. The maps show a Fathpúr, Sháhpúr, Háthikhánah, &c.
I have not succeeded in identifying these five places, although six months of enquiry and search have elapsed since I first mentioned them in the Proceedings of the Society (June, 1870, p. 188.)

The name even of 'Husainabád the Great,' mentioned in Inscr. I., is somewhat doubtful; but the Husainábád in the Murshidábád district may be meant. The only name which is certain is that of the town of Sarhat (in Bîrbhúm), which on Inscr. I. is spelled Sirhat, with an i.

It is noticeable that in none of the inscriptions the words Sîrkár and parganah occur. The word 'arçâh (عَرَضَة) may be equivalent to sîrkár, and the word mahall is used, even in the Ain, in the same sense as 'parganah.' The term 'arçâh seems also to have given rise to the name of the parganah Arsá, to which Sátgáñw and Tribeni belong, though Arsá is spelt in the Ain, and by Muhammadans now-a-days, ārsä, not عَرَضَة. In this case the real name of the district would have been omitted. There are many similar cases on record. Thus the parganah opposite to Tribeni is called Hawelî shahr, and corrupted Hâlîshahr, the proper noun having likewise fallen away.

The word thānâh meant in those days a 'standing camp,' as the Muhammadans used to erect in newly conquered districts.

The names and dates of the Bengal kings mentioned in these inscriptions, do not entirely agree, as might have been expected, with those given in our histories. The kings mentioned are—

4. Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Shâh, son of Bârbak Shâh, no year. Vide below under 'Panduah.'

The place in history of the first king, Fîrûz Shâh (I), has been alluded to above, on p. 288.
Of Bárbak Sháh, Marsden (II., 573) has published a coin, dated A. H. 873, which seems to agree with the statement of the histories that he reigned from A. H. 862 to 879. Inscr. VII. gives 860; but should no coin confirm this early date, I would almost doubt the reliability of the inscription which, as I said above, is full of mistakes. The unit might have been omitted. Besides, the year 860 seems to be rendered impossible by Inscr. IX., unless we assume that Bárbak proclaimed himself king during the lifetime of Náciruddín Husain Sháh. As correctly observed by Marsden, the histories make Bárbak Sháh the son of Nácir Sháh, against the testimony of coins and Inser. VII., which call his father Mahmúd Sháh. But Mahmúd Sháh has not yet been assigned a place among the Bengal kings.*

The third king, Náciruddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh is called in the histories Nácir Sháh, and is said to have reigned from A. H. 830 to 862. Inscr. IX. mentions clearly 861, and thus confirms the histories as far the end of his reign is concerned. But the histories are wrong in calling him Nácir Sháh, for the full name given in the inscription shews that he should be called Husain Sháh (I). A similar confusion occurs in the name of 'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh al Husainí, father of Nácirah Sháh, whom the histories call likewise by the first name 'Aláuddin, instead of Husain Sháh (II).†

The fifth king, Fath Sháh, appears like the preceding, with his full, or julus, name. Inscr. X. confirms the fact, mentioned by Marsden and Laidley, that Fath Sháh was the son of Mahmúd Sháh, and therefore brother of Bárbak Sháh. According to the histories, Bárbak Sháh died in 879, and was succeeded by his son Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, who is mentioned in Gaur Inscriptions of A. H. 880 and 885. He is said to have died without issue, and the throne was claimed by a member of the royal family, of the name of Sikandar Sháh. But he was immediately deposed, and Fath Sháh, uncle of Yúsuf Sháh, ascended the throne.

* The author of the Shorafánámah i Ibráhímí, a Persian dictionary, praises Bárbak Sháh and calls him Abul Muzaffar Bárbak Sháh. But the only (incomplete) MS. which I have seen of the work, mentions no year. In Marsden's reading of a Bárbak Sháh coin, Area I., we find by mistake موم for موم, though his translation has correctly Mahmúd.

The numerous Bárbakpúrs, Bárbak Singh's, &c., in Bengal seem to refer to Bárbak Sháh.

† For a similar incorrectness in Málwh History, vide Proceedings A. S. Bengal, for 1869, p. 267, note 3.
Both inscriptions refer to the building of the Satgánw mosque, the ruins of which still exist. The first inscription is a long basalt tablet, which stands in a slanting position within the enclosure of Fakhruddin’s tomb, at the side of Inscr. X.

God has said,—‘O ye that believe, when the call to prayer is heard on Fridays, hasten to the worship of God, and give up buying and selling. This is good for ye, if ye did believe.’ [Qorán, LXII., 9]. Legacies are not to be taken possession of. The prophet, may God’s blessing rest upon him, has said—‘When thou goest out of thine house, and it be Friday, thou art a Muhdíjir (companion of Muhammad’s flight); and shouldst thou die on the road, thou wilt be in Paradise, in the highest.’ And the prophet has also said,—‘He who wrongly takes possession of the property of a mosque and legacies, acts as if he committed adultery with his daughter and his mother and his sister.’ The mosques belong to legacies * * * (illegible)—the light of his countenance on
the day of resurrection will be like that of the full moon. (Persian). This Jâmi' Masjid was built during the reign of the just and perfect Sultan, Abûl Mu'azzâfar Nûcrah Shâh, son of Husain Shâh, the descendant of Husain,—may God perpetuate his rule,—by the refuge of Sayyidship, Sayyid Jamâluddin Husain, son of Sayyid Fakhruddin of Amul, during the month of Ramazân, 936. [May, A.D. 1529]. Because the Mullâs and Zamindârs (arbâb), if defrauding legacies, are overtaken by the curse of God, it is the earnest (bajâne) duty of governors and qâdzâs, to prevent such frauds, so that on the day of resurrection they may not be caught in their wicked deeds.

The other (Arabic) inscription is fixed into the wall over the entrance to the mosque.

God has said, 'That man will build, &c.' [Qurán IX., 18; vide Inscr. IX].
The prophet has said, 'He who builds for God a mosque in the world, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.'

This Jâmi' Masjid was built in the reign of the just king, Abûl Mu'azzâfar Nûcrah Shâh, the Sultan, son of Husain Shâh the Sultan, the descendant of Husain, by the worthy Sayyid Jamâl Din Husain, son of Sayyid Fakhruddin of Amul, the asylum of the Sayyids, and glory of the descendants of Tâhâ [the prophet],—may God preserve him in the world and the faith,—during the blessed month of Ramazân, 936 [May, 1529].

Both inscriptions call the son of Husain Shâh Nûcrah Shâh (نوراخ شاه, not نصرت, or نصرت, نصرت), though the word نصرت is generally written and pronounced نصرت nucrat. For Nûcrah Shâh the histories, as is well known, have Nagîb Shâh (نهج شاه). The Gaur inscriptions and the two coins published by Mr. Laidley (Journal, As. Soc., for 1846, Pl. V., Nos. 22 and 23, and p. 332) have
likewise Nucrah,* and give the julūs-name in full, Naṣīruddin Abul Muzaffar Nucrah Shāh. The year mentioned in the above inscription (end of 936) is important. It confirms the statement of the histories that Nucrah Shāh reigned eleven years after the death of his father, which would make the date of his death 937 (end) or 988.

Nucrah’s brother was Mahmūd, of whom Mr. Laidley has published a coin dated 933. His julūs-name is Ghiāsuddin Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh. The year of the coin and that of the inscription would shew that Bengal was blessed by two rival kings. Mr. Laidley also mentions that some of the coins have the word Jannatābād on them, and it would be of historical interest to know whether that mint occurs on such of Mahmūd’s coins† as were struck before Nucrah’s death, because the possession of the capital generally makes a rival the lawful king.

* The Arabic دصرة, assistance, victory, has a zammah above the mīn, not a fathah.
† The words within the concentric circle of Mahmūd Shāh’s coin, which Mr. Laidley reads بدر شاهی, appear to me to be بدر شاهی, ‘the royal full moon.’ Silver coins are compared to the moon, and gold coins to the sun. Hence for example, Auranzib’s sikkah i chān mihr u māh.

The correct legend on Marsden’s and Laidley’s Tājuddin Firūz Shāh (Marsden, II., p. 575, and Laidley, l. c., Pl. V., No. 17) is—

سلطان العهد والزمان الواثق بقایام الرحمن
تاج الفینیا و الدین فیروز شاه السلطان

which is readily suggested by the saja' or rhyme, of the legend.

In Marsden’s copper Fath Shāh (II., p. 574), we observe the form سلطانی for سلطان, as on Jaunpūr coins (vide Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, for 1870, p. 152).

The word left out by Mr. Laidley in the obverse of his Ahmad Shāh (p. 327) looks like المعظم العظم.

The title عون الإسلام, on Marsden and Laidley’s Sikandar and A’zam Shāh, should be غوث الإسلام, which is the standing epithet.

Saifuddin’s name as king is not clear on Marsden’s plate. It looks like Kibrat Shāh or Kisor Shāh. The title Sultan ussulatīn is not on the coin.

Marsden’s Bārbak Shāh appears to have on the obverse the word ضرب and, as correctly read by Laidley, خزانة on the reverse. The margin evidently contained the names of the first four Khalīfahs. The words عمر الفاروق،[ب، و] إبوزکر[ب، و] العطان[ب] عثمان بن، are clear. The mīm in ‘Umar, however, is not distinct.

Laidley’s Mahmūd Shāh (Pl. V., No. 18) seems to have on the reverse the following words—

الرخمن بقایام الرحمن خليفة الله في [العصر] وإلزمان
Dr. W. Oldham, C. S., lately sent me a rubbing of a black basalt inscription in Tughrā, found near the village of Sikandarpūr in the 'Azimgarh District. It refers to the building of a mosque which was completed on the 27th Rajab, 933, and Nucrāh Shah is mentioned as the reigning sovereign.

D. Panduah.

The great mosque of Panduah has no inscription, nor did I see one on the tower. Plates VIII. to X. shew the interior of the mosque, its principal niche at the side of the pulpit, and three of the most finished basalt pillars, with the Budhistic bells, of which there are also many on the outer wall of the mosque. Plates XI. and XII. give views of the tower, east of the mosque, and its door. The tower is drawn from a photograph; the other views are excellent drawings by Mons. Jules Schaumberg. To complete the series of plates, a view of the mosque itself would be required, as also a drawing, shewing some of the numerous ornaments on the outer walls, which are in excellent preservation.

The mosque which stands to the west of the Ast.nah of Shāh Ẓafī has four inscriptions, of which one is inside. They are unfortunately very high from the ground, and it was with much difficulty that I could get a good facsimile of one, and an imperfect one of the central tablet. I hope at some future time to get a complete rubbing of the latter, which is the most important of the four. From the imperfect rubbing which I have at present, it is clear that the mosque was built during the reign of Abūl Muẓaffar Yūsuf Shāh, son of Bārbak Shāh (1474 to 1482). The other inscription contains blessings on the prophet, and has therefore no historical value. It runs—

Inscription XIII. (Arabic).

الله لعل على محمد وعلى آل محمد بارك وسلم وصل
على جميع الانبياء والمسيحي وعلي الهالة المقربين وعلى
عباد الله الصالحين برحمته يا أرحم الرحمين

The ⟨m⟩ and ⟨z⟩ of ⟨al-zamān⟩ are in one, and the ⟨z⟩ touches the ⟨m⟩, which has the initial form. Here we have again the ⟨saja⟩.

Mr. Laidley says that there are many monuments in Bengal of Husain Shāh’s munificence. An Arabic inscription referring to the digging of a well in
The characters of the inscription are Tughrâ; but unlike those of the Tribeni inscriptions, they abound in round strokes (dauwîr), which brings the writing nearer to modern Nasta’lîq.

- The modern Quṭb Čâhib Mosque, so called from Hazrat Shâh Quṭbuddîn, a pious man who is said to have come from Bhâgalpûr to Paṇḍuah, has the following inscription.

Inscription XIV. (Persian).

Inscription XIV. (Persian).

Hence the mosque was built in the 9th year of Muhammad Shah of Dihlî, A. H. 1140, or A. D. 1727-28, by one Fath Khân, son of Shujâ’ Afgân Sûr. The poet Azâd, who mentions, himself in the last line, I am told, was the son of Munshi Shâkir, of whom a letter-writer exists, entitled Iṣâhâ i Shâkir. The first hemistich of the second verse is faulty in metre; for in scanning the 'ain of Shujâ’ has to be eliminated, and the first word looks like abqâdhu or abqâhdh, the second seems to be lil-kâfîh; then comes a broken word, after which there is a minanuwa wa mahâmâdhu bi’îndâyat (?) illâhi. The rest is clear.
In the mosque of the *Astánah*, there is a short inscription which shews that it was once repaired by a Hindú.*

*Inscription XV.* (Persian).

[کلمه طبیعه]
چوْنِب و مسجد و حرم و مکابی
ابو بکر و عمر عثمان و حيدر
با هدام للال کنوراتیه سنه ١٩٧١

*The Kalimāt.*

The lamp, the mosque, the niche, the pulpit, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmán, and Haidar ('Álî). A. H. 1177. [A. D., 1763]. Built by Lâl Kunwar Nâth.

E. *Di'na'nāth.*

Dinānāth lies about a kos east of Madârân, in the parganah of Jahânábâd, which forms the north-western portion of the Húglî District. The *farūdgâh* mentioned in the Proceedings for this year, p. 120, has two inscriptions. The southern entrance has the following verses (metre, short Hazaj).

*Inscription XVI.* (Persian).

بعد از بانشی خلق پرور و جمیع مسجد شاه شاهنشاه اعظم
چوْنِب اسجد جنگ از آدیسه نموده وزنم بنگالیه مصمم
همیا جاناتکه دیناناتیه نام است شده با نصوت و اقبال صحن
برای انظام صریح بنگی رسید الزیت خانان حکم
در واقعیه ازین مرزه بپیاد* جهان شترین بیشتری شاد و خورم
مبابک مفصل این زنام کردن* که شش حاصل مردان خاص عالم
چرخادآبادی به یک دل افروز* زرهش مصیعه تاریخی حرم
بگویم هانفیت غیب این نداده* مبارک مفصل دولت سوا هم

* As remarked on p. 123 of the Proceedings for 1870, *dārgahs* of saints belong to the people, and the spiritual blessings attending on pilgrimages to holy places are distributed without reference to creed. I do not think that Muhammadans ever contributed money to the erection of Hindú temples, &c.; but Hindús have done so for mosques, in order to please their rulers. Thus Rájah Blagwán Dâs built during Akbar's reign the *Jâmi' Masjîd* of Lâhôr. The heavenly rewards which Hindús thus earn in the opinion of Muhammadans, are somewhat limited, and all that Muslims will say is to
In the reign of Muhammad Shah, when Nawab Asad Jang had left Orissa for Bengal, he encamped at this place which is called Dina Nath, and devoted himself to establishing order in the Subah of Bengal, according to the strict order of the sovereign. The hearts of the subjects rejoiced at the happy news. This place has therefore been called Mubarak Manzal; for the wishes of the people were fulfilled.

When this happy spot was laid out, I (the poet) searched for a hemistich which was to give the tdrikh, and a voice from heaven whispered into my ear, 'Mubarak Manzil e daulatsard ham'.

This gives A. H. 1136, or A. D. 1723-24.

On the northern gateway, there are two verses (metre Mujtass).

Inscription XVII. (Persian).

When by order of the generous Nawab, this place of safety was erected, the voice from heaven said regarding the auspicious year the words 'Sardi Mutaminulmulk malja e 'alum', this is the Sarai of Mutamin ul Mulk, the refuge of the world.

The letters of the Tahirkh give A. H. 1143, or A. D. 1730-31. Regarding Mutamin ul Mulk Shujahuddaulah Asad-jang Bahadar, vide Stewart's Bengal, p. 261.

In conclusion I may be allowed to express a hope that the members of the Society will forward to Calcutta rubbings of inscriptions. It is thus alone that our imperfect knowledge of the history of this country can be completed. For Bengal especially, inscriptions are of great value, because old histories have perished, and coins and local records are the only available sources.*

repeat the words which the author of the Tabaqat i Nadiri has in praise of the unparalleled liberality of Lachman Sen, the last King of Bengal, 'khaffafa Allahu 'anhu l'azab,' may God lessen his punishment in hell! (Tabq. Nadiri, p. 149).

* Since writing the above, rubbings and copies of (Muhammadan) inscriptions have been sent to the Society by Messrs. Delmerick (Rawulpindi), Harrison (Barelf), Tiery (Chaprah), Carlisle (Agra), Oldham (Ghazipur), and by a Muhammadan gentleman in Bardwan. They will be published in the next number of the Journal. Information has also been received of inscriptions existing at Ambiká Kánah (Culna on the Hooghly) near the tomb of one Ukul Khán.
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The Basalt pillars in the Mosque of Pandua (Hugli District)
J. Schaumburg facs.

View of the Tower of Pundah (Higle District)
با لکن، در حال حاضر من می‌توانم به شما کمک کنم. می‌توانید به سیستم مراجعه کنید و در مورد مورد نیاز خود کمک بخواهید.
آئون نیشان نتبه ماند که اشکال روشنی را از جهان شمسی می‌کنند. این اثر نشان دهنده آرامش و مدیتیشن است که به‌وسیله این نوشته‌ها ایجاد می‌شود.

نام: آئون

تاریخ: ۱۳۷۰ خ.

مکان: مشهد

شماره: ۱۲۴

موضوع: نوشته‌های حکیمی و دل‌پذیر

عنوان: نجات دهنده

آئون نام یکی از نویسندگان و هنرمندان دوره‌های مختلف تاریخ ایران می‌باشد. او در این کتاب به‌وسیله نوشته‌هایی از حکایات و داستان‌های مختلفی از زمینه‌های مختلفی صحبت می‌کند. همچنین، او به‌وسیله این نوشته‌ها، از این آگاهی را که در زمینه‌های مختلفی می‌تواند به‌رساند.

نوع: نوشته‌های حکیمی

موضوع: نجات دهنده

میزان: اثرات مثبت و منفی

ارتباط با دیگر اثرات: در این کتاب، آئون به‌وسیله نوشته‌هایی از حکایات و داستان‌های مختلفی از زمینه‌های مختلفی صحبت می‌کند. همچنین، او به‌وسیله این نوشته‌ها، از این آگاهی را که در زمینه‌های مختلفی می‌تواند به‌رساند.

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نوع: نوشته‌های حکیمی

موضوع: نجات دهنده

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