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THE PROMOTION OF DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN THE COMPANY'S DAYS.\(^1\)

BY C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

A. Early Missionary Effort.

The pioneers of the modern study of the South Indian vernaculars and particularly of Tamil, were the European missionaries. It is said that immediately after the celebrated St. Francis Xavier commenced his labours among the Paravas on the Tinnevelly coast towards the end of 1542, he arranged to have the Creed, the Ave Maria, the Lord’s Prayer and the Decalogue rendered into Tamil and himself committed the translations to memory.\(^2\) Robert de Nobili and Constantius Beschi (1680-1747) inspired by their admirable labours the enthusiasm of all lovers of Tamil. Nobili was a nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine and came out in 1606 to serve the famous Madura Mission and died near Mylapore about half a century later, combining in his own person the sanctity of the sannyasi and the erudition of the pandit. Beschi spent the years 1710-1747 in the Tamil districts, where he acquired a marvellous knowledge of Tamil, especially over its classical dialect, “as no other European seems to have ever acquired over that or any other Indian language”\(^3\).

The labours of these two great pioneers of European scholarship in Indian languages are fully portrayed in the Annual Letters of the priests of the Madura Mission preserved in the Archives of the Society of Jesus and in some cases in the public libraries of Europe. These Letters were written annually, sometimes every three years, from every Province or Mission of the Society to its General in Rome, giving an account of every important event that occurred in the Mission. It was from this inexhaustible quarry that Father Bertrand drew materials for his voluminous work—La Mission du Maduré (4 vols.)—and also Father Besse for his instructive biography of Beschi.\(^4\) The Letters of the Madura Mission preserved in the Archives of the Society are secured in photographs in the private library of the St. Joseph’s College, Trichinopoly. “The various compilations published under the name of Lettres edifiantes et curieuses were made up from such annual letters”\(^5\).

As a great Tamil scholar and poet, Beschi has always attracted the attention of all Tamils and of Protestant missionaries, engaged in Tamil studies, like Rottler, Caldwell and Pope. Of Beschi’s works on the grammar of the Tamil language and of his dictionaries, one writer admiringly points out that they “have proved invaluable aids to his successors and to Protestant missionaries and indeed to all students of Tamil after him”. A list of Beschi’s numerous works in prose and verse, both in Tamil and in Latin, was published in The Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1840. There was indeed a previous manuscript Life of Beschi in Tamil written about 1790 which probably served as the basis for the saint’s life, which was published in Tamil in 1822 by A. Muttuvasami Pillai, Manager of the College of Fort St. George, who, some years previously, undertook a tour in the southern districts of the Presidency for the purpose of securing a collection of Beschi’s works, at the instance of F. W. Ellis, a celebrated linguistic scholar. The Memoir was enriched with a catalogue of Beschi’s works.

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1 A paper submitted to the Lahore session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1922.
3 Caldwell—Introduction to the Comparative Study of the Dravidian Languages, (1873).
4 Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus : His Times and Writings, (Trichinopoly, 1918).
5 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
and extracts from some of them. In 1840 the author gave, at the request of Sir Walter Elliot, an English version of the biography. There is a translation into French of the Tamil notice of Muttuswami Pillai made by Father Louis du Ranquet, S.J., in a letter, dated the Fishery Coast, 1st March 1841. A manuscript French notice of Beschi by a contemporary Capuchin missionary who wrote in 1731 is said to have been found in the library of the Church of Surat and is now in the Calendrier des Missionaries Jesuites dans l'Inde (Bibl. Nationale, Fonds Francais, No. 9777, Paris).

According to Sir George Grierson, the first Tamil books were printed in 1577–79; and the first printed Tamil Dictionary was brought out at Cochin in 1679 by Father A. de Proenza. A new Tamil grammar by Baftasar da Costa appeared in 1680; while the grammar of Ziegenbalg, the Danish missionary of Tranquebar, was printed in 1716. These are, however, very rare or not available at all; while Beschi’s much better-known Grammar on the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language was written in 1728 for the use of his conférences in the Madura Mission and published in the Tranquebar Press in 1737. This work was translated into English first by C. H. Horst in 1806 and more authoritatively by G. W. Mahon at the S. P. C. K. Press, Madras, in 1848—the latter being considered the most accurate English translation of the work. Father Besse says that Anquetil du Perron, the pioneer French Orientalist, presented an abridged French translation of the same grammar to the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. No. 219).

Beschi’s Grammar of High Tamil, the preface of which is dated September 1730, was in Latin and remained unedited for nearly two centuries, until the Latin text was published at Trichinopoly along with the English translation of B. G. Babington. Babington’s translation was originally printed at the Madras College Press in 1812; and the learned Dr. G. U. Pope calls it “an exceedingly correct and scholar-like edition of a most masterly work.”

Connected with this Grammar of High Tamil (Literary Dialect) are two other works by Beschi on the Tamil language; (a) The Tonni Vilakkam, all in Tamil; and (b) The Clavis (humaniorum litterarum sublimioris Tamilici idiomatis). Both these works are divided into five parts, embracing prosody, rhetoric, composition, orthography and etymology. The first part has been published several times; and a prose version of it is included in the Rev. W. Taylor’s Catalogue Raisonnée of Oriental Manuscripts with the Government of Madras; while the work itself is examined as MS. No. 2179. Mr. Taylor says that the MS. prose version has the appearance of having been a class-book, when the Madras College had a native school attached to it. The noted French scholar, M. Julius Vinson, ranks the Clavis among the doubtful works of Beschi, though Dr. A. C. Burnell, the author of South Indian Palaeography, had no doubt about Beschi having written it and had it printed at Tranquebar in 1876 from a manuscript, which he thought had been revised by the author in person.

More important than these works on grammar, were Beschi’s dictionaries. Of these the first was the Sadur-Agaradi (Quadruple Dictionary) consisting of five parts, which was composed in the years 1732–47, and which disclosed “in its author a vast erudition and an astonishing knowledge of the Tamil language and its classics” according to Bertrand. It was published by the Madras College under the supervision of two Tamil Pandits who revised the manuscript and added a supplement. It has been reprinted several times in Madras and in Pondicherry, the last edition at Pondicherry of 1872 being by the authoritative and accurate scholar, Father Dupuis. The next lexicon of Beschi was the Tamil-Latin Dictionarium.
with a long Latin preface, wherein the author compares himself to St. Paul, "the custodian of the garments of those who stoned St. Stephen." He then praises Father Bourzes, the author of a Tamil–Latin Dictionary, which had been useful to him in the compilation of this work. There was a French translation of this work, of which Anquetil du Perron wanted a copy made for him by the Superior of the Mission at Mahé. According to his original plan Beschi was to have supplemented this work by a Portuguese–Latin–Tamil Dictionary as a second part. Portuguese was then the language commonly understood by all Europeans in South India, and the Mission House of Trichinopoly possesses a copy of the second part, in which Beschi gives the meaning of 4353 Portuguese words. With the help of this work, other missionaries prepared French–Tamil Dictionaries which are usually attributed to Beschi. The Rev. E. Hoole, in his preface to Beschi's Tamil work—Rules for Catechists—which he published in 1844, mentions a Dictionary of Tamil and English among the works of Beschi, while Muttuswami Pillai attributes also to him a Latin-Tamil Dictionary, now extant.

It has also been suggested by Father Besse that Beschi composed a Telugu Grammar, on the ground that Telugu was the language spoken at the Court of the Nayaks of Madura, with which Beschi must have been familiar, and that a century before him de Nobili had composed works in Telugu without ever having left the Tamil country. M. Vinson is not inclined to accept the tradition, and possibly the Telugu grammar was the work of one of the fathers of the Carnatic Mission, whose field of activity was mostly in the Telugu country.

Among the manuscripts which Muttuswami Pillai collected as being the works of Beschi, are found other works, theological and secular, too numerous to mention here. The Tēmbāvāṇi, a long and highly wrought religious epic on St. Joseph in 36 cantos, in the style of the ancient classic of the Chīntānai, enables him to be placed in the very first rank of Tamil poets; and "the Tamils could not believe that it was the work of a foreigner." Beschi's Commentary in Latin and Tamil on the Sacred Kural of Tiruvalḷūvar has been made use of by later editors and translators of the great book, like Ellis and G. U. Pope. Beschi was the last and the most learned of those Jesuit missionaries, and shortly after his time the Jesuit Society and the Madura Mission were suppressed; and for long the great accomplishments of Beschi remained forgotten.

While the Madura Mission did pioneer work in Tamil studies, Protestant missionary effort soon followed suit. The earliest Protestant Mission to South India was the Tranquebar Danish Mission, started by Ziegenbalg and Plütschow. They learnt Tamil "without dictionary, grammar or Munshi"; and between 1708 and 1711 contrived to translate the New Testament into Tamil, and followed it up shortly afterwards with the Hebrew Bible as far as the Book of Ruth. By 1725 the Tamil version of the Old Testament, begun by Ziegenbalg, was completed by his successor, Schulze. This was the magnum opus of the missionaries and received two appreciative letters of recognition from King George I of England. The first printing-press that was established in Madras was by the S. P. C. K. in 1711, which had recently begun its operations at the Presidency. It began to take a deep interest in the activities of the Tranquebar Mission which had its own press. Schulze subsequently took charge of a mission in Madras, where he preached in the Tamil, Telugu and Portuguese tongues and translated portions of the Bible into Telugu and Hindustani. The Tranquebar missionaries subsequently printed a

14 Besse, p. 231.
16 Ellis, Kural (Madras, 1822), 304 pp. (incomplete).
17 Pope, The Sacred Kural (Frowde, 1886).
18 See the writer's article in The Educational Review, vol. XXIV (Madras), on "The Madura Mission, and Tamil Scholarship;" Caldwell's History of Tranqueville, pp. 232-244; and D'Orsey, Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies and Missions in Asia and Africa (1893), pp. 251-261, which gives an account of Robert de Nobili.
19 J. W. Kaye, Christianity in India (1859), p. 73.
20 Quoted in Claudius Buchanan's Christian Research in India, (1840).
grammar in Tamil and German and a history of the Church in Tamil.\textsuperscript{21} Beschi’s first grammar on the Common Dialect appeared in 1737; while C. Th. Walter’s Grammar appeared two years later. Ziegenbalg’s Dictionarium Tamilicum was prepared in 1712, and was perhaps only a manuscript.\textsuperscript{22} A Tamil Grammar by J. Ch. Fabricius and J. Chr. Breithaupt, missionaries of Madras, was issued in a second edition in 1789. Among these early missionaries, the scriptural system of instruction, the training of schoolmasters and catechists, the publication of manuals of the grammars of the vernaculars and of translations of the Bible, were the methods employed,\textsuperscript{23} and they opened not merely western education among the people, but also an era of critical study of these languages. Under the illustrious Christian Frederick Swartz, who laboured in the country for nearly half a century from 1750, and his contemporaries and colleagues, Gerioke, Kohloff and Kiernander, translation of Scriptures and other works went on increasing, with large aids from the S. P. C. K. When Valentyn, an indefatigable missionary, who had long resided in Malaya and had translated the Scriptures into colloquial Malay, wrote his history (1727), the Old and New Testaments had been almost completely translated into Singalese as well.

In Malayalam also, much activity was displayed by the missionaries. A Portuguese grammar with a Malayalam vocabulary was published in 1733. Portuguese and Italian missionaries are stated by Grierson\textsuperscript{24} to have completed a Malayalam dictionary in 1746, based on materials accumulated in the two previous centuries. The German Jesuit, J. Ernst Hanleden, is stated by Fra Paolino to have written a grammar, which does not seem to have been printed. Other grammars on the language were written by Peter Clemens (Rome, 1784) and by Robert Drummond (Bombay, 1799). In 1781 J. Adam Cellarius published some notes on the features of the language. Grierson says that the first Malayalam printed book was probably the Symbolum Apostolicum printed in 1713 at an unknown place.

With regard to Kanarese (Kannada), the Spanish Jesuit Horvas gave 63 Kanarese words in his vocabulary. Schulze, the Danish missionary, prepared a Kanarese version of the Lord’s Prayer, which was printed in Berlin in 1806. The famous Serampore missionaries took up the study of Kanarese in earnest; and a grammar of the language by William Carey appeared in 1817, followed six years later by a translation of the New Testament.\textsuperscript{25}

The Telugu (or Gentoo) language is frequently mentioned in the Madras Records from 1683 to 1719. Nobili was said to have written some books in that tongue; but Schulze was the first European who made a thorough study of it. He translated the Bible into Telugu, published a Catechismus Telugicus Minor (Halle, 1746); Colloquium Religiosum Telugicae (Halle, 1747) and other books. He also gave an account of the Telugu alphabet in his Conspicua Litteratuarum Telugicae, (Halle, 1747). Later a Telugu grammar was printed at Madras in 1807, and a Telugu translation of the New Testament was issued from the Serampore Mission Press in 1816, followed by a version of the Pentateuch in 1851. It was in Telugu that the greatest necessity was felt by the Madras Government for encouraging the production of books, which would serve the double purpose of assisting civilians, missionaries and other Europeans and also of helping the natives in the acquisition of English; and it was the Telugu masters and scholars of the College of Fort St. George who greatly helped in the promotion of Dravidian linguistic studies by the Madras Government from about 1800. The Carnatic Mission, which was started for the Telugu country by the Jesuits in 1702, had the services of eminent scholars like John Calmette (1693-1740)\textsuperscript{26}, who was a great Sanskrit scholar and very probably the Satyabodha Svanulavaru of the Vedana-Rasagam and who besides translated into Sanskrit a large Catechism de la Foi, including a book from the Tamil by Father Beschi.

\textsuperscript{21} The Educational Review (Oct. 1923), article, “Progress of Education in Madras in the 18th century,” by C. S. Shrinivasachari.

\textsuperscript{22} G. A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, vol. IV, p. 302.

\textsuperscript{23} Hough, History of Christianity in India, vol. III, p. 104.

\textsuperscript{24} Linguistic Survey, vol. IV, p. 350.

\textsuperscript{25} George Smith, Life of William Carey (1888), pp. 238-9; and Grierson, vol. IV, p. 369.

\textsuperscript{26} History of the Telugu Christians (Trichinopoly), 1910, p. 308.
B. Encouragement by Government.

It was from the starting of the Board for the College of Fort St. George that Government actively took in hand the publication of works in the Dravidian and other native languages and in working the College Press. The Board maintained a depot and library for the sale and loan of oriental works; and later took charge of the library of Oriental manuscripts transferred from the Museum of the Madras Literary Society, which was started in 1817 by Sir Thomas Newbolt, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Regular rules for observance by the Board of the College were framed in 1820. The College, besides training civil servants in the vernaculars, supervised the instruction of Munshis and of persons who were to be appointed law-officers and pleaders in the native courts. The College was advised by Government that "the acquisition of a knowledge of the general grammar and connexion of the several languages of Southern India and of some acquaintance with the sources whence they spring is the chief object of the first two branches of this course." Sometimes later Government asked the College Board, which consisted of scholars like F. W. Ellis and A. D. Campbell, to report their opinion regarding the merits of the Curnatica (Kannada) Grammar and Vocabulary submitted by Mr. John McKerrell. Shortly afterwards the Board granted certificates of proficiency to native scholars trained by it, including Muttuswami, the biographer ofBeschi, and addressed Government concerning the purchase of the copyrights of several elementary works of first utility in the High and Low Dialects of the Tamil Language—commencing with Beschi's Grammar of Low Tamil. It did not confine its patronage to the products of European scholarship alone. It recommended the purchase of the copyrights of A Brief Exposition of the Tamil, by Chidambaram Pandaram, the Head Tamil Master of the College, and of a Telugu Dictionary entitled the Ananda Dipika, compiled by one Mamidi Venayya of Masulipatam, declaring that the latter work would greatly assist in the formation of an ample Telugu and English Dictionary and proposing the sum of 1,000 star-pagodas for the purchase of the copyright. The Board desired also to acquire the right over a Sanskrit dictionary by the same author. Consequently, the manuscript of A. D. Campbell's A Grammar of the Telugu Language commonly termed the Gentoowas acquired on public account, and the work was printed at the College Press, being dedicated to the Governor-General, the Earl of Moira, K.G. Works on law were also recommended; for instance, the translation of the Vijnana-svariyam by the Head Tamil Master of the College, who was also employed in rendering into Tamil the Vijnana-bhara-kandam, corresponding with the 8th and 9th books of Sir William Jones' Translation of the Institutes of Man. It was ultimately recommended that the copyright should be purchased for 1000 pagodas, which the author agreed to expend in the erection of a public choultry.

In 1815 efforts were made to produce works in Malayalam, and in a Consultation, dated 26th April 1815, recording a letter from the College Board, we read that Mr. Whish had made considerable progress in a grammar of the Malayalam tongue and that he had also commenced a dictionary in that language, and now requested the sanction of the College Board to continue his design of making a copious grammar and converting the two vocabularies (recently

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27 Notification, dated the 1st May 1812, vide Public Consultations, 1st and 6th May, 1812.
30 PP. 2471-72 MS. Pub. Consultations, 1st and 6th May 1812 (Madras Record Office).
31 Public Consultations, 14th July, 1812.
32 Fort St. George, Public Consultations, dated 28th September 1813.
33 Extract from a letter from the Court of Directors, dated 2nd April 1813, para. 31. Fort St. George, Consultation, 7th Dec. 1813, gives the approval of the Governor-in-Council to acquire the copyright. The 1st edition of the book is dated 1816.
34 Public Consultations, 21st June 1814, pp. 3446-47 of vol. VIII of the year (Madras Record Office).
35 Public Consultations, 11th Sep. 1816.
purchased by Government from Mr. Murdoch) into the form of good serviceable dictionaries. In the course of the same year the College Board was asked by Government to report on the Tamil Translation of the English Liturgy, prepared by the Rev. Mr. Rottler, promising him assistance if the report should be favourable. Likewise the Board was required to report on Babington’s Tamil Translation of Beschi’s Grammar of Shen Tamil (Higher Dialect). The Board declared that Rottler’s work was of limited utility, the translation being too stiff and in some places not conveying the plain meaning. It declared itself satisfied with the Telugu grammar prepared by Mr. A. D. Campbell and requested Government to bring it to the favourable notice of the Court of Directors, soliciting financial assistance. The book was published in 1816 and saw its third edition as late as 1849. In the preparation of the Grammar, Mr. Campbell was assisted by the noted scholar F. W. Ellis and also by the learned Telugu instructor, Udayagiri Venkatanarayana Iyah, who was Head English Master at the College and later became Interpreter to the Supreme Court, and also by Pattabhirama Sastri, Head Sanskrit and Telugu Master at the College. The latter gentleman compiled a Telugu Dhdumudla (List of Roots). It was Campbell who first pointed out the radical and intimate connection that exists between Telugu and the other South Indian vernaculars.

Correspondence was long carried on between Government and the Board on the questions of McKeerrell’s Karnatka Grammar and Telugu Dictionary and of Whish’s Malayalam Grammar and Dictionary. In 1816 Mr. Campbell made a further proposal to compile a Telugu Dictionary, which he asked to be referred to the Court of Directors. Shortly afterwards Government asked for payment of charges for the collection of books and manuscripts purchased by the College Board from Colonel Colin Mackenzie and a native assistant of his.

One Mr. J. Dalziell supplied to the Board the specimen of a Telugu Dictionary that he proposed to complete, and this offer, as well as another made by him to compile a Telugu and English Dictionary, were both disposed of. The Telugu Grammar published by Mr. W. Brown was not favourably reported on at first and Government refused to purchase copies of it. In 1819 Government ordered, on the favourable report of the College Board, to be transmitted to England copies of The Tales of Vikramanka in Telugu, compiled by K. Gurumurthy, a master in the College. It also ordered the printing and distribution of an almanac prepared by the native astronomer of the College, as well as the second edition of Campbell’s Telugu Grammar. In the following year the proposal that Mr. Campbell should compile a Telugu Dictionary took definite shape; and Government permitted him to take two native assistants from the College to Bellary, to help him in the preparation of his Dictionary. Again, on the recommendation of the College Board, Government passed orders that “Mr. Morris’s elementary work in the Telugu language” be printed and published under its auspices and the author be sufficiently remunerated. The English and Telugu Dictionary, which Mr. Morris published in 1835, was compiled under the auspices of the College Board and was at their recommendation purchased by Government on behalf of the Hon’ble the

38 Public Consultations of 20th January.
37 Ibid., 10th March 1815, p. 672 of Record in the Record Office.
36 Ibid., 22nd Dec., pp. 3338 and 3336 of volumes in the Record Office.
39 The work was entitled, A Grammar of the Telogoo Language commonly termed the Gentoo. It was however as a tolerably correct treatise, being the translation of an original crabbled work.
40 Public Consultations, 10th March, p. 672, 26th April and 8th July (1815), pp. 672, 1116, 1853, of Record Office volumes.
41 Ibid., 1st of June 1816 (Dispatch Nos. 55 and 56 in the Records).
42 Ibid., 14th of August 1816 (Dispatch Nos. 29 and 21).
43 Ibid., 18th April 1817 (Dispatch Nos. 44 and 45).
44 Ibid., 23rd February 1820 (Dispatch Nos. 225—6).
45 Ibid., 1820, 18th July (Dispatch Nos. 12 and 13); 1st August (Dispatch Nos. 11 and 12); 29th October (Dispatch Nos. 11 and 12).
Company, to whom the copyright was assigned. In this compilation the author was assisted by
the College Telugu Master, K. Gurumurthy Sastri, to whom reference has been already made.46

Besides Messrs. McEerell, Dalziell, Campbell and Morris, we learn from a consultation
that Mr. Boileau asked the help of a Telugu teacher in the completion of his Telugu Dictionary.
Both Dalziell's Dictionary and W. Brown's Grammar48 were refused assistance. Shortly
afterwards, we read of the handsome donation made by Lieutenant Sinclair of certain Portu-
guese and Singalese manuscripts to the Library of the College. What use these were of
to the Madras scholars, we do not know. From a despatch of the Court of Directors49 we
learn that instructions were given respecting the purchase of W. Brown's Gentoo (Telugu)
Vocabulary; Campbell's Telugu Dictionary; Babington's Tamil work; Rottler's Translation
of the Liturgy; Morris's Telugu work; McEerell's Karnatak Grammar and other books. In
continuation of their policy of patronising native authors, the Governor and Council50 sanction-
ed a reward to Thandavaraya Vadhir and authorised the printing of Amaraka Kotesa and three
other works in Tamil. The College Board was further asked to report on certain of the
Mackenzie Manuscripts51; and the Tamil translation (perhaps a condensed account) of The
Arabian Nights Stories, made by one Gnana-Mudali, was helped by Government purchasing
a certain number of copies.52 Mr. Charles Philip Brown, the well-known Telugu scholar, now
began to rise into prominence. He had already translated the verses of Vamana, a rustic
epigrammatic poet; and in 1827 he published at the request of Mr. Clark, a member of the College
Board, An Analysis of Telugu Prosody, adding explanations of the Sanskrit system. Several
books tendered by Mr. Brown were purchased by Government, who recommended to the
Directors the payment of 1,000 pagodas to him for the original of his treatise on Prosody.
A few years later Government acquired the copyrights of the Dictionaries of Morris and
Reeve on behalf of the Company. To revise the Tamil Dictionary about to be published by the
Rev. Dr. Rottler, Government deputed Mr. Harkness, assisted by two Muneshis, and later
Mr. A. Robertson.53 The avidity for learning displayed by Major-General Sir John Malcolm,
whose sphere of activity lay mainly in the west of India, is well illustrated in a Government
consultation54 defraying the expenses incurred by Mutthuswami Pillai in preparing a copy of
Beschi's Tamil poem Tembavuni, which was presented to Sir John.

The continued assistance rendered by the College Board to Mr. Rottler and his succes-
sor, Mr. Taylor, in the compilation of the former's Tamil–English Dictionary55 is seen in the
association of T. Venkatachala Mudali, a certificated teacher of the College, with the work of
revision. This work refers nearly all words to their roots or primitives; the synonyms were
largely drawn from the Sadur Agaradi; while Beschi's manuscript Dictionary of the Common
Dialect and another manuscript dictionary, Tamil and French, by Du Bourges seem to have
been made use of to some extent56, as well as Fabricius' Tamil and English Dictionary. In
1851, one Captain Ochterlony solicited patronage for his Tamil–English Lexicon. In 1853

47 Dated 24th August 1821.
48 This was William Brown (Coochi) who died in 1837. "In 1818 he printed a poor vocabulary and a
poor Grammar. I recollect that he assured me the language, which he called Gentoo, possessed no literature," p. xiii—Literary Life of C. P. Brown; An English and Telugu Dictionary (2nd Edition).
49 Embodied in Public Consultation, 7th October 1829.
50 Consultation, 3rd May 1825.
51 Pub. Cons., dated 16th May 1826.
52 Ibid., dated 7th Nov. 1826.
53 Proceedings of Government in the Public Department, Cons. of 23rd Dec. 1828; and Cons. of 20th January 1832.
54 Pub. Cons., 28th June 1831.
55 A Dictionary of the Tamil and English Languages, by the Rev. J. P. Rottler, vol. I., part I (Madras, 1834); vol. I., part II (Madras, 1836-37); part III (Revised by W. Taylor and T. Venkatachala Mudali—1839); part IV (Madras, 1841).
56 Pages iv and v of Preface to Rottler's Dictionary, part IV (1841).
the College Board solicited authority for retaining the Rev. Mr. W. Taylor's services for the formation of a Catalogue Raisonnée of the Oriental Manuscripts in the College Library. According to C. P. Brown, who had a hand in accumulating the Mackenzie MSS. in the Madras College Library, the method adopted by Taylor was unsatisfactory, as he was acquainted with colloquial Tamil alone and unskilled in chronology, and did not use the right method and phrasology in explaining the works. In 1854 the Rev. M. Winslow, American Missionary in Madras, solicited Government patronage to his prospectus of A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil. This work superseded all earlier works and helped in proving that "in its poetic form, the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek, and in both dialects with its borrowed treasures more copious than the Latin." About the same date Caldwell's Dravidian Affinities was published, Government rendering him also some help. Thus before the Company's rule ended, a brighter day had dawned for Tamil studies with the appearance of Winslow and Caldwell.

In Telugu studies, the labours of Mr. J. C. Morris supplemented by his brother, Mr. H. Morris, and of Mr. C. P. Brown stand out very prominently. From a perusal of the Index volumes to the Proceedings of the Madras Government in the Public Department we are furnished with abundant testimony as to the educative value and popularity of Morris's Telugu Selections, Brown's Dictionary, and Campbell's Telugu Grammar. Brown rates his Grammar as being the most difficult and intricate of all his works, with the possible exception of his Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Muhammadan Chronology. Brown's works in Telugu are too numerous and varied for detailed notice here; but one may recall the Nistara Ratnakaram (Ocean of Salvation), which he revised from an unknown author, being a summary of the Christian religion in Telugu metre. Brown himself thus speaks of the state of Telugu learning at the time when he commenced his labours "When I began these tasks, Telugu literature was dying out; the flame was just glimmering in the socket. The Madras College, founded in 1813, preserved a little spark." An outburst of native authorship was the result, which was to be followed in due course by critical studies. As early as 1839, one B. Subbarayulu published Carpenter's English Synonyms with Telugu Explanations. Strangely enough, Morris' Telugu Selections was translated into Malayalam by A. J. Arbuthnot, who submitted it for support by Government. Some years before this date appeared Captain Whistler's Translation into Telugu of the Arabian Nights, and almanacs both in Tamil and Telugu published by the College Board. Malayalam and Kannada (Canarese) came in also for proportionate attention and encouragement by the College Board and by Government. It was the Rev. Mr. Whish who was first encouraged by the College Board in the compilation of a Malayalam Dictionary. A Consultation of 1834 supplied to England information regarding the works in the vernacular languages prepared by the late Mr. C. M. Whish. In 1847 Government gave financial assistance to the Rev. J. Reeks' proposed Grammar of the Malayalam language. Mr. F. W. Ellis first pointed out the abundance in Malayalam of Sanskrit derivatives "in a proportion exceeding half, equal perhaps to three-fifths of the whole under the two heads common to all dialects of South India, tat-samam, pure

\textsuperscript{58} \textsuperscript{58} Pub. Cons., 16th February 1833.
\textsuperscript{59} P. xviii of The Literary Life of C. P. Brown quoted above.
\textsuperscript{60} Compiled with the assistance of native scholars; and from MS. materials of the Rev. J. Knight of Jaffna (died 1838) assisted by the Rev. P. Percival (Madras, 1862).
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., p. viii of Preface.
\textsuperscript{62} Pub. Cons., 13th Jan., 1854.
\textsuperscript{63} P. xxii of The Literary Life of C. P. Brown quoted above.
\textsuperscript{64} Proceedings in the Public Dept., 27th Nov. 1849.
\textsuperscript{65} Dated 8th July and answering a communication from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
\textsuperscript{66} Proceedings in the Pub. Dept., 16th July.
\textsuperscript{67} Wilson's Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, etc. (London, 1853), p. xxiii (Preface).
Sanskrit words, or tat-bhavam, derived from Sanskrit." The Desya (native words) may be divided into pure Tamil and derivatives from Tamil. The study of the language was greatly facilitated in this generation by the Grammarians of Mr. Spring of the Madras Civil Service and of the Rev. Mr. Peet of the Church Mission Society, and by the good and useful dictionaries of Malayalam and English, and English and Malayalam, compiled by the Rev. Mr. Bailey of the same Mission. In 1842 Government patronage was solicited for the work of Mr. Bailey.67 Both Government and the College went only a little way towards meeting the need for printed books for the use of students.

With regard to Kannada, the want of a good dictionary was supplied early enough,68 in which the Madras College had a good share. A better dictionary, both Kannada and English, and English and Kannada, was published in four quarto volumes by Mr. Reeve of the London Missionary Society in 1832. The copyright of Reeve's work was acquired by the Company on the recommendation of the College Board in 1831.69 Reeve commenced his labours as far back as 1817. He emphasized the affinity between Telugu and Canarese, and he made the fullest possible use of the Telugu Dictionary of Campbell and the Sanskrit Dictionary of Wilson. He had to encounter, as he says,70 the full force of adverse conditions—"the rareness of ancient manuscripts, the endless blunders of drivel and hireling transcribers, the paucity of duplicates for collation, and the comparatively small number of men to be found among the natives, possessing appropriate philological information, soundness of judgment or zeal for literary research and improvement, have occasioned no inconsiderable suspense, annoyance and embarrassment." Records of 1849 tell us of the Government's recommendation to the Court of Directors that help should be given to the Rev. Mr. Moegling in publishing certain works of his in the Kanaarese language.71 The same author was later promised aid in publishing the Basava Purâna and the Chenna Basava Purâna; but the Court of Directors considered that "the aid of Government should be confined to original works or to publications calculated to be useful to junior civil servants, and the expense of which was moderate."72

Works undertaken on behalf of the Madras Government, like Ellis' Mirasi Tenure, Robertson's Glossary in Tamil and English of words used in the law-courts, may also be mentioned in this connection, as having helped in linguistic studies to some extent. Mr. Richard Clarke of the Madras Civil Service collected a great volume of materials relating to terms used in Government records, including Muhammadan law-terms; and his valuable MSS. were useful to Professor Wilson in the compilation of his valuable Glossary. The publications of the Madras School Book Society, started in 1820, formed a most enlightened development of vernacular literature. The abolition of the College of Fort St. George in 1854, and the constitution of a Board of Examiners instead, closed a most useful side of governmental activity. Now that the critical study and promotion of the vernaculars is in full progress, it behoves us to remember gratefully and cherish the good pioneer work done by missionary enterprise and both directly and indirectly by Government agency also—which was promptly and willingly taken advantage of by Indian scholars and students. Further material for the elucidation of this interesting subject lies imbedded in the Records of the Public Department in the Madras Record Office.

67 Public Consultations, 29th Nov. 1842.
69 Public Consultations, 2nd Jan. and 12th March 1824; and 28th June 1831.
71 Public Consultations, 31st July.
72 Proceedings in the Pub. Dept. of the 16th Nov. 1852 (Dispatch Nos. 19-21).
YAŚODHAVALA PARAMĀRA AND HIS INSCRIPTION.
BY R. R. HALDER.

Yaśodhavala was one of the Paramāra rulers of Ābu, and was the father of the Paramāra Dhārāvarsha, the most famous among them. He secured the throne of Ābu after the deposition of his uncle Vikramasinha. According to Dvāratīya Kāvyā 1 by Hemachandra, Vikramasinha was ruling at Ābu, when Kumārapāla, the Solanki ruler of Gujarāt, came to Ābu and waged war against Arṇorāja, the Chauhān king of Ajmer. The name of Vikramasinha, however, is not mentioned in the inscription, 2 dated Saṃvat 1287 (A.D. 1230) at the temple of Neminātha on Mount Ābu which gives the genealogy of the rulers of Ābu; but as Hemachandra (Hemāchārya) was a great Jain scholar in the reign of Kumārapāla, his version cannot be discredited. It seems, however, that at the time of battle between Arṇorāja and Kumārapāla, Vikramasinha turned traitor and went over to the side of Arṇorāja. This disloyalty on the part of Vikramasinha led Kumārapāla to place him in confinement and set his nephew Yaśodhavala on the throne of Ābu. 3

Yaśodhavala ruled at Ābu as a feudatory of Kumārapāla and was a brave warrior. He is said to have killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he learned that he had become hostile to the Chauhān king Kumārapāla of Gujarāt. 4 His rule began in s. 1202 (A.D. 1145) and may have lasted up to s. 1220 (A.D. 1163), the date of commencement of his son’s rule.

The date of the accompanying inscription of Yaśodhavala is s. 1202 (A.D. 1145); that is to say, he was the ruler of Ābu in that year. Consequently, the above-mentioned battle between Arṇorāja and Kumārapāla of Gujarāt must have been fought in or shortly before that year. Some Jain writers, however, have confused this battle with that fought later between the same rulers.

From the Chitorgarh inscription of Kumārapāla, dated Saṃvat 1207 (A.D. 1150), we learn that Kumārapāla, having defeated Anaka, the ruler of Śākambhāri, and devastated the Sapādalaksha country, went to Chitorgar to view the beauty of that place. 5

The ruler Anaka referred to in this passage was clearly Arṇorāja, the Chauhān king of Ajmer, who is also known as Anā, Anāka, Annaladeva, etc. The Chauhāns were called Śākambhārīvara or Sāmbhārīnārāja (kings of Śākambhāri or Sāmbhar) after their capital at Śākambhāri (Sāmbhar). The capital of Arṇorāja, however, was not Sāmbhar, but Ajmer, to which place the seat of the capital of the Chauhāns was transferred from Sāmbhar by Ajayarāja (Ajayaradeva), father of Arṇorāja. Before Sāmbhar, the Chauhāns had their capital at Nāgaur (Ahichhathrapura) in the Jodhpur State. This is known from an inscription.

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1 Dvāratīya Kāvyā, canto XVI.
3 तत्र संवताः तरस विक्रमसिन्हास्य वहारसिन्हास्य मुद्रानाम् विक्रमसिन्हास्य मुद्रानाम् || २४ ||
4 Sākambhārika or Sāmbhārika (kings of Sākambhāri or Sāmbhar).
5 Epigraphia Indica, vol. VIII, p. 201.
6 लेखाकाराः नवंट नवंट नवंट नवंट || २२ ||
7 Also see Indian Antiquary, vol. XL, p. 29.
dated Saññvat 1226 (A.D. 1169) found at Bijolíyán in the Udaipur State, which states that one of the early Chauhán kings, Sámanta, ruled at Ahibhatrapura. Nágaur was also the capital of Jágadaladéśa, which comprised the whole of the present Bikaner State and the northern part of Márvar (Jodhpur State). So the Chauhán were also called kings of Jágadaladéśa. The territory lying in the vicinity of Nágaur was originally known as Sapádalaksha, and the Chauhán were called Sapádalakshya-nirapati (kings of Sapádalaksha). Gradually, the Chauhán of Ajmer under Vigrarahára (Visaladeva) IV extended their sway over the country outside Rajputana, as far as Delhi and Hántsi in the Punjab. Roughly speaking, all the territories that came under the rule of the Chauhán were known as the Sapádalaksha country.

Arñorája and other Chauhán of Ajmer are shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jagadéva</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>Vigrarahára IV</th>
<th>Sômëśvara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prithvibháta</td>
<td>(s. 1210—1220)</td>
<td>Visaladeva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithvirája II</td>
<td>A.D. 1153—1163</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithvidéva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pethadadéva</td>
<td>(s. 1224—1226)</td>
<td>Aparagangéya</td>
<td>Nágárjuna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 1167—1169</td>
<td>Amaragangéya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithvirája III.</td>
<td>Harirája</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s. 1236—1249)</td>
<td>A.D. 1170—1192</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 1194.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govindarája</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The defeat of Arñorája mentioned above in the inscription of Chitorgarh was evidently the result of a battle fought in or about Saññvat 1207 (A.D. 1150), which is quite different from the former battle, to which I have referred.

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8 Indian Antiquary, vol. XL, p. 28.
9 The rulers of this state style themselves as the 'kings of Jágadalbhara.' See also Indian Antiquary, vol. XL, p. 28.
10 इत्यादि समन्विता हैवाय सहर सैन्याभिनवव:।
ब्रह्म पाधु गर्जेन वेना जावृक्षाचार्यावतः।
हिंसा प्रयोजितानुक्रियाकर्माणि दिक्षितः।
आंगलसम्प्राप्तनेन व्यक्तवाचारै: परिवेशः।

—Sômëśvara's Kśirakṣaṇuṭā, canto II.

12 श्रव्योऽथ बृहदन्मन्त्र च ब्रह्म विभागमिव वा:।
विविधानां भाष्यमानसः सातसातिहव्याश्च च।

13 Certain parts of the Kishengarh, Jaipur, Bundi, Kotah and Udaipur States were also under the Chauhán.
14 According to Prithvirája-Viśaya and several inscriptions. The dates are mostly taken from inscriptions set up during their reign. Consequently, they represent the shortest but surest period of their rule. Their reign may have lasted longer than the above dates of their inscriptions.
15 Jagadéva being a parricide, the throne was seized from him by his younger brother Visaladeva.
While the general contents of the inscription of Yaśodhavala are of no great interest, its date is important, inasmuch as it definitely enables us to determine the period of the first battle between Arṇāraja and Kumārapāla.

The stone was found by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gourishankar H. Ojha in the Sirohi State in Rajputana and is now deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. It contains thirteen lines of writing: lines 8—11 are badly defaced. The character is Nāgari and the language is Sanskrit, but incorrect. It is dated Monday the 14th day of the bright half of Māgha, Saṁvat 1202 (A.D. 1145), and records that a certain grant was made at the village Ajāhari by the queen Subhāgâyadēvi of the Chaaulukya family (of Gujarāt) during the prosperous reign of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Yaśodhavala (l. i—6). The next three lines are imprecatory and threaten punishment in the next life to those who may appropriate this grant in future. The last two lines mention the name of the Sūtradhāra (engraver) as Chādadēva, and contain two words talāra and surabhī (l. 12 and 13 respectively), which need explanation. The word surabhī means a cow and the grants made by kings or rulers inscribed on stones are called surīha, surīhi or surī, which are corrupt forms of the Sanskrit word surabhī. Such inscriptions contain on top the figure of a cow with a suckling calf, and sometimes the sun and the moon on either side above the cow, which represents the earth. The idea is that as long as the earth, the sun and the moon shall endure, so long will the grants be preserved. In Rajputana, they are generally found in fields and temples, and this is first inscription known to me, in which the word surabhī is written.

The word talāra is another form of the word talārakṣaḥ, which seems to be an official title. Probably it meant in those days what the word kōvid (a police officer) means at the present day. The word is used several times in the Chirvā inscription, dated Samvat 1330 (A.D. 1273), of the time of Rāwal Samarasānīnha of Mewār.

In the Prithvichand Charitāra of Manikyasundarāsūrī, composed in a. 1478, there is a list of officials, which includes the names talacar and talavargya. Sometimes in inscriptions we find the word talavargin.16 The word tālihari is perhaps also akin to this (talāra), and means a watchman of the village, whose duty it is to watch crops in the daytime and assist the farmers to do so at night. His peculiar duty, however, is to ascertain the boundaries of each field and of each farmer's possession. In Gujarātī, the word tālidī still refers to a pātuwārī.
FOLK-SONGS OF THE TULUVAS.


I. Song of the Holeyas.

The following songs are sung by the Mundâla Holeyas of Udip Taluk during their marriage ceremony:

1. The Song in Tulu.

Text.

Sandânânâ sänere.
Saândânâ Sänere.
Pani pani barasogu deshampunde.
Pani pani barasogu deshampunde.
Pani pani barasogu tattara beda.
Pani pani barasogu tattara beda.
Ittiri kârâl madimâla.
Barabara banjidâye madimâye.
Sandânogu baruvala shankarimanâ.
Nidânogu baruvala nidânabombe.
Sandânânâ Sänere.
Tumbudunde ponnu Kâlijkandelo,
Kattadande ponnu Nîrakandelo,
Sandânânâ Sänere.
Mundêvu gundida, mudaleda sintema.
Yî yencha bâttâ, Magâ, bâle bangâro ?
Kandâda kaditta Mandejida magurundu,
Kaïpetaro ?
Sandî bedâ lingâ, sâri bedâ.
Koëjî kodusara magâ suddi bedâ,
Sandânânâ Sänere: Sandânânâ Sänere.

Translation.

Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment,
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment.
When it rains in drops, sprinkle the rice over the pair.
When it rains in drops, sprinkle the rice over the pair.
When it rains in drops, an umbrella is unnecessary.
When it rains in drops, an umbrella is unnecessary.
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (Chorus).
With feet like those of the Ittiri bird, does the bride come.
With a patterning noise and a big stomach, does the bridegroom come.
She comes for a sacred union, the bride.
She comes slowly, she comes like a puppet doll.
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (Chorus).
She carries a pitcher of toddy on her waist,
She carries a pitcher of water on her fore-arm.
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (Chorus).
In the ponds of the Screw-pine, with grief as terrible as a crocodile,
How did you come, O dear, dear, golden child?
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (Chorus).
On the edge of a field, the Maidenji fish tumbles,
Is it the Kaïpetaru fish?
Make no promise, O Man, nor wish for an evil turn;
(And) Speak not of the child of Yesterday, O Son, speak not.
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (Chorus).

2. Text.

Le le le le le là Daitirimâle (Chorus).
Daitirimâle, tânunchellyabâlenâ;
Nerade kândelkondal, Daitirimâle;
Tarekudutûu kattondala, Daitirimâle;
Gûddegalâ phovundala, Daitirimâle;
Aluttalâ Battondala, Daitirimâle;
Nirala muttondala, Daitirimâle (Chorus).
Ulâyî onji sôtorogu, Daitirimâle,
Tappu maipu pattondula, Daitirimâle.
Pidayi onji sôtorogu, Daitirimâle,
Kunti maipu pattondula, Daitirimâle (Chorus).
Niradâ kandela patta (da), Daitirimâle,
Niradâde phovundalâ, Daitirimâle,
Kaimone nedyangdola, Daitirimâle,
Kaimone nedyangdola, Daitirimâle (Chorus).
Aluttalâ battondala, Daitirimâle.
Karakorayi nedyangdala, Daitirimâle,
Dikkela nira konovundala, Daitirimâle.
Tû andâla pottayela, Daitirimâle;
Atîla mûltondala, Daitirimâle,
Baidi binnerega bâsondala, Daitirimâle,
Tânalâ tindondala, Daitirimâle;
Ullaya bèlega phovundela, Daitirimâle,
Belo kâle tirândola, Daitirimâle.
Le le le le le là Daitirimâlêge,
Tânunchelya bâlenâ, Daitirimâle (Chorus).

Translation.

Le le le le le là O Thou Daitirimâlêgé (Chorus).
(O Thou) Daitirimâle, who art a little child;
Who hast heard fond nicknames from the morning, O Daitirimâle;
Who hast tied thine hair after flapping it, O Daitirimâle;
Who art ready to go to the hills, O Daitirimâle,
(And) who hast returned a-crying, O Daitirimâle;
(And) who hast washed with water (thine hands and feet), O Daitirimâle (Chorus)
In one of the inner portions of the house, O Daitirimâle,
Thou hast handled the wrong green-foliaged broom, O Daitirimâle.
In one of the outer portions of the house, O Daitirimâle
Thou hast handled a small worn-out broom, O Daitirimâle (Chorus).
(O Thou) who art carrying a pot of water, O Daitirimâle,
(Thou) who art going to the well, O Daitirimâle,
Thou who art washing (thine) hands and face, O Daitirimâle,
Who art washing thine hands and face, O Daitirimâle (Chorus).
And who art returning a-crying, O Daitirimâle,
Thou who art washing the earthen vessels with thine hands, O Daitirimâle,
Who art pouring water in the pot above the fire, O Daitirimâle.
(Thou) who art lighting the fire, O Daitirimâle,
(And) who art preparing the meal, O Daitirimâle;
Thou who art serving the guests who have come, O Daitirimâle,
And who after serving them, art eating the food, O Daitirimâle;
And who art, then, going to do the work of thy land-lord, O Daitirimâle,
After finishing all other work, O Daitirimâle.

Le le le le le le là O Thou Daitirimâle,
Thou who art a fond little child, O Daitirimâle (*Chorus*).

The following song is sung by the Mundâla Holeys of Udipi Taluk during their marriage ceremony:


**Text.**

Le le le le le le là Tumbetirâmâ! Le le le le Tumbetirâmâ!
Tumbenavolu kūṭandinâ, Tumbetirâmâ.
Karandevolu kāligandinâ, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yēra barouduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ!
Nēliya mukhāri dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ;
Yeliya mukhāri dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yēra barouduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ?
Mūlya dikkala baroudaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Yekkalada Aridakka, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yēra barousteyâ, Tumbetirâmâ?
Koḍada mānya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yēra barouduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ?
Panjuru mānya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Yekkalada aridakka, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yēra barouduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ?
Guliga mānya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ,
Guliga mānya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yēra barouduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ?
Bajaldâya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yēra barouduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ?
Pulyandaya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yēra barouduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ?
Kachada anpe battneyeyâ, Tumbetirâmâ?
Telikeda akkâ battalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Kedumbureddakkâ battalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yēra barouduyâ, Tumbetirâmâ?
Kāla kadesundaṇo, Tumbetirâmâ.
Veļe phophunüdyâ, Tumbetirâmâ.
Bēga Bēga ballayâ, Tumbetirâmâ.

Le le le le le le là Tumbetirâmâ! Le le le le, Tumbetirâmâ!

**Translation.**

Le le le le le le là Tumbetirâmâ! Le le le le le Tumbetirâmâ!
Gather the Tumbe flowers, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Gather the Karande leaves, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ?
The wife of the great mukhāri is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ;
The wife of the small mukhāri is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ?
The wife of the demon-priest is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā.
Stretching your body, sprinkle the rice, O Tumbetirámā.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā?
The wife of the priest of the demon Kodadabbu is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā?
The wife of the priest of the demon Panjurli is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā.
Stretching your body, sprinkle the rice, O Tumbetirámā.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā?
The wife of the priest of the demon Guligā is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā?
The wife of Bājaldāye (the Toddy-Server) is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā?
The wife of Pulyandāye is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā?
Has the indiscreet young brother come, O Tumbetirámā?
The laughing sister is come, O Tumbetirámā.
The delicate sister is come, O Tumbetirámā.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirámā?
It is getting late, O Tumbetirámā.
Time is fleeing, O Tumbetirámā.
Come soon, come soon, O Tumbetirámā.
Le le le le le le lá Tumbetirámā! Le le le le Tumbetirámā!

The following song is sung by the Mundāla Holeyas of Udpī, when the bridegroom is being shaved:—

4. The Song in Tulu,

Text.

Le le le le lá kinni Madimāye!
Tānunchelya bālenā, kinni Madimāye;
Tānunchelya bālenā, kinni Madimāye;
Netterėda puṭṭiyena, kinni Madimāye,
Nirada balettēna, kinni Madimāye,
Bālepolbalmanna, kinni Madimāyege;
Uddalā phovundena, kinni Madimāye.
Budditā kaltondenā, kinni Madimāye.
Ulla ya belega phovundena, kinni Madimāyege.
Jātipolikenā, kinni Madimāyege.
Le le le le lá kinni Madimāyege!
Gadda meśe battondayā, kinni Madimāyege,
Poṇṇu sinne puṭṭunduyā, kinni Madimāyege.
Poṇṇu tuvere phovundena, kinni Madimāye.
Poṇṇu malla tuvunādenā, kinni Madimāye,
Jātipolikenā, kinni Madimāyege.
Landabanda maltondena, kinni Madimāye,
Jātini tālpondena, kinni Madimāyege.
Le le le le lá kinni Madimāyege!
Tūrikorendenā, kinni Madimāyege,
Jātini tālpondena, kinni Madimāye.
Le le le le lá kinni Madimāye!
Le le le le lá kinni Madimāye.
Translation.
Le le le le lá (Oh) the young Bridegroom!
Le le le le lá (Oh) the young Bridegroom.
A little beautiful child is he, the young Bridegroom!
Born in blood was he, the young Bridegroom;
He grew strong in waters, the young Bridegroom.
He was a little child, the young Bridegroom;
Now he has grown tall, the young Bridegroom.
He has improved his wit, the young Bridegroom.
He has gone to his land-lord's work, the young Bridegroom.
He has got a gift from his caste, the young Bridegroom.
Le le le le lá (Oh) the young Bridegroom!
He has got beard and whiskers, the young Bridegroom,
And his heart is set on a woman, the young Bridegroom.
He's gone to see his lass, the young Bridegroom;
He has chosen a fitting mate, the young Bridegroom,
Who is a gift from his caste, the young Bridegroom.
He has bound himself, the young Bridegroom,
To the welfare of his caste, the young Bridegroom;
Le le le le lá (Oh) the young Bridegroom!
Give the earthen-pot (of toddy) to the young Bridegroom,
As a gift from his caste, (Oh) the young Bridegroom.
Le le le le lá (Oh) the young Bridegroom!
Le le le le lá (Oh) the young Bridegroom!

MISCELLANEA.

KATHĀ AND VRITTAKA.

In the Śṛṣṭikālākārpuruṣavārāna 6. 2. 324 ff.,
Hemacandra raises a question of fiction terminology.
In a conversation between a minister and a dwarf,
the minister said, "Tell us an interesting kathā."
The dwarf replied, "Shall I tell a kathā or a vṛttaka?"
Questioned as to the difference between a kathā and a vṛttaka, the dwarf said, "A vṛttaka is one's own adventures (cārīta); a kathā is the adventures of men of former times."

It has long been evident that Rājaśekhara's definition (quoted by Bühler, Über das Leben des Jaina Mönche Hemacandra, p. 5) of a cārīta, as the biography of Tīrthaśākara, Cakravartins and Rihas to the time of Aryarākṣita, as distinguished from a prabhāvaka, the biography of men of later times, was not observed in practice. Cārītra is used for the biography of any one; e.g., Rāhuśeṣya cārītra, which is the biography of a thief; Śukhāvadūcārītra, the biography of a merchant.

It is difficult to say whether or not Hemacandra's distinction was actually observed. Does any one know of any vṛttakas or autobiographical cārītras?

HELEN M. JOHNSON.

BOOK-NOTICES.

HINDU POLITY. A constitutional history of India in Hindu Times; (two volumes in one). By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.; Butterworth and Co., Calcutta, 1924.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of Patna needs no introduction to students of Indian history and antiquities. The pages of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, to which he has contributed so many able and suggestive articles, would alone ensure public interest in any work from his pen. The present volume, which the author describes as mainly a commentary upon his paper, 'An Introduction to Hindu Polity,' published in the Modern Review in 1915, is a succinct and lucid summary of the ancient constitutional organizations of India, from the Samiti and Sabha of Vedic times and the later Republics, Gāṇa and Sāṃgha, to the Monarchy and Imperial systems of a more definitely historic age. The various constitutional features of Ancient India are arranged and discussed within certain chronological limits, based upon the evidence supplied by Vedic, Classical, and Prakrit literature and by lithic and numismatic records, and cover the period from the Vedic age to A.D. 600, when Hindu constitutional traditions suffered an eclipse, lasting roughly till the middle of the seventeenth century. Within these limits the author unfolds the origin and characteristics of the assemblies of the Vedic Aryan; the Hindu Republics of 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600; the Janapada and the Pārva
assemblies of 600 B.C. to A.D. 600; Hindu kingship from the earliest age to A.D. 600; the Council of Ministers under Hindu monarchy from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600; the judiciary from 700 B.C. to A.D. 600; the theory of taxation from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600; and Hindu imperial systems from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600. It will be apparent from this list of subjects that the book provides much interesting historical information and offers plenty of food for reflection.

Within the limits of a 'review' it is impossible to deal in detail with the contents of this erudite work, and I will therefore confine my remarks to a brief notice of a few points which aroused my particular interest. Among these is the suggestion that the Buddhist Sarvāstivāda, the most vital feature of the Church founded by Gautama, was modelled upon and named after the political Sarvāstivāda, which was synonymous with Gāsā, signifying a Republic. According to the author, these Hindu republics were administered by a deliberative body, composed of various classes of the population, and were styled ayudhajīvin or Āstropajīvin—two somewhat obscure terms, of which Mr. Jayaswal suggests an explanation. In the Buddhist age the republican form of government was apparently flourishing; the literature of that period mentions at least seven republican states; and between them they must have provided plenty of constitutional material to serve as a pattern to the Buddha, when he addressed himself to the task of organizing his ecclesia. The arrangements prevailing in the republic of the Lichchhavis are rightly treated in some detail, as the Lichchhavi State lasted from early days until the era of Gupta imperialism, and during practically the whole of that period occupied a position of great importance.

Mr. Jayaswal stoutly opposes the late Dr. Vincent Smith's view that these republican Gāsās were of Mongolian origin, and that the Lichchhavis themselves possessed Tibetan affinities. He points out that Smith's view was based on the custom of exposure of the dead, as supposed to be illustrated by a passage in a Chinese legend, and secondly on the judicial procedure of the Lichchhavis, as described by Tournour. The Chinese legend is admitted by about a thousand years later in date than the period to which it purports to refer, while the description which it contains can be shown, on the analogy of passages in the Dharmasastra and Sanskrit dramatic works, to be applicable to the ordinary Hindu smādhana, and not to refer necessarily to Tibetan or Iranian burial customs. Similarly, the supposed evidence of Lichchhavi judicial procedure is stated to be illusory by the juxta-position of Tournour's description and the account of the stages of Tibetan criminal procedure given by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das. Mr. Jayaswal depends also upon a passage in the Mahābhārata to establish his contention that Lichchhavi criminal procedure was based on rules normally followed by Hindu Gāsās or republican states. He likewise adduces evidence which suggests the probability of the Lichchhavis being pure Hindu Kshatriyas, having no racial connection with Tibet. The same conclusion has been reached by Mr. Bimala C. Law in his Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India. It is stated in the preface that Dr. Vincent Smith was largely responsible for the inception of Mr. Jayaswal's work, and it is a matter of regret that he did not live to see its completion.

In the second part of his work, dealing with Hindu Monarchy, the author dissects quite as strongly from another statement in Smith's Early History of India to the effect that "the native law of India has always recognised agricultural land as crown property." Colebrooke's essay on Mīmāṃsā, the dicta of Hindu lawyers like Nīlakanṭha, Mādhava, and Katyāyana, the statements of accepted commentators, the Jātaka, and copper-plate title-deeds of the Gupta period, are marshalled together to prove that the ancient Hindu legal doctrine regarding proprietorship in land was the exact reverse of what it is stated to be by Dr. Smith in the above-quoted sentence. Mīmāṃsā declares emphatically that the king has no property in the soil; and this is in consonance with the opinions of ancient constitutional writers, who decided that the king is in the position of a servant of the body politic, obtaining his wages in the shape of taxes, but possessing no proprietorship in the land. Mr. Jayaswal further asserts that the English translation of the Jātaka, on which Smith depended to re-inforce his view, contains a fundamental error, pāti being rendered 'owner' instead of 'protector,' and the latter portion being wholly misconstrued. Whether Mr. Jayaswal's arguments can be successfully parried, is a question into which I cannot here enter.

In a chapter on 'Technical Hindu Constitutions' from 1000 B.C., the author touches upon the Rāṣṭrīkās of Western India and appears to treat the Pettanikas or Petenikas of Asoka's inscriptions as a separate political entity, of which the rulers or leaders had contrived to obtain hereditary status. This view does not tally with that adopted by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in his Carmichael Lectures for 1923. He states that Petenikas cannot be separated from Rāṣṭrīka and Bhoja, and that it is a qualifying word or adjective, signifying 'one who is hereditary ruler of a rāṣṭra or province.' Mr. Jayaswal suggests that the Rāṣṭrīkās obtained their name from their political constitution—the Rāṣṭrīka, which was purely republican in character, the administration being vested in a board of non-hereditary elected leaders; while the Pettanikas or 'hereditary leaders' followed a different form of constitution, Pettanika, described as aristocratic or oligarchical. While I do not feel competent to argue
this point, I entertain considerable doubts about accepting Mr. Jayaswal's view in preference to that of Dr. Bhandarkar. If we can assume that the Rāṣṭrīkas of the Asoka inscriptions are the same people as the Mahārāṣṭhas of the Nasik inscriptions, the view that the former were administrative heads of provinces, who contrived to exchange their original status as governors for that of hereditary chieftains, seems on the whole more acceptable than that now put forward by Mr. Jayaswal. It seems probable that the Mahārāṣṭhas were connected with, and occupied in western India the same position as, the Mahāśeṣapatis, who were at one time viceroys of the Andhrā dynasty and subsequently assumed independence in Adoni and the eastern portion of the Andhrā dominions. It seems difficult to believe that they or the Mahārāṣṭhas ever indulged in republican forms of government, though the habits and manners of the Marāṭhās at the close of the eighteenth century, as recorded by Tone, lend colour to the view that social equality and comrade was once the guiding principles of their class. The aristocratic aloofness, which to-day divides the upper-class Marāṭhā from his more humble kinsmen, the Kumbis and allied tribes and castes, was certainly not observable in 1796. On the whole, I should like to see Mr. Jayaswal's view subjected to further argument, before finally rejecting the opinion recorded on pages 32 and 33 of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's Asoka.

On the subject of the coronation of Asoka, also, there is a conflict of opinion between Mr. Bhandarkar and the author of the present work. The former argues that there is no sound reason for assuming an interval of four years between Asoka's succession and coronation. Dr. V. A. Smith accepted the fact of the four years' interval in his Early History of India, and seemed to think that it signified a dispute about the succession. Mr. Jayaswal agrees that Asoka was not formally 'crowned' for four years after his accession, but ascribes the delay to the operation of the Hindu constitutional law, which forbade the coronation of a king before the completion of his twenty-fourth year. By orthodox and sacred Hindu law the uncrowned period could not be recognized, and it is for this reason, states Mr. Jayaswal, that the Purāṇas do not count the pre-coronation years of Asoka's reign, while they include them in the total for the dynasty. This explanation strikes me as plausible.

Another arresting suggestion in this work relates to the supposed existence of the worship of Vasudeva prior to the date of Pañjini. The belief is based upon the interpretation of a sūtra of Pañjini, which Mr. Jayaswal believes to be erroneous. He asserts, in short, that the word bhakti can be shown from the context to have signified, not religious devotion, but political or constitutional allegiance. There are many other facts, suggestions and inferences set forth in this work, which render it of first-rate importance to students of ancient Hindu institutions, ideals, and history. Other experts may dissent from some of the views propounded by the author, but their criticism cannot deprive the work of its value as a carefully documented retrospect of the growth of Hindu polity.

S. M. EDWARDS.


In this Memoir the Government Epigraphist gives a definite decision that the two statues in the temple of Ādīvarāṇa-Perumāl are those of Mahendravarman I, the originator of the rock-cut temples of South India, and of his son Nārasiṅhavarman-Sīnāvihaven I, known to history as "Vatāplikonda" and the foe of the Western Chalukya ruler, Vikramāditya I. On paleographical grounds he decides also that the label inscriptions on the sculptures belong to the reign of Parameswarar-varman I, the grandson of Mahendravarman I. From other inscriptions in the cave, when compared with a reference in the Tamil Periyapurāṇam and with the Tandilam inscription (Ep. Ind. VII. p. 25), he deduces the interesting fact that the word Kāḍāvesa (chief of the Kāḍava) and its alternative forms, Kāṭhaka and Kāḍaka, are synonyms of Pallava, and shows that the kings of the collateral line of Pallavas, descended from Bhūmivarman (younger brother of Sīnāvihaven I) were called Kāḍavesa and ruled over an outlying part of the Pallava dominions, simultaneously with the main Pallava dynasty. This outlying territory seems to have corresponded roughly with the modern districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool and Mysore State. In later times they claim to have ruled also over Kāṭehil. It was from a Kāḍava-Pallava that the Nolambas of the Kannarese country traced their origin. Presumably the word Kāḍava is allied with the Dravidian word meaning "jungle," "wild"; and it would be interesting to know whence the collateral line of Pallavas obtained this designation.

S. M. EDWARDS.

The Ahad Namah, Marker Literary Series for Persia, No. 1. Preface by G. K. NARIMAN. Published under the patronage of the Iran League, Bombay, 1925.

This little book is a truly remarkable production and if the subsequent publications of the Iran League are to be of the same calibre, that body will be of the greatest benefit to the Persia of India. To quote the opening words in the Preface by that veteran scholar, Mr. G. K. Nariman: "Persia with its young and patriotic Muslems is awakened, and the latter have stretched the kindly hand of
fraternity to their Zoroastrian compatriots and the Parsis of India. The Indian Zoroastrians have been separated from the old country for centuries, but have never ceased casting a longing loving glance at the homeland of their origin and religion. Intermittently they carried on correspondence with their co-religionists in Yazd and Kerman. Persia is to-day subordinating every consideration to that of consolidation of the Iranian fraternity."

On these considerations Mr. Pestonji Dosabhoj Marker is planning to create a literature suitable to the requirements of young Iran, and this Literary Series is part of his scheme, of which one constituent is to build up in young Zoroastrians a desire for honest history. In pursuit of such history Mr. Nariman enquires into the causes of the decadence of the Zoroastrians, and his enquiry brings him to remarkable conclusions. It is not due to the action of the Arabs on their conquest of Persia, the decadence in fact dating from the days of Afghan ascendancy at a much later date. It is really due to the rending of the community by "mutual discussions and ruinous jealousies," a view, which when put forward by a Parsi and published in a serious Parsi educational "series," cannot but be arresting.

Mr. Nariman backs this up by stating that under many local governors after the Arab conquest "free practice of religion was accorded" in quite a number of treaties. The very book under review "contains two charters reported to have been granted by the founder of Islam and his great-son-in-law, the pious fourth Khalifa, to the Zoroastrians," in which religious tolerance is particularly emphasised." Mr. Nariman says there are many others conceived in the same spirit.

The grants published in this book are not indeed, in their present form, of unquestioned authenticity, but even if spurious, there are dozens of others which are genuine. They unquestionably bear witness to the spirit of tolerance of the early Islamic conquerors. It was not until the Mongols came into power that the extermination of Zoroastrians commenced, when the great instrument of oppression was the jaziya or poll-tax. But even this was not oppressive in its inception, because it was a tax in return for exemption from military service, and thus in theory protected those subject to it from the designs of others than the rulers. It was the extortionate manner in which it was exacted by the officials who raised it that turned it into an instrument of torture and practical annihilation.

With the decadence of the Zoroastrians their literature largely disappeared, and as to this Mr. Nariman makes a remarkable statement: "the destruction of the Zoroastrian literature is due in part to the Turks, more to the Afghans, and most to neglect and sacerdotal arrogance which made a monopoly of the relations between God and man." Here we are provided with something to think over.

Now, however, says our author, "a new period of hope has dawned on united Iran," and in the Persia of to-day "the patriotic son of the soil is Irani first and Moslem, Christian, Jew or Zoroastrian in the second place." Mr. Nariman winds up his remarks by an examination of the legal aspect of the Zoroastrians in Islam, about which he has equally arresting and interesting things to say. One cannot help looking forward to further publications in this series.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

INSCRIPTIONS WANTED.

Can anybody tell me where the inscribed Copper-Plates and Stones mentioned below can be seen?

Copper-Plates.

(1) Copper-Plates fastened together by a ring in two parcels of three each, found in 1788, while digging foundations in Thana Fort. They record a grant by the Silahara Chief Arikekhar.

(2) About 1830, two Copper-Plates were found while digging a grave in Thana (whose grave?) and sent by Mr. Bailie to the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone. They are dated A.D. 1272 and 1290, and record grants by Konkan Viceroy of the ninth Devgiri Yadav, Ramchandra Deo [1271-1308] whom Ala-ud-din Khilji defeated.

Stones.

(3) Land-Grant Stones were found about 1835, by Mr. Murphy, in Salsette. One inscribed stone in the Collector's garden in Thana was brought from Vaghchli (one mile west of Sopara, B.B. & C.I. Ry.). This stone was three feet eight inches long, one foot one inch broad, and seven inches thick. The Inscription contained fourteen lines.

B. F. GHARDA.

ENGLISH TOMBSTONES IN THANA.

"In the Churchyard, Thana, are the tombs of John Vaughan, dated 1780; of Charles Driffield, dated 1784; of Stephen Babington, dated 1822; of John Malsey (died 1785); and of George Page (died 18th Nov. 1791)."

Can any reader kindly let me know who these persons were? And what services they rendered in Thana or in India?

B. F. GHARDA.
473. After the mutiny of the crew of the *Beckford Galley* (See para. 477 below), the Purser, Andrew Somerville, managed to escape and make his way to Mayotta. There he found an old friend, the Purser of the *Ruby*, who was trying to save the Company's treasure which had been on board when she was wrecked. The *Ruby* (400 tons, 36 guns, 116 passengers and crew, Captain John Barber, Purser Benjamin Preston) was wrecked at Mayotta on the 14th September 1699 (*Letters to Fort St. George*, 1700, pp. 73–77). With the help of some faithful members of the crew, they seized a small pirate sloop, and on the 30th March sailed for Patta on the African Coast, where they arrived on the 14th April. Here all his companions were, as were all Englishmen who came here at this time (See para. 400 above), murdered, and the Arabs took booty to the amount of 62,000 dollars, besides goods. He was spared at the intercession of an Arab merchant named Singaree, but to save his life, was forced to submit to circumcision. He did not get free until about April 1701 (*India Office, O.C. 8585*).

474. In February 1700 seven sail of Arab vessels appeared off Vesava and took it from the Portuguese (*Bom. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 128). In the same year Arabs in the Persian Gulf took the *Friendship*, Captain William Morrice, of 100 tons, with a cargo worth £8,000.

475. On the 13th and 15th July 1701, John Wheeler Master, and John Cockcroft Super-cargo of the English ship *Diamond*, wrote from Jodhpur that their ship with a cargo worth more than Rs. 1,00,000 had been seized, at the instigation of Ibrahim, brother of Hussain Amadan of Surat, on the pretence that the *Diamond* was the pirate (See para. 463 above) which took Hussain Amadan's ship in 1698 (*India Office, O.C. 8585-6 ; Madras Consultations 24th Jan. 1701-2*). Thomas Pitt, in a letter dated 27th Nov. 1701 to Sir Thomas Gayer, mentions that, according to Gayer, Sir Nicholas Waite of the New Company, had told the Mughal Governor of Surat, that all the ships of the Old Company were pirates and had incited Hussain Amadan to write to his countrymen to seize the *Diamond* in reprisal (*Letters from Fort St. George, 1700-1701, p. 79*).

**Anglo-Americans.**

476. On the 1st January 1698-9 Amanat Khan, *Faujdar* of Surat, in consequence of the damage done by European pirates, placed guards upon the English, French and Dutch Factories (Bruce, III. 272). In February (*See Dutch Records ; Manucci, III. 488 n.*) these three nations were forced to sign bonds to indemnify the native traders against future losses. More particularly, the Dutch undertook to protect trade in the Red Sea, the French in the Persian Gulf and the Portuguese on the southern coast of India (Bruce, III. 274).

477. In June 1698 the *Beckford Galley* (200 tons, 24 guns, 30 men, John Harris Master) sailed from the Thames to purchase slaves in Madagascar. Early in 1699 she arrived at Tollear Bay. The crew, having been overworked and badly fed, combining with some pirates ashore under one Ryder, who had once served with the Moors and had been left by a pirate at Port Dauphin, mutinied, seized the ship while Harris was ashore, and carried her to Ascension. One account (*India Office, O.C. 6804*) says that they chose Evan Jones as their Captain; another (*Owners to Council of Trade and Plantations, 7th May 1700, Cal. State Papers, Col.*) says that they chose Ryder. I do not know what became of Harris, but the Purser, Andrew Somerville, managed to make his way to Mayotta (See para. 473 above).

478. The crew of the *Pelican*, deprived of any share in the booty of the *Great Mahomet* (See para. 463 above), had still their fortunes to make. They accordingly set out from St. Mary's alone and took a number of Moor ships, among which was the *Dolphin*, to which, the *Pelican* being no longer seaworthy, they transferred themselves (Johnson, II. 384). The *Dolphin* arrived at St. Mary's early in 1699. There they found Samuel Burgess in the *Margaret* (Johnson,
II. 383 calls her the *Pembroke*), owned by Frederick Phillips of New York, which had arrived in January (*Calliford’s Deposition*). Burgess took up some twenty passengers, including the Captain of the *Pelican* and Dirk Chivers. Later on he deposed on oath (*Ind. Off., O.C. 6802*) that he believed they had some eight or nine thousand pounds between them and he supposed that they had obtained it by piracy. They paid one hundred dollars a head (all which, he says, went to Mr. Phillips) and provided their own provisions. From St. Mary’s he went in April to St. Augustine’s, and whilst there he saw the *Peter Brigantine* (George Riveley Master) taken on the 7th September by an English pirate, Evan Jones, in the *Beckford Galley* (200 tons, 20 guns and French built), now renamed the *Tolier Galley*. Riveley, poor man, had been captured a short time before by a French pirate, a Monsieur Devissie (1), Captain of a ship of 18 guns and 65 men, and had been ordered to take his vessel to St. Augustine’s (*Ind. Off., O.C. 6804*). Apparently Burgess gave him a passage to the Cape. The *Margaret* arrived at Cape Town on the 18th December and there, to his disgust, Burgess found the *Loyal Merchant* (Captain Matthew Lowth). Though, or perhaps because, the latter was flying the King’s Jack and Pennant, Burgess did not salute her, but crept under the guns of the Dutch Fort. Captain Lowth, who held a commission to take pirates, forced Burgess and his white passengers to come on board him and put them in irons. On the 20th the *Vine* (Captain Thomas Warren) also came in with 14 passengers of the same kind, including the notorious *Culliford*. Captain Warren was a relative of Commodore Warren, who had sent him in command of the *Vine* with orders to meet him at Mascaronehas (Bourbon) or St. Mary’s. Not meeting him at either place, Captain Warren returned to the Cape. Presumably the pirates to whom he gave passage wished to surrender to the Commodore. Lowth tried to take them, but the Dutch Governor protested vehemently and even sent men on board the *Vine* to prevent Lowth from seizing her. Lowth thought it wiser not to persist, but sailed for Bombay with the prisoners whom he had already got, 21 in number, including Chivers, and delivered them on shore on the 5th July, much to the disgust of Sir John Gayer, as this parading of English prisoners would only confirm the conviction of the natives that all the pirates were English, and the Mughal Governor of Surat would expect that the English would deliver up to him not only the pirates but all that Lowth had taken in the *Margaret* (*Log of Loyal Merchant; Letters from Bombay, 10th February 1699-1700 and 20th September 1700*; Anderson, pp. 397-8). Lowth had taken on the *Margaret* gold and negroes worth £6,000 (*Bom. Gaz., XXVI. i. 120*). Leibbrandt (*Précis, p. 17*) says that there were 120 slaves on the *Margaret* when she arrived at the Cape. Captain Warren took Culliford to St. Helena, whence he was sent to England. Later he deposed (23rd December 1700 *H. C. A. 1-15*) that Culliford had on the 8th September 1699 at St. Mary’s persuaded 17 other pirates to surrender under the Proclamation. This may have been taken as a point in his favour, though the date of the surrender was later than the limit fixed by the Proclamation. Culliford was tried on the 9th May 1701 (the same day as Kidd) for the piratical seizure of the *Great Mahomet* and pronounced guilty, but was respite before judgment (*Brit. Mus. 515/194/l. 2*) and was pardoned on the 16th April 1702 (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*). He seems to have been a mean scoundrel, quite ready to betray his old companions. In a Deposition already referred to and made on the 17th June 1702, he said that Samuel Burgess had written to him in prison (the Marshalsea) begging him to say that he did not know him. According to Johnson (II. 268 B) Burgess was taken to England and tried and condemned in London, partly on the evidence of Culliford. He was however pardoned (21st August 1702 *H.C.A. 1-16*) by Queen Anne on the intercession of the Bishops of London and Canterbury (*sic*). He came again to Madagascar in the *Neptune* (Captain Miller) and persuaded the pirate Halsey to seize her (*See para. 508 below*). When Halsey died, he left his money in the charge of Burgess, but the latter was poisoned by the natives, who, apparently, had a greater fondness for justice than the reverend Bishops.
479. When the Act of Grace was issued in December 1698 (see para. 464 above) Commodore Warren was ordered to take a squadron of King's ships out to Madagascar. Accordingly he started from England (Bruce, III. 264), in January 1698-9 with the Anglesea (Captain Littleton), Harwich (Commodore Warren), Hastings (Captain White) and Lizard (Captain Ramsey), and news of his coming so far preceded his arrival, that when Burgess left St. Mary's, the narrow mouth of the harbour was blocked by the Mocha and Pelican (i.e., the Dolphin under Captain Inless) lying broadside on to the entrance and determined to sink rather than surrender to any King's ship. Another pirate, the German Mary from New England (100 tons, William Mayes Commander), was present also and the Carlisle (Captain Breholt), as well as a French pirate, Captain Devisis (Ind. Off., O. C. 6809). When at last Warren did arrive in Madagascar he did nothing of importance, and died on the 12th November 1699, leaving the command of the squadron to Captain James Littleton. The latter was probably under instructions to use whatever leniency was possible to persuade the pirates to surrender without fighting, and there is certainly no reason to accept Hamilton's statement (I. 17) that he took bribes from the pirates to let them go, for that he meant fighting when it was necessary is shown by the fact that Breholt of the Carlisle hoisted the bloody flag and burned his ship in St. Augustine's Bay (H. C. A. 1-16, Deposition of Archibald Dunbar), and Captain Samuel Inless of the Dolphin (Johnson II. 385) did the same rather than surrender. These two instances show that the pirates did not expect to escape if they fell into his hands. Unfortunately he was not able to pursue them ashore, and so was forced to leave those who would not surrender (See para. 480 below) to plot and seize fresh occasions of mischief. He returned to England in 1701, but the Harwich had been sent under Captain Cock to deal with the pirates in the Straits of Malacca and the China Seas and was wrecked at Amoy, partly by bad seamanship and partly by treachery (Hamilton II. 257). Twenty marines and sailors of the Harwich were taken to Madras by Captain Edward Harrison of the Gosfrigt, and, as there was a lack of Europeans, entertained in the Company's service (Madras Consultations, 29th January 1700-1). I have not found any detailed references to European pirates in the China Seas about this time, but in the Log of the Macclesfield (John Hurle Commander), under date 27th August 1699, it is stated that when she anchored off the Island of St. John, about 20 leagues from Macao, the Portuguese were very inquisitive as to her character, having lost four ships by English pirates. Two of their officials had lost 70,000 dollars in a ship taken in 1697 (Ind. Off. Marine Records). On the 11th November 1699 the London (George Matthew Commander) reported at the Cape that a certain pirate, having lost his ship in China, had with a small vessel taken a Portuguese ship of 50 guns coming from Macao, but had been wrecked on the coast of Java, where 12 of the pirates had been arrested and sent to Batavia (Leibbrandt, Précie p. 16). It seems likely that the pirate referred to must have been John Ireland (See paras. 446 and 486.) On the 11th June 1701 the Madras Government gave a commission to Captain William Redhead (of the frigate Advice, 150 tons, 16 guns and about 50 men, English) to attack and destroy pirates in the Straits of Malacca and on the Coast of China and, except in the presence of King's ships, to fly the King's Jack and Pennant (Madras Consultation, 11th June 1701).

480. Appended to a letter, dated H. M. S. Margate, Newis Road, 13th May 1700, from Captain Robert Billingsley (Captains' Letters, Public Record Office) is a deed signed Abraham Samuels, Rex, King of Port Dolphin, Madagascar, 31st October 1699, with an octagonal seal bearing the Lamb and Cross as in the badge of the Templars. Robert Drury tells (Adventures, p. 83) a curious story of a King Samuel at Port Dolphin (Fort Dauphin) as follows:—Some French settlers at Port Dolphin on leaving the place, carried off with them the heir of the native Prince, an outrage which the natives resented so strongly that they would not allow any French ships to come there. Some years later a French Captain, being forced by bad weather to enter the harbour, pretended that he had been sent as an ambassador to seek for a reconciliation. Whilst the French sailors were one day bathing on the beach, the Queen, who was
watching them out of curiosity, thought she recognised in one of them, who was of a darker complexion and different appearance to the others, her long lost son. The Captain, delighted with this accident, urged the youth to play the part, which he agreed to do with alacrity and with so much earnestness and conviction that when, in 1700, the sailors of a French ship ventured to make fun of his supposed royalty, he drove them away and ever after showed the greatest hostility to the French nation, though he was perfectly willing to trade with other Europeans. Drury's story would be hardly credible without corroboration, but such corroboration actually exists. From a list of the crew of the John and Rebecca (Captain John Hore) it appears that the Captain's Quartermaster was named Abraham Samuells (India Office, O. C. 6535). By pirate law he was the natural successor on the death of the Captain. Captain Hore died before the 25th August 1698 (Deposition of Samuel Perkins, Home Misc. XXXVI. 346). On the 3rd July 1698 the Dutch yacht Tambour (Captain J. Coin) arrived at Fort Dauphin in the course of a cruise to enquire after the Ridderschap, which was reported to have been wrecked in Madagascar and plundered by pirates in 1694. Captain Coin found that the head of the Europeans at Fort Dauphin was a half breed from Martinique who had come out as Quartermaster to Captain Orr (evidently Hore) of the John and Rebecca. Captain Orr had died after taking his prize to St. Mary's and had been succeeded by Samuells, who took his ship about 22 months before Coin's arrival to Fort Dauphin, where she was wrecked, but the King's daughter, whilst he was bathing, thought she recognised some marks on his body which showed him to be a son whom she had borne to a Frenchman and whom the father had taken away with him when he left Madagascar. Taking advantage of this fortuitous recognition and finding himself supported by a strong party amongst the natives, he kept some twenty of his crew as a bodyguard, set himself up as King and made war on the native King Demarung, whom he declared to be only his younger brother. He now however professed himself tired of the life and begged Captain Coin to afford him means of escape. Coin, on the other hand, having been warned that Samuells intended to surprise his ship, as he had done the ship Jacob (Captain Francis), which he had caused to be run ashore and whose crew he had murdered, made off in the night (Leibbrandt, Rambles, p. 160). On the 8th December 1700 a Dutch ship arrived at Fort Dauphin and found it in ruins. There were several native Kings in the vicinity, the most powerful of whom was one Dimaréssive the successor of King Samuells (Leibbrandt, Précis, p. 113). This looks as if Samuells was either dead or had run away.

481. About this time a French pirate, Captain Merrino, having taken a rich Surat ship, carried her to Mascarensas "a general rendezvous for pirates" and settled there. (Letter from Captain George Wesley, 7th November 1703, State Trials, XIV. 1302).

Malabarese.

482. On the 26th March 1701 the Bombay Council wrote to the Court:—"The Shivajis [Marathas] are in reality friends to none, but as pirates and rovers take all vessels they can overpower" (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 133).

Arabians.

483. On the 24th September and 16th October 1701, Governor Pitt wrote from Madras to Commodore John Brabourne at Anjengo that in the previous year Muscat Arabs had taken four ships from the Bombay Coast, including the Friendship, an English vessel commanded by Captain Morrice, and had made an attempt to intercept the Mocha fleet (Brit. Mus., Addl. MSS. 22843). They detained Captain Morrice and his crew as slaves and refused to accept any ransom. This was in reprisal, they said, for the outrages committed by English pirates.

484. In January 1704 off Surat, occurred a fight between seven Portuguese and seven Arab vessels, in which the latter were defeated, but managed to escape. (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 130).
485. Charles Lockyer (Trade in India, p. 209), who was at Muscat on the 12th May 1705, says that one Murvil, Master of a Country ship (from Calcutta to Gombrcnn), was taken off Cape Jasques, though he carried an English pass and they had no reason to think him an enemy. The Governor of Muscat asserted that Murvil was the first to fire on a boat which had been sent to enquire whether she was really English, as his ship was flying English colours. The English at Bombay made no claim for compensation. Lockyer also says (p. 207) that the Muscat colours were red (See para. 470 above), displayed in streamers and pennants at every yardarm, masthead and other remarkable parts of the ship. They were at open war with the Danes and the Portuguese and did not scruple to make prize of small English vessels. Hitherto they had not touched the Dutch. In the port were 14 men-of-war, one carrying 70 guns, and the smallest 20.

Anglo-Americans.

486. On the 17th July 1700 the Council of Fort St. David wrote to Madras:—"We send your Honours upon this ship John Ireland and Thomas Williamson, the two so notorious pirates, who were brought us in the Danes ship from Acheen in irons in December last, though we do not know who consigned them to us." Ireland is mentioned in Kidd’s Instructions, (See para. 446 above) but I do not know anything more about him.

487. On the 21st October 1700 the English and Dutch Presidents at Surat were forced to give bonds to the Mughal Government, promising that if any country ships were taken by European pirates, they would capture the latter and make good the losses which they had inflicted, the Dutch for ships between Surat and Mocha and Jeddah, the English for ships between Surat and the Malabar and Coromandel coasts (Ind. Off., O. C. 6620).

488. In January 1701, under orders from the Mughal, the Governor of Surat arrested Sir John Gayer and the members of the English Council and did not release them for a month. They remained in a modified confinement until Jan. 1703 (Bomb. Gaz. I.100; XXVI. i. 122, 124; Madras Consultations 8th May 1701). In the Madras Consultations of the 6th March 1701-2 it is stated that before the order for release was granted by the Mughal, the English paid 2,82,000 rupees as compensation for alleged piratical attacks, at the same time, the Dutch were mulcted to the extent of 4,56,000 rupees.

489. Early in the same year the Discovery (Captain John Evans) being at anchor in St. Augustine’s Bay, the Chief Mate having been sent ashore, was seized by the pirates living there. They threatened to hang him unless half the ship’s cargo was paid as a ransom. Captain Evans refused and sailed away. Coming back soon after, the mate and his boat’s crew were brought on board by the natives in a canoe. The natives said that there were more than 500 European pirates in Madagascar and that Captain Littleton had taken away a number of them who had surrendered under the Act of Grace (Ind. Off., O. C. 8590; See para. 479 above).

490. In April 1701 the Speaker, an English slaver, 4 or 500 tons, Captain Thomas Eastlake (See Depos. of John, Only 20th August 1702. H. C. A. 1-16) was seized at Masielegic in Madagasgar by pirates who came aboard on a boat which the Speaker had sent ashore. They gave the following certificate (Ind. Off., O. C., 8587) to the Captain:—

"These are to certify all Governors, Captains or whom else it may concern that the ship Speaker was taken by us whose names are under written, and considering their misfortune have given them, that is to say the said ship’s company, a vessel to transport them to what

190 This ship was the Gracedieu, a rich ship. The Captain was James Murvell (Miles, p. 233). Hamilton (I. 63) suggests that its capture was due to pusillanimity.
place they shall think fit. Given under our hands the 18th day of April 1790 in the River Massalegie, Madagascar.

George Booth.

John Appowen.

The mark of + Cornelius George.''
The vessel given them was a small French ship. Poor Eastlake, to whose foolish self-confidence the loss of his vessel was due, died on his way to India. The pirates put 150 men on board the Speaker, a fact which shows how large must have been the piratical community in the Island (Letters from Madras, Thomas Pitt to Sir Thomas Gayer, 23rd August 1701).

491. Johnson (II. 259-67) gives an account of one Captain Cornelius, an Irishman, formerly Quartermaster to the American pirate Lewis of the Morning Star. When leaving the west coast of Africa, off the Cape he met Commodore Littleton (in the Lizard) and two other men-of-war. This must have been in 1701, the year of Littleton's return to England. Cornelius went to the Persian Gulf, where he fought two Portuguese, one of 70 the other of 25 guns, but did little damage to trade. Returning to Madagascar, he died there and was buried with much ceremony.

492. Bruce (III. 357) says that it was in 1701 that the Company's ships received Commissions to take pirates. I presume he means that it now became customary for all the Company's ships, as earlier instances have been mentioned already.


493. In 1701 there was published a pamphlet entitled Piracy Destroyed, which gives the following account of the origin of European piracy in the Eastern Seas:—"They began this barbarous trade shortly after the late private war the East India Company had with the Moors [1686-1690, concluded by the Farman granted to the Company, 4th April 1690], for the news of the rich booties their ships seized stirred up the old Buccaneering gang (who found that it was more difficult now to rob the Spaniards than formerly, and that the trade in the West Indies was better protected) to direct their course to the East. And their success answering their expectation, their numbers daily increased by the news of the rich booties they had taken and reposed at Madagascar; and during the late war this was so successful, and undisturbed pirating rung so in the ears of those that with small success were privateering against the French that whole companies [i.e., crews] both from England and our American colonies flocked thither. Those who went from England either had a commission to suppress the enemies of the nation or went in merchant ships and, mutinying against their officers, ran away with the ship, or else such who touched at Madagascar for refreshment or traffic, whose ships have been either sold, taken or cast away, and then being destitute of an immediate opportunity of getting home, turned pirates. They who went from our American colonies were either old Buccaneers or privateers who had commissions from the Governors, or such as went to trade with the pirates at Madagascar, who, being debauched with their bad company, joined them.""
practice was to fix the number of the lashes not by the nature of the crime but by the number of men on board, e.g. "I gave him 78 blows [for insubordination and abusive language to officers] being the number of people on board with an inch rope. He deserved a great deal more but being the first man I had whipt the voyage and hoping 'twould be a warning I favoured him" (Log of the Queen, John Martin Commander, 9th August, 1718). (4) The small share of the seamen in prize money. The proportions were first fixed by law under Queen Anne in June 1702 and then, in the Navy, only three-eighths of the prize-money went to the petty officers and ordinary seamen, whereas on a pirate ship the Captain himself had only a double share as against the single share of the ordinary pirate. (5) The insensibility of the ordinary seamen to the sufferings of men belonging to races which they despised. "Some of the old hardened pirates said they looked on it as little or no sin to take what they could from such heathen as the Moors and Indians were" (See para. 184 above.) (6) The high pay offered in the Colonies to, and the competition for, the services of deserters from the English ships (rendered necessary by the laws prescribing the proportion of Englishmen required in the crews of ships to entitle them to full privilege of trade between English ports). This rendered the seamen "at last so un governable that nothing will serve them but going where they shall all be equal or master by turns. (7) The want of hospitals for the sick and pensions for the disabled and aged.

495. With so many reasons why they should become pirates, the general fidelity of English sailors to their employers would appear to have been absolutely quixotic if, besides their fear of the law and love of home and family, there had not been some countervailing material advantages in fidelity. Robert Park (The art of sea-fighting, 1706, p. 127) says that the material reason why they fought so valiantly against privateers and pirates was that, if they defended themselves successfully, they were certain of their wages, which amounted to about £30 in a twelve month voyage and also of their venture, which amounted to about £15 and, though they were not entitled to any pension, they almost always received a gratuity from their employers on such occasions. But, if the ship was taken, they invariably lost their clothes as well as any money in their possession. They therefore knew exactly what they were fighting for. On the other hand, the privateer or pirate very seldom knew what booty to expect in a ship he was about to attack; and the double share of booty which was given to the wounded was so uncertain a quantity as to be little inducement to fight any ship which made a show of spirited resistance; hence the apparent cowardice and readiness to break off an engagement exhibited by these gentry on several occasions. Further, says Park, the chances of making good the defence when the system of fighting at close quarters was in vogue were very great. Ships, as then built, were really fortresses, and when the crews, in presence of superior numbers, retired to their close quarters (i.e. the strongly barricaded forecastle and Great Cabin), they could be overcome only by heavy gunfire or desperate hand-to-hand fighting. Thus, says Park, a ship worth £8,000 and carrying 60 men, could easily be defended against a privateer or pirate of 40 guns and 200 men.

Anglo-Americans.

496. Johnson (II. 124) says that Booth was assisted in the capture of the Speaker (See para. 490 above) by Captain Thomas White of Plymouth. When White was Captain of the merchantman Marygold, he was taken by French pirates, but managed to get ashore at St. Augustine's. There he was forced to go on board a pirate ship commanded by William Read. Read dying was succeeded by Captain James, who returned to Madagascar.

101 When a prize was taken by a single ship of war the booty was divided as follows—Admiralty one-eighth, Captain-three-eighths, Officers one-eighth, Petty Officers and Crew three-eighths.

102 "I once knew a Buccaneersing Pirate vessel, whose crew were upwards of 70 men, who in one voyage had so often changed, set up and pulled down their Captains and other officers, that above seven and forty of the ship's Company had, at several times, been in office of one kind or another, and, among the rest, they had in particular had thirteen captains" (Deloe, Account of John Gird, 1725, p. lii).
Here his crew attached themselves to Booth, who had treacherously taken a French slaver commanded by a Captain Fourgette. Booth presently sailed to Zanzibar, where he was treacherously killed by the Governor’s guard during a visit (Johnson, II. 129). It is said that he was “a Bristol man, a notable, stout, stirring man, who pretended to be a near relation of Sir William Booth, formerly one of the Admirals” (Ind. Off., O.C. 7621).

497. Booth was succeeded by John Bowen, a Bermudian, a man of respectable parentage and once captain of a merchantman. Having been taken by a French pirate he was forced to join them as Navigator (Johnson II. 271). Bowen went from Mozambique to the Indian coast and, off St. John’s, took a Surat ship and, later, on the Malabar coast he took the Borneo (Bengal to Surat, Captain John Conaway) on the 28th October 1701. Captain Conaway says (Ind. Off., O.C. 8592) that the Speaker was a ship of 500 tons, mounting 40 guns and 2 paterocoes (Sp. pedrero), and carrying 200 men, Dutch, French and English. Edward Martin says that Bowen’s men were “all young and brisk” and that he also carried 30 or 40 lascars (Ind. Off., O.C. 8594). The Master of the Speaker was Samuel Rower, and John North was the Captain’s Quartermaster. Bowen sold the Borneo, ship and cargo, for Rs. 40,000 in three shares, one to a native merchant of Porca (Purakkadu) and one to Malpa (Malappan) the Dutch broker (or Factor) of Calicut. He set Captain Conaway and some of his crew adrift in a boat on the 18th November, and they were three nights and two days before they got to Cochin. The mate, Charles Delafosse, the boatswain and two other men he forced to join him (State Trials, XIV. 1302; Johnson, II. 49). On the 11th November under English colours Bowen tried to surprise the Nathaniel (Captain Charles Hill), in which attempt he failed, though he carried off a boat’s crew of three people whom he had inveigled aboard. Bowen’s people told their prisoners that they had sworn to go on spoiling the Company’s trade until they could get a pardon, the last (that of December 1698) being a sham, for “body, goods and all misdemeanours, murders &c. for which they have been guilty of in England or elsewhere.” Edward Martin, one of the men trepanned from the Nathaniel, deposed that whilst he was on board they traded very freely with the Dutch ships with which they met, the Dutch pretending that they did not know them to be pirates. With one of these ships they traded to the value of £ 500 (Ind. Off., O.C., 8594).

498. On the 16th February 1702 Father du Tachard wrote from Pondicherry that the French ship Princesse, touching at Johanna in August 1701, had found on the Isle of Comoro (or Angasie) two Englishmen who had been there for two years. They said that they had been wrecked at Mayotta, one in an English Company’s ship (the Ruby) three years before, the other had been in an English “ filibuster ” from Boston. All but three men out of the two crews had been murdered and one had since died. The Princesse arrived at Surat in September and found that English pirates had just carried off two large vessels, and that, as the native merchants held English, French and Dutch all responsible, matters were very uncomfortable. They left Surat on the 20th October 1701. Soon after, off Tevenepatam, 10 leagues from Calicut, they met the Pontchartrain (Captain du Bosse) who had been chased by an English pirate of forty guns off Cape Comorin, but had frightened her off by her evident determination to defend herself vigorously. The good father himself, after-having left the Princesse, narrowly escaped capture by an English pirate sloop near Cochin (Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, II. 318, 320).

499. On the 27th August 1702 one John Davis, formerly surgeon of the Madras frigate and later Surgeon at York Fort (Bencoolen), having been dismissed for misconduct, made up a small party and carried off the sloop Expedition (Sumatra Factory Records, vol. 5). He sold part of her cargo of pepper at Achin and carried her to Madras. Apparently he was not punished (Dr. G. Crawford, Indian Medical Service, I. 35).
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Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the Indian Antiquary.
STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

By Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.

With the greatest regret I have to announce the death of Mr. S. M. Edwardes, a Joint Editor of this Journal, on New Year’s Day. He had been seriously ill for about a fortnight, but rallied and was expected to recover only shortly before he suddenly died. Mr. Edwardes was not only a great steady to the Indian Antiquary—always working hard and most efficiently—but was a remarkable man in many ways. He was a son of the Reverend Stephen Edwardes, a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and was sent to Eton and thence to Christchurch, Oxford, whence he passed the examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1894, proceeding in due course to the Bombay Presidency. There he did much notable work, producing invaluable papers and books on the town and island of Bombay—reviving the public knowledge of both to a greater degree than any other contemporary writer. In 1901 he compiled the Bombay Census volume, and in 1906 and 1910 three volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer additional to the thirty-four put together under the splendid editorship of another friend now gone by—Sir James Campbell. These labours made him specially acquainted with the Western Presidency and its capital, and to them he added two fine books, the Rise of Bombay and the Byways of Bombay, becoming thus the greatest authority of his time on that famous city. Meanwhile, in 1904 the Government appointed him a special collector under the Bombay Improvement Trust Act.

Edwardes showed himself at a very early period of his life to be a man of courage and decision, and his literary and official work gave him an intimate knowledge of the western capital of India: so when Lord Sydenham chose him in 1910 to be Commissioner of the Police thereof, his choice was more than justified. Very soon afterwards the King and Queen visited Bombay on their way to the Delhi Coronation Durbar and on Edwardes fell the difficult duty of making the necessary Police arrangements during their stay in that Presidency town. So well was this performed that he was created a C.V.O., an honour which was followed by a well-deserved C.S.I. in 1915.

His work as Commissioner of Police was so highly appreciated—he effected several reforms—that a marble bust of him was set up in the central police office to commemorate it. Later on he wrote an account of the Bombay Police as an institution, a volume that was reviewed in this Journal in March 1925. In April 1916 he was selected by Lord Willingdon for the Municipal Commissionership of the city he knew so well. So far then his twenty years’ career in India as a civil servant had been unusually brilliant, but after two years in the last office he was compelled to resign the service before his time by ill-health of a kind that would have daunted most men.
Edwardes was, however, a man of exceptional courage, and faced the situation with quiet unassuming determination, for he had a wife and family to support on only a proportionate pension. As soon as he was able he sought work and became secretary to the Indo-British Association, under Lord Sydenham, to oppose the reforms advocated by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. This office brought on him many attacks from those who favoured the reforms—all the more virulent because of the offices he had held while in India. But Edwardes continued his work nevertheless as long as Mr. Montagu remained Secretary of State for India. Meanwhile in 1921 he was chosen to represent India at the Geneva Conference on Traffic in Women and Children.

In all this Edwardes acted as a public official, but he was besides a born researcher, becoming President of the Anthropological Society of Bombay and a constant contributor to its *Journal*. For the Clarendon Press (Oxford) he reviewed Grant Duff’s *History of the Mahrattas*, and more recently Dr. Vincent Smith’s *Early History of India*, a work in which is much more of Edwardes’s own research than appears in the wording of the text thereof. He also produced quite lately a study of the Mogul period in *Babur, Diarist and Despot*, out of the wonderful self-revealing diaries of the founder of the Mogul Imperial Dynasty. This was a result of the researches he was carrying on with Professor Garrett of the Government College, Lahore, into the records of the Mogul Emperors. He further brought out memoirs of prominent personages of the Bombay Presidency—Sir Dinshaw Petit, the first Baronet, Sir Ramchhodlal Chhodlal of Ahmadabad, and Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, the Parsi savant.

In 1923 he joined me as Joint Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, and did a wonderful amount of work for it, especially so when his trying ill-health is considered. In the few years of his connection with this *Journal* he wrote reviews of books and articles, besides taking an active share in its general conduct. And to crown the labours of an ever active life he became Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society in succession to Miss Ella Sykes about six months ago. I have in consequence known him well, and I found him always learned, always willing to work and always unassuming—a fine specimen of an Englishman facing exceptional difficulties of health with a calm unflinching courage.
A HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION.

BY CH. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL, M.A., M.F., M.R.A.S.

Provenance.—This inscription stone was noticed by me in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, in 1921. I no sooner saw it than I began to trace its provenance. Not being satisfied with the statement, which seemed impossible to me on the very face of it, that it was picked up by Colonel Jacob¹ from the vicinity of the Tombs or Chattris of the former Raos of Cutch, not far from the Resident’s office, I wrote to Mr. N. M. Biliomora, the retired Superintendent of the Cutch Bhuj Residency Office to let me know definitely how the stone along with others came to Bhuj. He replied in a letter, dated 11th December 1923, that they were brought from Aden by Colonel H. F. Jacob of the Indian Army, who was for a long time at Aden and was for some time Political Agent for Cutch, and that under the Colonel’s instructions the stone inscriptions were sent to the Prince of Wales Museum in 1911. On further inquiry Mr. Biliomora confirmed his statement given above. So Mr. (now Dr.) Bhandarkar’s suspicions were rightly founded ² and the provenance of this inscription stone has been determined to be Aden or a place near it in South Arabia.

The Inscription.—1. The language of the Inscription is what may be called Himyaritic, though Sabaean and South Arabic are also names given to it.

This stone measures on the face of it 9½" by 9½" with a thickness of 1½". The left-hand bottom corner has been broken off; otherwise the epigraph is quite complete and clear.

2. I read it from left to right and find the inscription as below:

Line 1. I I [ ] [ ] [ ]

Line 2. [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

Both the lines are quite legible. Some doubt however is attached to the two strokes I I in the first line and the form [ ] in the second and perhaps also to [ ]. I shall take them individually.

(a) I I. The shape of these two strokes is almost always used as a mark of separation between two words, to mark the beginning of the latter and end of the former between which the mark interposes. The place these two strokes occupy here, i.e., in the beginning of the epigraph, seems to be quite extraordinary. We do not know a letter corresponding to them. If we suppose that their tops were joined the letter will be [ ] in Hebrew = B and the first line could be read then as Bombay, which is as strange as it is unsatisfactory. Again there is no ground for joining the two letters, for the engraver seems to know his art quite well. Then what is the solution? I propose to take each stroke by itself which stands for one. We know that the Himyarites wrote one, two and three in the form of I, II and III like the Romans and the Assyrians. So I believe that these strokes stand for [ ] = B = Hebrew [ ].

(b) [ ]. This form of letter is also unknown. We know that [ ] = umbnail sometimes = arranty = , and that [ ] stands for [ ] = [ ] = t. Then what does it stand for? I suggest that it is a combination of two letters [ ] placed inside [ ]. The question arises why [ ] was not separately placed? My answer is that "In Muhammadan Numismatics and epigraphy, especially where artistic arrangement is to be observed, clerical accuracy is often sacrificed for the sake of symmetry and ornamentation" ³. What is true of Muhammadan Epigraphy is also true of Himyaritic. In the first line two strokes stand for I and I and make two. Here there are two letters, one being inside the other. The skill of calligraphy is to be seen here. If [ ] had been written in the end of the first line there would have been no

symmetry. If written in the beginning of the second line the mark of demarcation ought to have been placed between $\times$ and $\bigcirc$ and here too symmetry would have been lost. By placing $\times$ inside $\bigcirc$ the symmetry has been kept with the II of first line and the sign of separation has been done away with. So to me it seems $\otimes$ stands for $\times$ / $\bigcirc$ or $\times$ / $\bigcirc$, both $\bigcirc$ and $\bigcirc$ standing for $1 = \$, $w$.

As an example of symmetry see six lines each consisting of eight letters in the second half of lines 5–10, p. 200, Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Tomus II, Fasciculus Terius, and also p. 97, I.A., vol. XIV (1885). Other inscriptions also show that in these Himyaritic inscriptions some sort of symmetry is often kept, e.g., if there are eleven letters in one line other lines also contain as far as possible the same number vide p. 222 of Corpus quoted above.

(c) $\frac{\text{א}}{\text{ע}}$ in the second line perhaps also requires an explanation. It is aleph (Hebrew א), the only difficulty about it being that its upper waving stroke touches the right hand vertical stroke of ד in the first line.

3. With this explanation I would transcribe the Himyaritic characters in the usual way in Hebrew and then into Arabic to which they are more allied.

Transcription:—

Himyaritic, $\text{I} \bigcirc \text{K} \text{N} \text{?}$ = $\text{I} \bigcirc \text{K} \text{N} \text{?}$

Hebrew, $\otimes \text{א} \text{ע} \text{ד} \text{ב}$ = $\times$ / $\bigcirc$ $\otimes \text{א} \text{ע} \text{ד} \text{ב}$

Arabic, $\text{ب} \text{ذ} \text{د} \text{ه}$ = $\text{ب} \text{ذ} \text{د} \text{ه}$ or $\text{س} \text{ب} \text{ذ} \text{د} \text{ه}$

Translation:—House No. 2 (dedicated to) Wadd Pater.

The letter $\text{K}=\text{א}=\text{א}$ in the first line may be equivalent to $\text{א}=\text{א}$ in Arabic. In Arabic to cut short the humming mumination or nunnation sound only one $\text{א}$ mim is used and the process is called $\text{א}$ as in $\text{א}=\text{א}$ or $\text{א}=\text{א}$. In Himyaritic also this is abridged from $\text{א}$ as Grimm takes $\text{K}=\text{א}$ vide p. 313 I.C.S., (II) Fasciculus Quartus. See also p. 43, vol. IV, I.A. Even if we take $\text{K}$ to be a part of $\text{K} \text{N} \text{?} \times$ and not a preposition before $\text{N} \text{?} \times$ the sense remains the same for $\text{א}$ means a resting place for the night and so a house generally.

Hence the inscription means: The House No. 2 dedicated to God or Father Wadd. The word $\text{א}$ was used by the Arabs as an honorific title. It has been used in the Quran (11, 127) for Abraham and his two sons and has also a meaning signifying the feeder. It has been specially found accompanying Wadd in the Himyaritic inscriptions (see C.I.S., II, pp. 385–87).

Wadd was a god worshipped by the Arabs, who often wore talismans bearing the name Wadd. The word itself is derived from $\text{א} \text{א} \text{א}$ which means love. It was opposed to Nakrah, the god of hatred. It was "a certain idol which pertained to the people of Noah and then to Kelb—or a certain good man who lived between Adam and Noah, and of whom, after his death, was made an image, which, after a long time, became an object of worship" 4. Its name is mentioned in the Quran, vide ante, vol. LXXI, 22 and 23. The idol has been described by some to be "the figure of a tall man wearing one loin cloth with another cloth over him, a sword hanging round his neck, with a bow and a quiver, in front a lance with a flag attached to it," 5 but the figure that we have got in the Museum is that of a man wearing a close

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4 Lane's Lexicon.
fitting cap with a long tassel and a cloth round the loins just touching the knees. His garment resembles the kilt of the Highlander in the form of pleats it displays.

The inscription over it I read as follows: \[
\begin{array}{c}
\gamma \\
\theta \\
\zeta \\
\end{array}
\]
supplying \( \gamma \) before \( \theta \) of the word. The first word thus becomes \( 7, \theta \gamma \) which means a “form, an appearance, external state or condition, state with respect to apparel and the like or garb,” and the inscription means “the image of Father Wadd.”

SVETAMBARA JAINA ICONOGRAPHY.

By Miss. HELEN M. JOHNSON.

There has long been need of a Śvetāmbara corollary to the valuable article by Burgess on ‘Digambara Jaina Iconography.’

Burgess gives the Śvetāmbara variants only as detailed by Hemacandra in the \( Abhidhānacintāmaṇi \), which gives merely the names of the Yakṣas and Yakṣinīs, the īḍāna-devatās of the Tirthaṅkaras. These attendant divinities came into existence at the founding of the congregation (ārtha) by the Tirthaṅkaras when they attained kṣetrajñāna. In the \( Triṣṇitī-sūlakṣaṇapuruṣacaritra \) Hemacandra gives a detailed description of each īḍāna-devatā. His account differs so much from the Digambara account, as reported by Burgess, that the images of the one sect would be quite unrecognizable from the description of the other’s. These images play quite an important part in Jaina iconography, not only on their own account, but because they help to identify the statues of the Jinas. Hemacandra gives the name, colour, vāhana, number of hands with the object in each, and any unusual feature, of each īḍāna-devatā.

The references in the following are all to Hemacandra’s \( Triṣṇitī-sūlakṣaṇapuruṣacaritra \), published at Bhavniagar.

1. Rśabha: 1. 3. 623. The Yakṣa is named Gomukha. He is gold-color, and has an elephant as his vāhana. He has four arms. One right hand is in the varada-position, the other holds a rosary. The left hands hold a citron and a noose.

The Yakṣinī is named Apratīcakrā, though Hemacandra himself calls her Cakreśvari in the \( Abhidhānacintāmaṇi \), 44 (B. and R. ed.). She is gold-color, seated on a garuḍa. She has eight arms. One right hand is in varada; the others hold an arrow, discus and noose. The left hands hold a bow, thunderbolt, discus and goad.

2. Ajīta: 2. 3. 842. The Yakṣa is named Mahāyakṣa. He is dark (śāla), has an elephant as his vāhana, has four faces and eight arms. Of the right hands, one is in varada; the others hold a hammer, rosary and noose. One left hand is in abhayāda-position; the other holds a citron, goad and spear.

The Yakṣinī is named Ajītabalā. She is gold-color, seated on an iron seat. One right hand is in varada, and the other holds a noose. The left hands hold a citron and goad.

3. Sambhava: 3. 1. 385. The Yakṣa is named Trimukha. He is dark, three-eyed, has three faces and six arms. His vāhana is a peacock. Two of his right hands hold an ichneumon and mace; the other is in abhayāda. His left hands hold a citron, wreath and rosary.

The Yakṣinī is Duriṭārī. She is fair (gauravravṛtā), with a ram for a vāhana. One right hand is in varada, and the second holds a rosary. One left hand is in abhayāda, and the other holds a serpent.

4. Abhinmanda: 3. 2. 157. The Yakṣa’s name is Yakṣośvara (Abhidhiṇa, 41, Yakṣanā-yaka). He is dark, and has an elephant for a vāhana. His two right hands hold a citron and rosary. The two left hands hold an ichneumon and goad.

The Yakṣinī’s name is Kalikā. She is dark, and seated on a lotus. One right hand is in varada, and the other holds a noose. The two left hands hold a snake and a goad.

5. Sumatī: 3. 3. 246. The Yakṣa is named Tumburu. His color is white, and his vāhana is a garuda. One right hand is in varada, and the other holds a spear. The left hands hold a mace and noose.

The Yakṣinī is Mahākāli. She is gold-color, and has a lotus as a vāhana. One right hand is in varada, and the second holds a noose. The left hands hold a citron and goad.

6. Padmaprabhū: 3. 4. 180. Kusuma is the name of the Yakṣa. He is blue, and a deer is his vāhana. One right hand is in abhayada, and one holds a fruit. His left hands hold an ichneumon and rosary.

The Yakṣinī is named Acyutā (Abhiddhāna, 44, Śyāma). She is dark, and her vāhana is a man. One right hand is in varada, the second holds a noose. One left hand holds a bow, and the other is in abhayada.

7. Śūparśva: 3. 5. 110. His Yakṣa is named Mātāṅga. His color is blue, and his vāhana is an elephant. One right hand holds a bīcaka (its fruit ?), and the other a noose.

His Yakṣinī is named Śanṭā. She is gold-color and her vāhana is an elephant. One right hand is in varada, the other holds a rosary. One left hand holds a trident, the other is in abhayada.

8. Candraprabhū: 3. 6. 108. Vijaya is the Yakṣa's name. His color is green, and his vāhana is a hānsa. He has only two arms. In the right hand he holds a discus, and in the left a hammer.

The Yakṣinī's name is Bhṛkuṭi. Her color is yellow, and her vāhana is a hānsa (mardāla). In her right hands she holds a sword and a hammer. In her left hands she has a tablet and an axe.

9. Suvidhi: 3. 7. 138. The Yakṣa's name is Ajita. His color is white, and he has a tortoise for a vāhana. His right hands hold a citron and a rosary. His left hands hold an ichneumon and a spear.

Sutārā is the Yakṣī. She is fair, with a bull as a vāhana. One right hand is in varada, the second has a rosary. The left hands have a water-pot and goad.

10. Śītalā: 3. 8. 111. His Yakṣa is named Brahmā. He is white, is three-eyed, has four faces, and is seated on a lotus. He has eight arms. Three right hands hold a citron, hammer and noose; the fourth is in abhayada. The left hands hold an ichneumon, mace, goad and rosary.

The Yakṣinī, Aśokā, is bean-colour. Her vāhana is a cloud. One right hand is in varada, the second has a noose. Her left hands hold a fruit and goad.

11. Śreyāṅga: 4. 1. 784. The Yakṣa is Īśvara (Abhiddhāna, 42, Yakṣet), with a bull for a vāhana. He is three-eyed, and his color is white. In his two right hands are a citron and mace. In his two left hands are an ichneumon and a rosary.

The Yakṣinī is Mānavi. She is fair, and has a lion as vāhana. One of her right hands is in varada, and the other holds a hammer. An axe and a goad are in her left hands.

12. Vāsupūrya: 4. 2. 286. The Yakṣa's name is Kumāra. He is white, with a hānsa-vāhana. A citron and arrow are held in his right hands; an ichneumon and bow in his left.

Candrā, the Yakṣinī, is dark and her vāhana is a horse. One right hand is in varada, the other has a spear. A flower and a mace are held in her left hands.

13. Vimala: 4. 3. 178. The name of his Yakṣa is Śaṅmukha. He is white, his vāhana is a peacock, and he has twelve arms. His six right hands hold a fruit, discus, sword, noose, and rosary. Five of his left hands hold an ichneumon, discus, bow, tablet and goad; the sixth is in abhayada.

Vidita, the Yakṣinī, is a yellowish-green color. She is seated on a lotus. She holds an arrow and noose in her right hands; and a bow and a snake in her left.

14. Ananta: 4. 4. 200. Pātalā, the Yakṣa, is red. His vāhana is a dolphin (makara). He has three faces and six arms. In his right hands he holds a lotus, sword and noose. In the left ones he has an ichneumon, tablet and rosary.
Anikuśā, the Yakṣinī, is fair. Her vāhana is a lotus. A sword and a noose are held in the right hands; a tablet and goad in the left.

15. Dharma: 4. 5. 107. His Yakṣa, Kinnara, has three faces and six arms. His color is dark-red, and his vāhana is a tortoise. Two right hands hold a citron and a club; the third is in abhayā. In the left he has an ichneumon, lotus and rosary.

His Yakṣinī is named Kandarpā. She is fair, and has a fish as a vāhana. She holds a blue lotus and a goad in her right hands. In one left hand she has a lotus; the other is in abhayā.

16. Śānti: 5. 5. 373. His Yakṣa, Garuda, has the head of a boar. His color is black and his vāhana is an elephant. In his right hands there are a citron and a lotus; in his left an ichneumon and a rosary.

Nirvāṇi is the name of his Yakṣinī. She is fair, and is seated on a lotus. In her right hands she has a blue lotus and a book; a water-jar and a lotus in her left.

17. Kunthu: 6. 1. 116. Gandharva is black. His vāhana is the haṅsa. One right hand is in varada, the other holds a noose. In his left hands he has a citron and goad.

Bālā, his Yakṣinī, is fair, with a peacock as vāhana. In her right hands she holds a citron and trident; in her left she has a weapon (muṇḍākṣa) and a lotus.

18. Arahv: 6. 2. 97. His Yakṣa is named Yaṅkaṇḍa (Abhidhāna, 43, Yakṣet). He is dark, three-eyed, has six faces and twelve arms. His vāhana is a conch. Five of his right hands hold a citron, arrow, sword, hammer; and noose; the sixth is in abhayā. In his left hands he has an ichneumon, bow, shield, trident, goad and rosary.

Dhārinī, the Yakṣinī, is seated on a lotus. She is blue. In her right hands she holds a citron and blue lotus; in her left a lotus and rosary.

19. Malla: 6. 6. 251. The Yakṣa, Kubera, is rainbow-colored. The elephant is his vāhana. He has four faces and eight arms. One right hand is in varada, two hold an axe and a trident, and the fourth is in abhayā. His left hands have a citron, spear, hammer and rosary.

Vairoṭyā is the name of the Yakṣinī (Abhidhāna, 45, Dharaṇapriyā). Her color is black, and she is seated on a lotus. One right hand is in varada, and the other holds a lotus. A citron and spear are in the left hands.

20. Munisuvrata: 6. 7. 194. Varuṇa, the Yakṣa, is white, three-eyed, four-faced, with matted hair. His vāhana is a bull. He has eight arms. In the four right hands he has a citron, mace, arrow and spear. In the four left there are an ichneumon, rosary, bow and axe.

Naradattā, the Yakṣinī, is fair, seated on a throne. One right hand is in varada, the other holds a rosary. She has a citron and a trident in the left hands.

21. Nami: 7. 11. 98. Bārκutī, the Yakṣa, is gold-colored, three-eyed, and four-faced. His vāhana is a bull. He has eight arms. Three right hands hold a citron, spear and hammer; the fourth is in abhayā. The four left hands hold an ichneumon, axe, thunderbolt and rosary.

Gāndhāri, the Yakṣinī, is white, with a haṅsa as a vāhana. One right hand is in varada, and the other holds a sword. Both of her left hands hold citrons.

22. Nemi: 8. 9. 383. Gomeda is his Yakṣa, dark, three-faced. He has a man as a vāhana. Of his six hands the three right ones hold a citron, axe, and discus; the three left ones hold an ichneumon, trident and spear.

The female divinity (here called a Kuṣmandi) is named Ambikā. Her color is golden her vāhana is a lion. In her right hands she holds a cluster of mangoes and a noose; in her left hands she has a child and a goad.

23. Pārvata: 9. 3. 362. The Yakṣa, Pārvayakṣa, is dark. He has the head of an elephant, and has a serpent's hood for an umbrella. A tortoise is his vāhana. He has a citron and serpent in his right hands; an ichneumon and serpent in his left ones.
The Yaksini, Padmavati, is gold-color. Her vāhana is a kurkuja-serpent. She has a lotus and a noose in her right hands; and a fruit and a goad in her left.

24. Mahāvira: 10. 5. 11. Māṭaṅga is the name of his Yaksā. He is black, and has an elephant as a vāhana. He has only two arms. In his right hand he has a citron; and in his left an ichneumon.

Siddhāyikā, the Yaksini, is green. Her vāhana is a lion. Her right hands hold a citron and lute. One left hand holds a book; the other is in abhaya.

From these descriptions it is evident that the Śvetāmbara tradition in regard to the Śāsanadevatās differs from the Digambara not only in the details of name, cognizance and objects held, but that there is a great divergence in the attitude of the figures. The Śvetāmbaras allow much more variety and the conception of the proper attitude has not become so stereotyped. In Burgess’s plates all the figures but one have the front right hand in that position so universal in Indian art—with the palm exposed and the fingers pointing upwards. This Burgess calls the varada-hasta. But there seems to be some confusion of terminology here. This same position of the hands is the one usually called abhaya-hasta.1 But this cannot be dismissed as a mere confusion of terms by Burgess, for whenever varada-hasta occurs in Hemacandra’s text, it is always in the case of a right hand. There is no such uniformity as with the Digambaras. The varada-hasta occurs only in seventeen instances, as compared with forty-seven. The abhaya-hasta occurs fifteen times, and may be on either side. Apparently then, the Jain use of these two terms is just the opposite of the Buddhist and the Hindu; or, that in the case of the Śvetāmbaras, at least, the very ordinary right hand position, usually called abhaya-hasta may also be on the left side.

On another point Hemacandra shows an interesting variation. He uses the words vāhana, ratha and yāna indiscriminately and with about equal frequency for the vehicle of the divinities. In eight cases, however, he uses āsana, which is open to several interpretations. I think the idea of posture can be eliminated here. As a very conspicuous characteristic of Hemacandra’s style is the substitution of some unusual word for a very common one, it seems possible that āsana might be merely the equivalent of vāhana; but perhaps the most obvious interpretation is that the conventionalized seats or pedestals are meant. In five cases the padmāsana (ambuja, kamala) occurs, also the bhadrāsana, lohāsana and gurudāsana. I have found no instance of a conventionalized garudāsana, though a kuṁārasana and makardāsana occur.2

These conventionalized seats could, of course, be used as cognizances, as in Burgess, plate I, fig. 2, without implying that the image would be mounted on them, but two examples, lohāsana (No. 2), and bhadrāsadashtī (No. 20), and the use of padmārūdhara (No. 13) indicate that Hemacandra thought of these divinities as placed on these pedestals.

As always, Hemacandra makes use of words hitherto quoted only from lexicons: musandhi, 6. 1. 119, ‘a kind of weapon’, and kurkutora, 9. 3. 364, ‘a kind of snake’. The Kusmāḍas, 8. 9. 385 (No. 22), with the Jains are a division of the Vyantararas, as are also the Yaksas.

1 Cf. Voucher, L’Art Grec-bouddhique de Gandhara, 2, pt. 1, p. 326 f.; and Gopinatha, Elements of Hindu Iconography, I, p. 14. The definitions here and references to illustrations do not correspond, but throughout the text abhaya-hasta is used for this position.

2 Gopinatha, E.H.I., 1, p. 19 ff.
THE DATE OF ASOKA’S ROCK EDICTS.

BY M. H. GOPAL, M.A.

In his recent book on Asoka¹ Dr. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University supports² Mr. Harit Krishna Deb's view, expressed in his Asoka's Dhammalipis, that at least Rock Edicts³ II and XIII must be later than Pillar Edict VII dated in the 27th regnal year, because their contents are not mentioned in PE VII, which is a résumé of Asoka's work; to quote Dr. Bhandarkar's words, "the carrying out of philanthropic works (RE II) and the propagation of Dhamma (RE XIII) are such important things that Asoka would most certainly have made mention of them in PE VII, if he had heard, when it was engraved, that they had met with some measure of success in those foreign countries. The omission is significant and shows that RE II and XIII could not have been promulgated prior to PE VII, that is, the 27th regnal year."

Dr. Bhandarkar goes a step further and remarks that all the RE, including the MRE, are in date later than PE VII. We shall, however, discuss this view later on.

There are also a few other scholars, who hold the same view as Mr. Deb and for the same reasons. But on a closer examination we find that this contention fails to stand criticism. True, the absence of any reference to foreign missions is so significant that it requires some explanation; and such an explanation may perhaps be found in the fact that by about the 27th regnal year, when PE VII was issued, the foreign missions had been abandoned.

However this may be, Messrs. Deb, Bhandarkar and their school appear to have overlooked a very remarkable short passage in RE II, which is almost reproduced both in language and contents in PE VII. RE II says:⁴

"Roots and fruits wherever they are not found have been imported and planted. On the roads wells have been caused to be dug and trees caused to be planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.

PE VII ⁶ says:

"On the roads have I planted the banyan trees. They will offer shade to man and beast. I have grown mango orchards. I have caused wells to be dug at every eight koses. I have made many waiting-sheds at different places for the enjoyment of man and beast."

This shows that PE VII, as a mere résumé of Asoka's acts, must be later than RE II. For this philanthropic work of Asoka is mentioned nowhere in the PE.

Moreover the very position of the edicts (RE II and XIII) goes against Mr. Deb's view. At Shahbazgarhi⁶ "the larger portion of the record containing all the inscriptions except the 12th is engraved on both the eastern and western faces of a mass of trap rock," while at Mansera "the first twelve edicts have been found incised on two rocks" and the last two are missing. In the Kalsi group the edicts are in order on a single boulder, though "towards the bottom, beginning with the 10th edict, the letters increase in size." The inscription at Girnar consists of two main divisions separated by a line drawn from the top to the bottom of the rock. The first five edicts are to the left, while the next seven, from 6 to 12, are to the right. "The 13th edict is placed below and on its right is the 14th edict." At Dhauuli "the Asoka inscriptions are arranged in three parallel vertical columns, of which the Fourteen Rock Edicts occupy the whole of the middle column and one-half of the right column."

Thus we find that in all these places RE II at least is found along with the others on the same rock and in a regular order following the first edict and being followed by the third.

¹ Asoka, by D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., published by the Calcutta University in 1925.
² Ibid., p. 47.
³ In this article RE stands for Rock Edicts; PE, for Pillar Edicts; MRE, for Minor Rock Edicts.
⁴ Bhandarkar's Asoka, p. 276.
⁵ Ibid., p. 319.
⁶ The quotations are all from Bhandarkar's Asoka, pp. 250-4.
If RE II was, as Mr. Deb says, later than PE VII, then it could not have followed the first and been followed by the third edict; on the other hand it ought to have been on a separate rock or at least apart from the rest as a supplement to them. As this is not the case, we shall have to suppose, if Mr. Deb's theory is accepted, that, while the Rock Edicts were being engraved, Asoka had left between RE I and III just enough space for the Second Edict, and then filled in the edict later on. The absurdity of such supposition is evident on the very face of it.

The same argument applies mutatis mutandis to RE XIII.

Thus the simple fact that RE II and XIII are found along with the other Rock Edicts in a certain definite order, shows that they could not have been later than the other Rock Edicts and that at least the first edict was followed by the second, the second by the third and so on.

Dr. Bhandarkar avoids this difficulty by saying that all the Rock Edicts are later than PE VII. "We are, therefore," he writes, "compelled to infer that RE II and XIII, in fact the whole set of the 14 Rock Edicts, came to be engraved after the Seven Pillar Edicts were incised. . . . This shows that all his RE, whether they are the 14 RE or the MRE, must have been engraved when the work of inscribing the seven PE came to an end." 7 The basis for this view has been that in PE VII Asoka refers to Dhammalipis as having been ordered to be inscribed on stone pillars and slabs, and not on parata or rocks, and also that PE VII, which sums up Asoka's measures for the promotion of the Dhamma, does not mention the works of charity and the missionary efforts found in RE II and XIII.

We have discussed before how, though the omission in PE VII of the missionary efforts mentioned in RE II and XIII remains to be explained satisfactorily, there has been definite mention of works of charity in PE VII, while the position of RE II and, to a lesser extent, of RE XIII has shown us that all the Rock Edicts must be nearly of one date, or at least that RE II cannot be later than RE III and IV.

We have some specific references in the edicts themselves as to when they were engraved or issued. And yet Dr. Bhandarkar remarks 8 "It is true that no less than four different dates are found mentioned in this series (RE IV, V, VIII and XIII), but it is nowhere stated that this whole set of Dhammalipis, or any component part thereof, was inscribed in any particular year. They are dates of the different events alluded to in the different parts of this series and not of the actual engraving."

In all there are five dates mentioned in the RE, and of these the one mentioned in RE III has unfortunately escaped Dr. Bhandarkar's notice. This date is very important for our purpose. Equally unfortunate has been the learned professor's statement that we find nowhere the particular year of inscribing any part of the Dhammalipis. For there is at least one date in RE IV, which tells us when that edict was inscribed or written.

In RE III Asoka says 9 "When I had been consecrated twelve years this order was issued (by me) . . . . This means that, whenever the edict might have been actually engraved, the order at least was issued in the 13th regnal year. The edict as such—its form, language and content—apart from its existence on stone, existed in the 13th regnal year. And as we do not find any reference anywhere else to when the order was incised, we may safely take the words "this order was issued" as denoting the engraving of the edict on the rocks.

Further in RE IV we find "This was caused to be written by king Priyadarsin, Beloved of the Gods, when he was consecrated twelve years." Here it is obvious that the edict was engraved in the 13th regnal year, as there is definite mention of the date. In spite of this, Dr. Bhandarkar says that we do not find any date of the actual engraving, and that all the

7 *Asoka*, p. 268.
8 *Asoka*, p. 266.
9 The extracts from the edicts quoted in these pages are from the English translation of the edicts given at the end of Dr. Bhandarkar's *Asoka*.
dates mentioned in the edicts are dates of the different events alluded to. The dates of events are to be found in RE V, VIII and XIII, but those in RE III and IV refer to the edicts and not to events.

Again in the Sixth Pillar Edict Asoka says: "Since I was crowned twelve years, I have caused Dhammalipis to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, so that giving up that (conduct), the officers might nurture this and that growth of Dhamma." This reference to the edicts cannot be to the PE because they are definitely known to belong to the 26th and 27th regnal years. What other edicts can this refer to but the RE, of which the third and the fourth definitely mention that they were issued or written after the twelfth year and before the thirteenth regnal year was over? The first four RE at least cannot be later than the 13th regnal year.

One small point must be noted. RE IV says that it was written, and not engraved as PE II and VII record. But as PE I, III and VI, of which the dates are settled, use the word "written," we may safely ignore the difference between "written" and "engraved."

From another side we find that the RE are earlier than PE VII and the PE as a whole. These are some institutions and acts of Asoka which are mentioned in PE VII, but which are found only in the RE and not in the other PE, for instance, Dharma Mahamatras whose creation was a very important act of Asoka. In Asoka's eyes this institution was so important that he devoted the whole of RE V to describing their functions, in addition to referring to them in other edicts. Likewise we find no mention of almsgiving in PE, but we find it mentioned in PE VII and RE V, VIII and XI. There are a few more such instances which show that PE VII recapitulates some ideas and institutions to be found exclusively in the Rock Edicts, which, therefore, must be prior to PE VII.

Thus we are forced to conclude that at least the first four Rock Edicts belong to the 13th regnal year and the first two may be a little earlier, while the other Rock Edicts are certainly not later than the Pillar Edicts, particularly the 7th; and it is most probable that RE V to XIV belong to the 14th regnal year.

Coming to the Minor Rock Edicts, we find that it is not correct to place them, as Dr. Bhandarkar does, after the PE. For in MRE I we find this passage: "The Beloved of the Gods saith: 'It is more than two years and a half that I was lay-worshipper but did not exert myself strenuously. It is a year, indeed more than a year, that I have lived with the Sangha and have exerted myself.... This indicates that the Edict was engraved about four years after Asoka became a Buddhist, i.e., a little more than a year after he entered the Sangha or became a monk. RE XIII tells us that directly after the conquest of Kalinga, which event happened in the 9th regnal year, began Asoka's zealous protection of the Dhamma. That is to say, Asoka became a Buddhist about three years before the Kalinga war, i.e., about the 6th regnal year, and entered the Sangha just after the conquest, and issued the Minor Rock Edict a little more than a year later, about the 10th regnal year and not the the 13th, as V. A. Smith and others hold. For if we accept Dr. Smith's view, Asoka became a Buddhist after the Kalinga conquest and a zealous one nearly three years later. But this contradicts the more reliable statement in RE XIII that Asoka's zealous protection of the law began directly after the conquest. Therefore the MRE must belong to the 10th regnal year.

Even if we accept Dr. Smith's view, the MRE fall in the 13th year and not after the PE. If we follow Dr. Bhandarkar and place the MRE about the 27th or 28th regnal year, it means that Asoka was converted to Buddhism in the 23rd or 24th regnal year. But RE XIII distinctly tells us that Asoka's zealous protection, longing for and teaching of the Dhamma began after the conquest of Kalinga in the 9th regnal year. Therefore we cannot place the MRE after the PE. Their real date must be somewhere about the 10th regnal year.
VEDIC STUDIES.
By A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., Ph.D.
(Continued from vol. LV, page 234.)

1, 124, 4: āpo adarśi śundhivyavo nā vākeho
         nodhā' ieviśr aṅkta priyā'ṇi |
         admasān nā sasatō bodhāyanit
         śābhitamā'gāt pīnar eyiśahnām ||

"The breast (that is, the upper body) of Ushas has come to view like that of a resplendent (young) woman; she has made manifest her own (greatness) like nodhas: waking the sleepers like the hotā, she has come again, the most frequent comer of those that come again'. After priyāṇi, own, I supply the word mahinnah after 7, 76, 1: vy uśhā' eva divijā' tēnāvishkṛityānā' mahīnd'nam d'gāt. The same word, or, if a neuter noun be deemed necessary, the word mahītvam or mahītvam, it seems to me, should be supplied also in 4, 5, 6; āvīśh kṛṣhva
dāyeyānī agrē (dāyeyānī=dāyeyānī mahītvān; dāyeyānī viryāṃ; Sāyāṇa supplies tejanās) and 2, 23, 14: āvīś tāt kṛṣhva yād āsat ta utkhyām (yat=yat mahītvam; yad viryāṃ; Sāyāṇa has yad viryāṃ).
Nodhas still remains an obscure word and its meaning is unknown.

Priyā means 'own' in the following passage also: TS. 5, 1, 5, 6: chāndāṇi khaḷu va' aṅgēh
priyā' tanā'ḥ | priyāvaivāvān ma taṇvēt pāridadhāti "the chandaṇi, indeed, are the own body (self) of Agni; he covers him with his own body (self)"; ibid., 5, 1, 6, 2: esḥā' va' aṅgēh priyā'
tanā'ṛ yād aṅjā' priyāvaivāvān ma taṇvēṣā varṣāti "this, namely, the she-goat, is verily the own body (self) of Agni; he unites him with his own body (self)"; ibid., 5, 7, 3, 4: esḥā' khaḷu va'
aṅgēh priyā' tanā'ṛ yād vaiśvānaraḥ | priyā' yām evaivaṇaṃ taṇvēṣā praśīkṣhāpāyati "this, namely, Vaiśvānara, is verily Agni's own body; he establishes him in his own body" (compare vaiśvānara iti va' aṅgēh priyāṃ dhāma "Vaiśvānara is Agni's own body" in Tāṇḍya Br. 14, 2, 3; and Ait. Br. 3, 8, 6-7); TS. 5, 3, 10, 3: eva' va' aṅgēh priyāṃ dhāma yād gṛhāṇ ma priyāvaivāvān
dhāma'ṇā sāmādhāyātii "This, namely, butter, is verily the own form of Agni; he makes him thrive with his own form"
; KS. 20, 1: aṅjer va' es'hā vaiśvānarasya priyā' tanā'ṛ yāt sīkāti "This, namely, sand is verily the own body of Agni"; ibid., 21, 3: priyāvaivāvān ma taṇvē sāmādhāyātii "He makes him thrive with his own body (form)".

Likewise, it means 'own' in VS. 2, 17: aṅgēh priyāṃ pātho' pītam "Go to the own abode of Agni"; in VS. 8, 50: aṅgēh, indrasya, viśvēṃ devānāṃ, priyāṃ pātho' pīthi "Go to the own abode of Agni, Indra, Viśvar, Devāḥ " (compare swam pātho apīthā 'go to your own abode' in ĀŚS. 1, 11, 8) ; and AV. 2, 34, 2: pramūcānto bhāvanasya rāta gūttān dhatta yājaṁānaya
devāḥ' | upā' kṛṣnā bāsamāṇanāṃ yād āsthā priyāṃ devā'ṇām āpī etu pā' thā "Do ye, releasing the seed of being, show the way to the sacrificer, O gods; what, brought hither and immolated, stood up, living, let it go to the own abode of the gods, (compare TS. 3, 1, 4, 3: upā' kṛṣnā bāsamāṇanāṃ yād āsthā jīvān devā'ṇām āpī etu pā' thāh and TS. 5, 1, 11, 4: ādeva' gṛhāṇa tmāyā smāktā āpā devā'ṇā śūkṣhā pā' thāh etu)." And similarly priyā means 'own' in TS. 1, 5, 3, 2-3: saptā te aṅjer saṁāṭhā saṃptā jhīvā vā saṃptā tā' śrayā saṃptā dhāma priyā'ṇi and in ibid., 1, 5, 4,
4: saṃptā saṃptā va' saṁpadhāyaṇe priyāṃ tanavāb.

In the same way there can be no doubt that priyā generally means 'own' in the expression
priyāṃ dhāma which occurs fairly frequently in the Yajus-Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas and is interpreted by Bühlingk and Roth (s.v. dhāma) as 'gewohnte Heimath, Lieblingsstätte, LieblingsSahe, Liebaberei, Lieblings-name; preise, person' and by Geldner (Glossar, s.v. dhāma) as 'das Liebe Wesen, die liebe Personlichkeit, Lieblingsname, die liebe Person,' etc.; thus:

Kaus. Up. 3, 1: Pratardana ha daivodāsir indrasya priyāṃ dhāmopajāṣyā yuddhena
pawurāhe ca | tām hendra uvāca pratardana varāṃ te dadānīti ||

"Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, went to Indra's own abode by means of battle and valour. Indra said to him, 'Pratardana, I grant thee a boon.'" Indrasya priyāṃ dhāma here does not mean 'Freundschaft, Gunst, Liebe' of Indra (as Geldner would have it) or 'gewohnte Heimath'
of Indra (PW), but 'Indra's own abode', the domain that he rules over and that is known as Indraloka or svarga in later literature which Pratardana won through his valor in battle (see Macdonell in Vedic Index, s.v. Pratardana). The allusion here is to the well-known belief of the Indian writers that those who die in battle fighting valiantly go to heaven; compare Manu, 7, 89: \(\text{āhavēsi mhiḥ} \text{'yonyaś jīghāmsanto mahikṣiṣṭaḥ} \) yudhiṣṭhamānāḥ parān śākyān svargaṃ yānti aparāmukhaḥ, and Katyayana's Arthaśāstra, 10, 3 (p. 365): vedeśaḥ api anuśāryate-samāpta-daśkṣiṇāṃ yajāṇāṃ avāhīṣṭhau sā te yatir yā śārdvān iti .... yān yajājasāṃhā tapi ca vipraḥ svargaśiṅhah pātraśayaś ca yānti | kṣaṇena tān api apīyānti śārdvā praṇān savyuddhau parītyajantah.

Ait. Br. 6, 20, 9-10: etena vai vasisthā indrasya priyam dhāmopadgaçchat | sa paramaṃ lokam ajayat | upendrasya priyam dhāma (Anfrecht's edition reads lokam here which is incorrect) gaçchatí jayati paramaṃ lokam ya evam veda ||

"By means of this (śūkta; hymn of praise), verily, Vasistha attained the own abode of Indra, he won the highest world; he who knows this goes to Indra's own abode, wins the highest world."

And similarly, in ibid., 5, 2, 5: etena vai gṛṣamadda indrasya priyam dhāmopadgaçchat; 5, 2, 12: gyaśa plātha visveshām devāṁśām priyam dhāmopadgaçchat; 1, 21, 6: elābhīr kāśikān kāśikān priyam dhāmopadgaçchat; TS. 5, 2, 1, 6: etena vai vatsaprīt bhāladanān'geṇe priyam dhāmāvārundahha; ibid., 5, 2, 3, 4: etena vai vīvānītrog'geṇe priyam dhāmāvārundahha; and in ibid., 5, 3, 11, 3, I take priya in the sense of 'own' and dhāma in the sense of 'abode.' With regard to the latter word, the meaning of 'Persönlichkeit, Wesen, Form', suggested by Geldner is however not unsuitable in these passages which can be translated as "By means of this (hymn of praise) Gṛṣamadda attained verily the own personality of Indra", etc.; for, in similar passages in later literature that describe the virtue of hymns of praise (stotra) or of mantras, we read not only that the author of the hymn of praise and the others that made use of the stotra or mantra in question (compare uṣaṣh, indrasya, devāṇām, priyam dhāma gaçchatī ya evam veda in the above passages) attain the world of the particular deity (sāyujyam gaçcāti, salokataṃ ṛṇotii) that is addressed by the stotra or mantra, but also that they become such deity itself (sūrāpatiṃ ṛṇotii). Compare for instance, Lalitāsahasranāma-stotra (Nīrṇaya-sāgara ed., v. 239 ff.): pratiṃśasam puṟuṇasante cebhir nāmaḥsarasakhi | rātrau yaś cakkrājāṣṭham arcayet paradevam || sa eva lalitāśrīpaṃ tatrāpī lalitī svanyām | na tayar visyate bheda bhedātyāt pāpakād bhavet || Ayyavakṣyanta, Kh. 7: ya imām visyāṃ adhāte .... dehaṇe tamasaḥ paraṃ dhāma prāṇayāt | yatra viraḥ vrūṣaho vabhadāte .... tateṣvāpya-dhānāparā mrunaya dakhīḍante tasmin eva liyante; Tūrputāṭpāṇi Upanishad, 4: om namāś śivāyeti yājushamantrapāṇako rudratvam prāṇotii; and Rāmarahasyopanishat, Ch. 5: rāmaṁtrāṇāṃ kṛtupurāścaraṇo rāmacandro bhavati.

Priya means 'own' in the other passages too given in PW. Thus, VS. 1, 31: dhāma nāmaṇi priyam devāṇāṃ "Thou art the gods' own form and name" ; ibid., 2, 6: priyam dhāmā priyam sudsāśdās "Sit in thy own seat in thy own form"; priyā dhāmāni and priyā pāthānāi in VS. 21, 46 ff. mean 'own abodes, own domains'; Sata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: te devā justiṣṭaḥ tanāḥ priyāṇi dhāmāni sārdhāṃ samavadāre "The gods took together portions from their own selves, from their own powers"; ibid., 10, 1, 3, 11: etad dhāsya priyam dhāma yad yacheṣṭha iti "This is indeed his own name, that of 'youngest'"; and ibid., 2, 3, 4, 24: dhūlayo va asya priyam dhāma "The oblations are indeed the own essence of him"; priyāyaviaśaṃ dhāmā samardhāyati samsparṣayati, phrayati, etc.) "With his own body (or form, or nature, etc.) he makes him thrive (covers him, etc.)."

The word eva, which, like niṣya, primarily means 'own', seems likewise to be used in the sense of priya in some passages. Instances of such usage are:

2, 5, 7: svād.svād. ya dhāyaṃ कृपु.द्र m aśīv.śīv.śīv. |

stomāṃ vajāṇāṃ cā daś.āmaṇ. vanā.ṃ rā.ṃ rā.ṃ vaj.śīv. ||
"May the beloved (Agni), the priest, for the sake of dear food, make ready the (human) priest; may he then control the praise and sacrifice; we have offered (oblations)\textsuperscript{1}. The sense of this verse is obscure and 1, 31, 3 where the words dhāyase, vanoshi and mantram occur, scarcely helps here. But sva seems to mean 'dear, beloved' here; compare the passages given above where Agni is called 'dear'. Regarding svam dhāyah compare 10, 112, 4: priyēhitr yāhī priyām ānām āchā and note the repetition of the word priya here similar to that of svam in the above verse. Compare also 1, 58, 2: ā' svām ādma yuvāmāno ajāraḥ... atasēthu tiśhāsī where too perhaps sva means 'dear'.\textsuperscript{2}

3, 31, 21: ādādeśhā vṛtraḥ gūpatiś gā'
  antāh kṛṣṇān aruṣhāir dhā' mabhir gāt |
  prá śūnī tā disāmānā rēna
  dūras ca viśāh avṛṇod āpa svāh h||

"The destroyer of Vṛtra, the lord of cows, has given cows; with his bright troops he penetrated into the dark ones. Bestowing riches rightly, he has opened all the dear doors." To interpret the last ādā as 'he has opened all his own doors' hardly yields any sense; I therefore take svāh here as equivalent to priyāh. Compare 1, 142, 6: pāvakośa' saḥ purusspr' ho ded' ro devē' r hiranyāyāh, 7, 17, 2: utā ded'a ra uṣāt'r vi śrayantām and 10, 70, 2: vi śrayadhvām... uṣāt'r ded' rah where the doors are called 'much-beloved, dear'. The 'dear' doors are, evidently, those that give access to the chamber or other receptacle that contains wealth (compare, rāgo durāh in 1, 68, 10: vi rāgo avṛṇod dūras puruṣkāh); and the epithet 'dear' seems to be transferred to the doors from the wealth which as we know is often described in the RV. as being 'dear'; compare 4, 41, 10 given above and the passages cited in connection therewith.

10, 120, 8: imā bāraṁ bhṛhādive vivakt-
  vānāyā vānām aṇgīyāh svarṣhāh h |
  mahā gotrāyaya kṣhayati svarāj'o
  dūras ca viśāh avṛṇod āpa svāh h||

"These mighty hymns Brhaddiva speaks out for Indra. He, the foremost, the winner of light, is the lord of the mighty and independent stone; he has opened all the dear doors". By the 'mighty and independent stone' is here meant the Vajra or thunderbolt of Indra with which he opens the doors of the receptacle containing riches and which is elsewhere called adri, parvata and āśman: compare 4, 22, 1: yē (sc. āndrāh) āśāmanām ādvasa bihrdr ēti; 6, 22, 6: manojāveda svatavah pāravatena | ācyutā cid viśāh ēvojo rujaḥ; and 1, 51, 3: sāsena cid vimāda'-
yāvahā vāsv āddpi ādriṁ vādvasāntāya nāryāyān. The epithet svarāj, 'independent,' indicates perhaps that the Vajra is irresistible and overcomes all.

8, 70, 11: anāvṛvatām āmānāmām āmayēdām ādevayum |
  āva svāh sūkāh dūkhvāta pārvaḥta sughnēḥ ya dāṣyūn pārsvataḥ ||

"May the dear friend Parvata shake off him who follows another's ordinance, who is not human, who does not offer sacrifices, who is impious; and may Parvata (shake off) the Dasyu for swift death (\textsuperscript{1}l)!".

3, 31, 10: sampājyāmānā amadann abhi svām 
  pāyāh pratnāyaya rātasa dūghāṇāh |
  vi rōdāt atapād gōsaḥ eṣhāṁ
  jātā niśēḥm ādādhr gōshu vīrāh n||

"Seeing and milking the milk of the old one's semen, they (the Āṅgirasas) gladdened the dear (Indra). Their shout warmed the two worlds; they placed him the foremost in what is born (that is, in the creation); they placed heroes amidst the kine (or, in the kine)\textsuperscript{2}. I understand this verse as referring to the winning of the sun which also is one of the exploits of Indra in association with the Āṅgirasas; see Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, pp. 61 and 143. The 'old one,' pratna, is Dyau or Heaven and his 'seed,' retah, is the sun; compare 8, 6, 30:

\textsuperscript{1} From PV, tr., 1907, p. 136.\textsuperscript{2} In this note I prefer the rendering to that given by Dr. Macdonell (op. cit., p. 61), for which note I am indebted to Mr. F. C. Wilson. The passages quoted by him (ibid., pp. 61 and 143) and by Dr. Dandekar (op. cit., vol. i, p. 204) from the Brhadāranyaka and Taittirīya are not strictly parallel to this.
d’d it pratnasya rētasa jyotish pāśyanti vāsāram; 1, 100, 3: divina yāsya rētasa dūghandhā;
5, 17, 3: divina yāsya rētasa bhūtā bhūcārya arcāyā; and 10, 37, 1: divāna putrāya sūryāna
śamsa. The second pāda therefore means, ‘making the sun appear’. In the first pāda, the
word svāna has been interpreted by Geldner (Kommentar, p. 51), following Sāyaṇa, as
svakhyam godhanam and the verb abhī amadan in the sense of ‘rejoicing’ (Glossary; rich freuen über).
The combination abhī mad is however met with in another verse of the RV, namely, in
1, 51, 1 abhī tyeṃ mēshāṃ pruruhātāṃ gṛmiṃyaṃ iṃdānaṃ gṛbhir madata where it has the
sense, not of ‘rejoicing’ but of ‘gladdening’. I believe that this is the sense here also, and
that amadann abhī svāna means ‘they gladden the dear (Indra),’ that is to say, that they
praised him; compare 1, 62, 5: gṛyāno dūgīrohīh daśaṃ vār ushādā sūryāna gṛbih āndhā.
Compare also 1, 142, 4; 5, 5, 3; 8, 50, 3; and 8, 78, 4 where the epithet priya is used of
Indra. In the last pāda, the expression ‘they placed heroes in the kine (or, amidst the kine)
’ is not very intelligible to me; Oldenberg (RV. Noten 1, p. 241) suggests that it means that
‘they exerted themselves in such a way that the heroes were no more cut off from the posses-
sion of cows.’

AV. 6, 83, 4: vāhi svām m ‘ā huba jūshāga mānasā svāhā mānasā yād īdān juhōmi |
“Consume the dear oblation, enjoying with the mind, hail, as now I make oblation with the
mind.”

AV. 3, 19, 3: nicāth pradhyantām adhare bhavantu
yē nāh śāriṃ māghavānam prañyaṇā n
kahiṇa mī bṛhiṃnāyāmlūrin ān nāyām svām āhām ||
“Downward let them fall, let them become inferior, who may fight against our liberal patron.
With my incantation, I destroy the enemies; I raise those that are dear (to me).” Though
the interpretation of svām as ‘(my) own people’ is not unsuited here, the contrast between
āmūrān and svām shows that the latter word has here the sense of ‘those that are dear to me;
those whom I like; friends.’

AV. 7, 77, 5: tapālo vān gharīno nakahatu svāhotā
prā vān adhvaryūs ca ratu pāyasin
mādhore dūghāsāyaśvinā tānā yā
vītāṃ pātāṃ pāyasā usriyāyā ||
“The gharma is heated for you; let the dear hotr approach; let the adhvaryu, rich in milk,
move forward. Eat ye, O Asvins, of this milked sweet; drink ye of this cow’s milk.”
The word tānāyāḥ is obscure and I have followed Ludwig here in translating it as ‘this.’ Regard-
ing svāhotā, compare what has been said above under nityahotā. Compare also 7, 73, 2:
nye priyā mānushah sātā hūtā nē satyā yē, yē jate viṃdate ca | aśūtām mādhvo aśvinā upākā dā
vān voce vidātheśu prīyāsvān where the expressions priya hota, aśūtaṃ mādhu aśvinā, and
pṛyāsvān are parallel to svāhotā, mādhor aśvinī vītām, and pṛyāsvān (for, this is the correct
reading, found, as is noted by Whitney in his Translation, in the Kaśika-Śutra and the
Vātāna-Śutra and also in Sāyaṇa’s commentary, and not pṛyāsvān) in the above verse.

10, 21, 1: d’gānu nā svāyvākshibhā hātāraṇa tāpār prīyāmahe |
yajūd’ ya stūryābarhisehi vi vo madē śīram pāvakaśociśaham vivakshase ||
“As Agni, we, with pleasingly-cut (hymns of praise), choose thee hotr for the sacrifice where
the barhis is spread—thou that art burning and that hast clear light.” Compare priyā tashānī,
pleasingly-cut, pleasingly-fashioned (limbs) in 10, 86, 5 and the verses 1, 130, 6; 5, 2, 11;
5, 29, 15; 5, 73, 10; etc., which speak of hymns being ‘cut’ or ‘fashioned’ into shape.
Concerning the refrain, vi vo made . . . vivakshase, which is not here translated, see
Oldenberg, RV. Noten II, p. 221 and the literature referred to therein.

8, 32, 20: pīśa svādhānavadām utā yēs tūgye sācā |
utā yām indra yās tāvā ||
"Drink of these (Somas that are mixed) with pleasing milk; and what is with Tugrya and that which is here, O Indra, are thine." Svadhainavānām is equivalent to priyadhainavānām: the reference is to the milk which is added to the Soma juice. Compare 9, 101, 8: sām u priyā' anūshāta gā' vo mādāya gṛ' shvayāk | sāmānāṃ kṛṣṇe pāthāḥ pāvamānānām indahah | compare also 9, 32, 5: abhi' gā' vo anūshāta yieṣā jārām iva priyā'ṃ | 9, 1, 9: abhi' mam āghnya utā śrīvānti dhenāvaḥ śīṣum | sāmām inādāya pūr' lave | 9, 9, 1: pārī priyā' divās kāvir vāyuśi napat' hiḥ ahaḥ | svāṇāḥ yāti kavi ratiḥ.

VS. 22, 19: iti dhṛ'vīr iti śvadhitī śvī'ḥaḥ | "Here steadiness; here pleasing steadiness, hail."

In the above translations, I have assumed that the words svāvṛkti, svadhainava and svadhitī have really the word svā as a component, in which case priyavṛkti, priyadhainava and priyadhitī are the best equivalents for them. I do not however feel certain that this assumption is correct; or rather, I feel inclined to believe that the word svā is not really a component of these words at all. We know that in Sanskrit there exist a number of words beginning really with su- but having a variant form beginning with svā-. As examples of such, I may cite the following from PW—svagupta, svagṛṭṭādāman, svadhā, svadhita, svadhiti, svastha, svavrahmanya, svabhodrā, svadhāsina, and svardhīṣṭa (proper name of a people), svapura (name of a town), svabhāmini (proper name), and svareṣa (proper name) all which have also forms beginning with sv- instead of svā-. The word svajana occurs in the form svajana in Ind. Spr. (II), 6672, svajana-durjanayok, and it is remarked in PW 'nicht selten werden svajana und svajana mit einander verwechselt.' Similarly, the PW gives references to passages where the word svaprabhāśa has the meaning 'clear,' that is, of suprabhāśa. In the RV itself, we have the form svadhā, nectar, instead of svadhā and the form svayāśtarāram in 8, 60, 11 where the SV reads svayāśtarām. I am inclined to think that the words svāvṛkti, svadhainava, and svadhitī also belong to this class and that they are but variants of the words svāvṛkti, svadhainava and svadhitī. Of these latter, the word svāvṛkti occurs frequently in the RV. It is derived from the root re in PW but I believe that it really comes from the root vṛj to cut '(compare the word vykta-barhīsa) and that the meaning is 'well-cut, well-fashioned'; see what has been said above under 10, 21, 1. I would therefore translate the passages 10, 21, 1; 8, 32, 20; and VS. 22, 19 as follows: "As Agni, we with well-fashioned (hymns) choose thee hotṛ for the sacrifice, etc."; "Drink of these Somas that are well mixed with good milk, etc."; and "Here steadiness; here good steadiness, hail!" With regard to the VS passage, the commentator Uvaṭa, I may here observe, has paraphrased svadhitī by advadh-udhitī which seems to show that he too regarded it as a variant of svadhitī.

Wackernagel, in his Altindische Grammatik II, § 33b (p. 81), refers to the frequently expressed opinion, the best exposition of which is by Zubaty in KZ, 31, p. 52ff., that su- compounds has, in addition to itself, an ablaut form svā-, and says that so far as the Vedic language (altindisch) is concerned, the examples adduced, namely, svadhā-svadhā, svaddhitī-svadhitī, and svadhita-svadhita are too few in number to justify such opinion being held with regard to it. For the number of examples, however, is not, as he thinks, restricted to the three mentioned here; for we have already met with two more examples above—svāvṛkti-svāvṛkti, svayāśtarā-svayāśtarā and we shall meet with some more presently. And, secondly, the statement that 'su- has in addition to itself an ablaut form svā-' gives but a partial and incorrect representation of the real fact, namely, that in Sanskrit, and in the Vedic language also, there occur a certain number of words beginning with svā- that have got variant forms beginning with su- or alternatively, that there occur a certain number of words beginning with svā- that have got variant forms beginning with svā-. This does not mean that the first word in all such compounds is in reality svā and that the form beginning with svā- is a variant of this; for there occur some compounds in which the first word is really svā and in whose case the form beginning with su- is a variant of such original form with svā-.
In other words, when we meet with compounds beginning with su- or suva-, it is desirable to investigate first if such compound occurs in both forms or in one form only. In the latter case, one should further find out which of the two words, su and suva, gives the better meaning for the compound in connection with the passage where it occurs and determine accordingly the original form of the word and its meaning and also whether the word occurs in the given passage in its original form or in a variant form. The same thing has to be done in the former case also; but if, as sometimes happens, both the words su and suva are found to give the better meaning, each in its own context, one should postulate two original forms, beginning with su and suva respectively, and interpret the words accordingly: if, on the other hand, one only of the two words, su and suva, is found to give a good meaning (or the better meaning) in all the passages (where the compound occurs in either form), one should postulate one original form (beginning with su- or suva- as the case may be) and regard the other form (beginning with suva- or su- as the case may be) as a variant of it and interpret the passages accordingly.

The bearing of the foregoing remarks may perhaps be better understood from a consideration of some compounds beginning with suva- and su-. The words svakshatra-sukkshatra both occur in the RV; and the originality of the form svakshatra is proved by the occurrence of the parallel word priyakshatra; see above. One has therefore to consider if the word sukshatra, in the passages where it occurs, gives a better meaning when one regards it as occurring in its original form and therefore interprets it as ‘having excellent dominion’ (jothanan kshatram yasya) or when it is regarded as a variant of the word svakshatra and therefore interpreted as ‘whose is dominion’ (svam kshatram yasya), that is, ‘ruling over others; sovereign.’ Considering that the word sukshatra is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods, and that in their case, the meaning ‘sovereign; ruling over others’ is more appropriate and forceful than that of ‘having excellent dominion,’ I feel inclined to give preference to the latter of the above meanings and thus to regard sukshatra as a variant of the original form svakshatra, which, too, be it noted, is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods. On the other hand, in the cases of the words svacandra-svacandra both occurring in the RV, I consider that the interpretation ‘well-shining’ is, in every passage, to be preferred to that of ‘shining of itself,’ ‘self-shining’; and I therefore regard svacandra in 1,52,9, the only passage where it occurs, as equivalent to svacandra and as meaning ‘well-shining’. As regards the words suhot (RV)—svahot (AV), the occurrence of the word nityahot (see above) seems to show that the latter form (in AV, 7,77,5) is original and should be interpreted in the same way as nityahot, while the juxtaposition of the word svadhvar in 8,103,12: yah suhot svadhvarah seems to show that here the interpretation “good hoti” gives the better meaning. Therefore
regard both words as being in their original forms. Of the pair svayākāstara, ‘renowned of one’s self’ (RV)—svayākāstara ‘having much renown’ (SV), it is obvious that the latter is the better meaning. I believe therefore that svayākāstara in the RV is a variant of svayāhāstara and means the same as that word, and likewise that the word svayākās occurring frequently in the RV, is a variant of, and has the same meaning as, svayāhās. Similarly, of the pair sugopā (having a good protector; well-protected)—svagopā (protected by one’s self; self-protected), both occurring in the RV, the former meaning seems to be obviously better than the latter; and I therefore think it preferable to interpret svagopā in 10, 31, 10, (the only passage where the word occurs): svāyāthir svagopāḥ kṛṣṇa svagopāḥ, as ‘well-protected’ and to regard it as a variant of the word sugopā; while, of the pair svayuj (‘well-yoked’) —svayuj (‘yoking itself; yoked of its own self’) both occurring in the RV, it is equally obvious that the latter meaning suits the context better than the former, which is, when compared with it, a weak and colourless epithet. I therefore look upon the word svayuj (in the RV passages where it occurs) as a variant of, and having the same meaning as, svayuj. Compare the epithet manoyuj, which, like svayuj, is applied to hymns, horses, and chariots; and compare specially 1, 121, 12: tvām śvarā nāryo yaṁ uṣṇo mānīśāḥ cādātena suṣyāno vahishṭāḥ | yān te kāvya vajñā naṁ mādinaṁ dādā viñāhāpām pāḥ rgyaḥ tatakeha vajráṃ with 1, 51, 10 tākeḥ yāt ta uśānā váhāsā hāko vi rūdasā majmānā badhate tāvah | dādā tu tadāyā nmmo manoyojā dā pāḥ rgyaṁnavam acavanān abhī śravah and 5, 31, 10: cādātena suṣyāyo jādā čādevān with 4, 48, 4: vihanti tvā manoyojajya yukte tā so navaḥ r nāva vād yāo ... where the word svayuj in the former pair of verses is obviously parallel to the word manoyuj in the latter pair thus indicating clearly that svayuj is equivalent to svayuj. Compare also the verse 3, 58, 3: svayujbhir aśvah śvērāt rāhena dvārdva imām kṛṣṇam śākam ādrena with the verse 75, 6: dā vīma naro manoyojajja śvēsah pruhitaśravaḥ | vajā va karah māyā purūyōcah sahā sumnēbhir aśvinā and with the verse 1, 119, 4: yuvām bhuvajnān bhuvā mañgām vēbhir gatam svayujbhitih nīhākunāh puruḥ bhumy dā' and note that the epithets svayuj, manoyuj and svayukti are parallely applied to the bird-horses of the Śāvins indicating that they express the same idea. The horses (birds) of Vāyu (Vāta) and of the Śāvins youk themselves to the chariot when their masters think of setting forth in it, and are hence manoyujah as well as svayujah.

This is not however the occasion for investigating exhaustively the nature and meaning of all the Vedic compounds beginning with swa- and su-. The foregoing observations will, I believe, have shown the necessity of such an investigation; and I therefore close this digression and return to our subject.

Sva has the sense of priya in the derivative svadha also which in the instrumental case, means not only ‘according to one's own nature or will’ but also ‘willingly, with gladness, with pleasure’, nach eigenem Gefallen, gern, aus eigener Lust (Grassmann), Neigung (Geldner, Glossar).

Like nitya and su, the word niya, too, means primarily ‘own’; and like these two words, it too seems to have the meaning priya in the following passage: AV. 3, 5, 2: māyi kshatrām paramā ne māyā dhārayataḥ rayim | aham rāṣṭrāsābāh vairgā niya bhūyakam uttamāḥ || “In me maintain dominion, para amulet, in me maintain wealth; may I, in the sphere of (my) kingdom, be beloved, supreme”.

Jusṭha, like priya, originally means ‘pleasing, agreeable, dear’ and like priya, has, seemingly, the meaning ‘own’ in the following passages:

Śata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: te deved jusṭhaṁ tathā priyaṁ dhāmāṁ sārdham samavasadire | This passage has already been cited above (see p. 31) and explained as “The gods put

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5 According to another conception, these horses yoke themselves to the chariot when their masters express their intention of setting forth in it in words; they are hence also called vacoujāḥ. They are thus at the same time manoujāḥ or vacoujāḥ and svayujāḥ.
together portions from their own selves, from their own powers". Note the parallelism of the word jūṣṭāḥ with the word priyāṭi that follows:

1, 33, 2: ṛpaṁ aham dhanādāṁ apratītan
jūṣṭāḥ nā eṣyay vasatiḥ patām i
indraya namasyāṁ upamēḥbhir arkaś
yāh stotṛbhya hāvya asti yāman i

"I fly (for protection), like the hawk to its own nest, to the giver of wealth, the irresistible, adoring with the best chants Indra who in battle is to be invoked by his prayers". Jūṣṭā vasatiḥ is here equivalent to evā vasatiḥ: compare 1, 25, 4: ṛpaṁ hi me vimanyavah pātanti vāṣyāṣiṣṭaye | vāṣy nā vasatiḥ ūpa | 9, 71, 6: eṣyay nā yenin śddanam . . . . eshati

4, 29, 3: śravā yēd aṣya kārpā vāṣyādhyai
jūṣṭāḥ uṃ prā dīsam mandayādhyai i
udvārshāno rādhase śvīṣmān
kārān nā indraḥ sūtrīḥbhayaḥ ca l

"To quicken his years for hearing; to make him find pleasure in (our) own direction; may Indra the mighty, showering gifts, make for us good crossings and safety". The expression 'to make him find pleasure in our own direction', means, probably, 'to make him find pleasure with us, in our sacrifice'; compare 8, 12, 17: yēd vā bhrāyā prāvṛtiś tīsam udha māṇḍase | asmākam it suṭe ranaḥ sām indubhiḥ. The 'good crossings' desired are no doubt across evils, durūṭa, and enemies, āvīshaḥ. Instead of pra dīsam, I read pradiṣam: see Oldenberg, Veda-forschung, p. 110.

1, 182, 6: āvavīḍdam taugṛyam apsv anāṁ
andrambhāṁ tāmāsi praviśvadham i
cātārū na vā jāṭhalasya jūṣṭāḥ
ud aṣṭāhīyam āhitāḥ pārāyanti l

"The four own ships of Jāṭhala impelled by the Aśvins, bring over safely the son of Tugra who was abandoned in the midst of the waters and who was stuck in bottomless darkness". I take jāṭhala here as a proper name: the person referred to is perhaps the same as the Jāṭhara mentioned in 1, 112, 17, in a hymn likewise addressed to the Aśvins. The four ships that brought over Tugra's son to safety are perhaps the same as the four birds that are said to have carried him in 8, 74, 14: māṁ ca tvārā dvāvāḥ śāvīṣhāṣya dravīṇāvah | śurātāso abhi prāyo vāhavan vāyo nā tāḥyaṃ.

Likewise, jūṣṭāḥ seems to have this meaning of 'own' in the formula amushmaṇi tvā jūṣṭaḥ prokhehūmi (mirvapēmi, etc.; see Concordance); the meaning seems to be 'I sprinkle thee that art of the portion of such-and-such.'

Similarly, the word vāma also, meaning primarily 'dear, pleasing', etc., seems to have the meaning 'own' in the following passages:

10, 140, 3: u rīṁ napā jātvedaḥ suvāstibhir māṇḍasaś dhūʾibhir hitāḥ l
tē śiśaḥ śan dim adhār bhū ṛivarpaśā cītrātayō vāma jātāh l

"O Jātaveda, son of vigour, rejoice thou, beneficent, with the hymns containing fine praises. They put in you manifold enjoyment, they whose help is wonderful, who are born of own self". Vāma jātāh here, like priyājīta in 8, 71, 2 above, seems to be equivalent to svajātāh.

T.S. 1, 5, 1, 1: devdevaṁ salyātā āṣan | te devā vīṣyaṁ upayanto 'yam vāmaḥ vasu san nyadadhata | idam u no bhavishyat i yadi no jeshyantii i

"The gods and asuras prepared to fight. The gods, setting out for the battle, deposited their own wealth with Agni (thinking), 'this will be ours in case they vanquish us'"

Tait. Br. 1, 1, 2, 8: yāḥ purāḥ bhadraḥ saṁ yāpyād dvāyaḥ | sa punarvasvar agnim adādīta | punar evavāṁ vāmaḥ vātādpravatīte | bhadro bhavati |

3
"He who having been formerly prosperous (literally, splendid or glorious) is now worse off, should establish the fires in Punarvasu (naksatra). (His) own glory (i.e., wealth) will again come back to him and he will become glorious (prosperous)". Vāmanā vasu here seems clearly to be equivalent to svākhyam vāsu.

In the case of these words also, priya, svā, jushā and vāma, I have to repeat the observation made above with regard to nitya—namely, that in some passages, either of the meanings, 'dear' and 'own', is suitable, and that, though in the translations given above, I have chosen in such instances what seemed to me the better of the two, a combination of the two meanings would perhaps better represent the idea which the poet had in his mind when he used these words.

The use of the word nitya in the sense of 'dear' (priya) is not confined to Vedic literature but is occasionally met with in later literature also. Thus, it is said in the Mahābhārata (1, 169, 14) of Ghaṭokakā—

\[
\text{anuraktas ca tān āśīt pāṇḍavān ca Ghaṭokakāḥ |}
\text{tadāy iti nityām ādhanāya baddhata ha ||}
\]

"That Ghaṭokakā loved the sons of Pāṇḍu and he was always dear to them, as dear as their own self". Nitya in ādhanāya signifies, it seems to me, 'dear' and the word ādhanāya means therefore 'dear as the ādha or own self' and not 'im Selbst haftend, an's Herz gewachsen' as suggested in the PW. (s.v.); for the word nitya has no connection with 'haften' or 'wachsen'.

Similarly it is not unlikely that the word nitya at the end of some compounds (like aranyaka-nitya, dharma-nitya, topo-nitya, satya-nitya, adhyātmajānana-nityatevan in Bh. Gītā 13, 11) has the significance 'dear'. In Bh. Gītā, 13, 11 especially (adhyātmajānana-nityatevan tattvāvijñānātīrthenāsanām | taj jñānam iti prakāram . . . . ) the words etaj jñānam in the third pāda make it very probable that nitya here means 'dear'.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A CONTEMPORARY CONTEMPTUOUS CRITICISM OF MANNUCI'S \textit{STORIA DO MOGOR}.

In the outgoing Letter Books of Thomas Pitt, preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 22842-22850) appears a copy of a letter (No. 18 of MS. 22844) from Pitt, then Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, to Thomas Woolley, secretary to the E. I. Co. in England, dated Fort St. George, 17 October 1701. Woolley had evidently heard of Manucci's work and had asked for details. Pitt replied as follows:

"In yours of the 4th of July concerning Senr. Manuches history, 'tis true he liv'd many years with Shallum [Shāh 'Alam] the Mogulls eldest Son, in which time without doubt was capable of making many observations, but I believe 'tis soe Ordinarylly connected that 'tis hardly worth reading. When I came here first, he was in disgrace with our Government, and to drawn [sic] himselfe from it, his Book he had some time agoe dedicated it to the French King; the copy of it in Portuguez I will

endeavour to get and send you; but when all is done, I believe 'tis no better than Tom Thum.'"\footnote{Pitt means that the work will be found to be of insignificant value.}

In Mr. Irvine's introduction to his monumental edition of Manucci's MS. he states (p. xix) that Catron, who pirated Manucci's work, admitted that he obtained the MS. from M. Deslandes, a Pondicherry official, who had brought it to Europe in 1701 or 1702.

Later, in his Note on Bourbeau-Deslandes Mr. Irvine shows (p. lxxxv) that Deslandes left Pondicherry in February and reached France in August 1701.

Manucci's MS. must have been seen and read by Europeans in Fort St. George before its transmission to France, and some among their number must have had a higher opinion of its contents than Thomas Pitt, for otherwise his correspondent would not have troubled to enquire about it.

In any case the extract is valuable as it gives the earliest notice of the \textit{Storia} so far discovered.

L. M. ANSTY.
BOOK-NOTES.

London, Martin Hopkinson and Co., Ltd.

This book gives an account of two journeys in the Near and Middle East made in 1908 and 1924, especially to Mosul, with the object of helping "to make the singularly interesting peoples" inhabiting the area round about Mosul "better known to English readers." Mr. Luke has thoroughly succeeded in his object, as he writes with the pen of a ready writer, and the information he supplies is that of a scholar well versed in his subject. To those whose work lies in India and who would learn something historically of the populations that have dwelt in modern 'Iraq, i.e., Mesopotamia, for centuries under Moslem-Turkish rule, and have had in the past so many dealings with India in one form or another, the book is an invaluable guide.

It is lightly written, but it is never flippant, and the statements in it, historical and other, are of extraordinary accuracy. It deals briefly with the way from Palestine to Mosul, the site of Nineveh, and then with Mosul as it now is and as it has been in the past. The entrancing stories of the religions of the region, chiefly minor varieties of Christianity—Nestorians, Monophysites and equally interesting others,—of the people of the Assyrian Mar Shimun, the youthful hereditary patriarch of an ancient sect, now studying at Oxford, and of Prester John, are all dealt with in a rapid but masterly manner. Then follows a most valuable chapter on the Yezidis or devil-worshippers, part of which has already appeared in this Journal (vol. LIV, pp. 94-98). And finally we are treated to an illuminating summary of the history of Baghdad and Palmyra (Tadmor) on the "return journey."

Personally, I have read this book from cover to cover with absorbing interest, and have found it, as an old student of the matters with which it is concerned, not only informing, but accurately informing. The one point which I should be inclined to discuss with the author is the character he gives to Timur the Lame—the Tamerlane the Terrible of European scholarship. He is evidently a bugbear to Mr. Luke, but whether he was really as bad as he is generally painted I have long doubted. Sir Lucas King's untimely death on 23th August 1925, has deprived us of the account of Timur on which he was engaged—an account which, let us hope, would have given the world a fair picture of him. He was a ruthless conqueror at times, no doubt, but he was also a highly cultivated man and a scholar, and it is this mixed character—half hereditary savage and half hereditary man of learning—which one would like to see developed and balanced.

The story of the early Christian Church and its schisms, resulting in cleavages into Nestorians and Monophysites, with their further divisions into Jacobites, Copts, Assyrians, and Gregorian Armenians and finally into Uniates—Chaldeans, Syrians, Assyrians—is told with admirable clearness. But I cannot deal with them here, and will say no more than that the brief chapters containing the story are filled with a mass of facts, such as only a mature scholar could have put together in so concise a form. Passing on to the old and vexed question of Prester John, Mr. Luke discusses it with scholarly notices of many a great Oriental name and many a story of the East, and I would remark that the chapter on that old Will-o' the Wisp of Eastern history should be of special interest to the St. Thomas Christians of South India and to the students of their creed and its history.

R. C. Temple.


The names of R. Schram, H. G. Jacob, F. Kielhorn and J. F. Fleet give a lustre to the subject of Indian Chronology, which is ordinarily considered a dull and difficult affair; and the devotion of these scholars to the task with which they burdened themselves, and their skill in unravelling the intricacies of this very technical subject earn our gratitude and admiration. But these scholars by no means exhausted the subject of Indian chronology, and they have been followed by others equally altruistic and equally deserving of our gratitude. Among this second generation of scientific chronologists the names of R. Sewell and L. D. S. Pillai 1 are noteworthy, and their works now form our standard reference books on the subject. Mr. Sewell has already published three quarto volumes and he hints at further fields to explore. The enormous labour and skill entailed in his vast work compels our admiration.

The demand for special chronological tables for India arose from the sad discovery of numerous forgeries in ancient inscriptions, and in deeds produced in the Law Courts of India; and the enormous labour involved in the preparation of these tables is due to the complicated system, or rather sets of systems, of calculating and recording dates in different parts of India and at different periods.

The Hindu solar year is scientific in theory, but the neglect of precession has made it artificial; the use of a so-called lunisolar year introduces the problem of intercalation; the use of a theoretical lunar day (the tithi) adds further complications; and these fundamental difficulties are greatly increased by the employment of various initial

1 Other notable Indian chronologists are—T. Warren, 1825; J. Prinsep, 1834; J. B. Jervis, 1843; Sir A. Cunningham, 1883; S. B. Dikshit, 1887, etc.; F. K. Ginzel, 1890.
times for the year, for the month and for the day; and further still by the practice of forming calendars by calculations based upon the teachings of different Siddhântas, pre-eminent among which are the Sûrya, Arya, Brahma and Siromani.

Schram and Jacobi provide us with what may be termed general results, while Messrs. Sewell and Pillai give us detailed tables according to the various systems in vogue. Schram reduces the date to Julian days, and for ordinary verification his method is simple and effective. His original tables for India occupy five pages only. Jacobi employs the Kârîñgaṇa, or sum of days from the beginning of the Kali-yuga, and his general tables occupy some dozen pages. Sewell gives for each year certain elements from which the details of the calendar can be calculated, and his tables fill three quarto volumes. Pillai now gives information for each day (in eight large volumes). He indeed states that any attempt to enable the historian or epigraphist to be his own computer of tithis and nakshatras seems destined to failure, and that the only solution is a day to day ephemeris. The draw-back to this plan is the size, number and cost (£6-10s.) of the volumes involved, and Schram's or Jacobi's few pages, or, say, Ginzet's two volumes (for all countries) may be preferred; or, for India itself, the volumes of Mr. Sewell.

Mr. Sewell's present volume is the third of a series, consisting of (1)—The Indian Calendar, 1896, which gives detailed information based upon the Sûrya Siddhânta for every year from A.D. 300 to A.D. 1900, also a table of initial days of Muhammadan years from A.H. 1 to A.H. 1245 (A.D. 1900), Schram's useful tables for eclipses of the Sun in India, and certain subsidiary tables; (2) Indian Chronography, 1912, which is an extension of the former volume with working examples; (3) the present volume which gives tables based upon the Siromani (A.D. 1100–1900), the First Arya Siddhânta 'True system' (A.D. 900–1800) and 'Mean system' (A.D. 500–1400), Brahmadevi Siddhânta 'True system' (A.D. 600–1200) and 'Mean system' (A.D. 600–1400); also tables relating to the cycle of Jupiter, and Fleet's tables for finding the mean place of Saturn, together with many elucidatory notes and subsidiary tables.

The historian and epigraphist will probably be more interested in the general tables, which give year by year the main eras, the Jovian Sarvâstras, intercalated and suppressed months, the European dates of the beginning of the solar and luni-solar years, etc. These general tables occupy 330 pages, or rather more than half the volume. They are generally exactly the same for some seven columns, but differ occasionally in the record of the intercalated months, and more often in the times of the commencement of the year.

The following table (shown below) illustrates the type of variation between the tables based upon the several Siddhântas. Of the explanatory portion of the volume the student will find the preface of considerable interest, and he will find it profitable to work through the examples on pages 237 to 247.

One special feature of the present volume is its supposed greater accuracy than former publications—"since the figures are given with four decimal places instead as previously in whole numbers, and so give us planetary positions to a quarter of a second whether in space or time." Mr. Sewell goes even farther than this, e.g., on page 56 we find a value 2°8'18.828260°5453," and there are many other similar examples. Accuracy to a hundred millionth of a second might delight certain astronomers if it were attainable! But in dealing with physical quantities it is a sound maxim to keep the calculations to the same order of accuracy as the observations on which they are based; and although it might be stated with justification that Hindu astronomy is not based upon observation, yet no useful object can be obtained by such artificial methods. There are misprints, and the volume used for review has the pages bound up in incorrect order; but such blemishes are difficult to avoid in a technical work printed at a Government Press in India.

These may be termed the minor defects of an extremely valuable work.

G. R. KAYE.

<table>
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<th>B. Brahma</th>
<th>C. Siromani</th>
<th>Differences</th>
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Yearly Differences: .25668 .25843 .25843
500. From Malabar Bowen sailed towards Madagascar but was wrecked on St. Thomas's Reef, off the Island of Mauritius. He was kindly received by the Dutch, who assisted him in turning his longboat into a sloop, in which he transshipped his crew to Maritan in Madagascar. Here, early in 1702 (Johnson, II. 51) they surprised two ships belonging to the Scottish South African and East India Company. These were the Speedy Return (Captain Robert Drummond) and the Content Brigantine (Captain Stewart), which had left Scotland in May 1701. The two Captains were put ashore at St. Mary's and were afterwards murdered by the natives. About the same time another gang of pirates who had settled at St. Augustine's surprised and seized the Prosperous (Captain Hilliard) and made one Thomas Howard their Captain. Howard, originally a London lighterman, had been Quartermaster to a pirate, Captain James, on the coast of Virginia (Johnson, II. 247), probably the Captain John James who flew Every's Mughal flag when he fought H.M.S. Essex, Captain John Aldred, in Linhaven Bay in July 1699 (Col. Off. Records, 323-3 No. 37, 1. See para. 415 above). On the coast of Guinea, James took a large Portuguese ship, to which a part of his crew transferred themselves, they renaming her the Alexander. They were wrecked on the coast of Madagascar and there surprised the Prosperous. The latter then went to St. Mary's and the crew were well received by Ort van Tyle, but hearing that he (his brother) had caused the death of some pirates they tried to kill him, and he escaped only by the help of the natives.

501. Howard and Bowen agreed to cruise in company. On the 10th March 1703 at Mayotta they took the Pembroke, Captain Wooley (Johnson, II. 64).103 It is not clear what colours they flew on this occasion. Wooley says that at first he thought it was the King's Jack, but he does not say what it actually was (Madras Consulations, 31st May 1703). Later they sailed towards India, and in August, off Surat or St. John's, took a Surat ship with treasure amounting to 88,000 pieces of eight, and at the mouth of Surat River Howard took another belonging to Abdul Gafur with treasure valued at Rs. 1,68,000. The latter they set adrift without anchor or cable off Daman, the other they carried to Rajapore. News of these disasters arrived at Surat on the 31st, and the Governor threw the English and Dutch Presidents into prison and inflicted a heavy fine. But English and Dutch ships threatened the port; the prisoners were released on the 5th March 1704, the Governor was dismissed by the Mughal and the Allies' demands were conceded (Manucci, III. 488 n.; Bruce, III. 543).

502. If they knew of these results of their actions, Bowen's men must have been amused and gratified, for they had certainly succeeded in spoiling the Company's trade (See para. 497 above). Bowen and Howard sold their booty to Coge (Khwaia) Commodo (See para. 510 below), an old friend of Every and Kidd, burned both of their own ships and transferred the united crews to the Surat ship, which they renamed the Defiance. She carried 56 guns, and they kept by force 70 of her lascars. They themselves numbered "164 fighting men, of which part are 43 English, the better part of the company French, the rest Negroes, Dutch, &c. nations that cries 'yaw' [i.e. Scandinavians]." Johnson, II. 63, mentions "Danes and Swedes" (State Trials, XIV. 1286, 1302). After a time Bowen and Howard came to Mascarenhas, where Bowen intended to retire from piracy, but dying, "was buried in the highway, for the priest would not allow him holy ground as he was a heretic." His Quartermaster Nathaniel († John) North was chosen to succeed him and returned with Howard to Madagascar, where Bowen's crew dispersed and North lived for some time amongst the natives, enjoying very great respect from them, until later (c. 1707) he went aboard Captain Halsey as Quartermaster (Johnson, II, 406). Howard went to India and married a native wife, whose relatives killed him for ill-treating her (Johnson, II. 250).

103 On this occasion they took out necessaries to the value of about 4,000 pagodas and then let her go. She arrived at Madras and was sent with a fresh cargo to Surat, but on the way was again captured by the same pirates and relieved of goods to the value of 600 pagodas. Letter from T. Pitt, Madras, 3 Jan. 1703-4.
503. In 1703 the Severn (Captain Charles Richards) and the Scarborough (Captain Foulis), two men-of-war, were, at the Company’s request, sent under Captain Richards (Johnson, II. 260, calls him Commodore) who had been in the Company’s service (Bruce III. 493) to Madagascar to visit St. Mary’s, Antongil Bay, Assada Bay, Mohilla and Johanna, after which they were to proceed to Mocha and convoy the Mocha fleet to Surat, where Captain Richards was to consult the Governor regarding the suppression of the pirates (Bruce, III. 493, Johnson, II. 260). On the 15th November 1703 the Scarborough sent boats ashore at St. Mary’s to surprise the pirates living there. On the 19th they returned with two prisoners, John Pro, a Hollander, and David Wallin, a Welshman. On the 23rd, answering a flag of truce, they found it belonged to one Arthur Gardiner, who, having been many years a-pirating, had settled at Marinho, and wanted permission to supply them with provisions (Log of the Scarborough, Sloane MSS. 3674).

504. The Rochester Interloper visited Johanna on the 9th June 1704. In the Log we are told that the capital was called Chusan Town or Johanna Town and the Governor was “Myohazerie Hoosainee.” He complained that a certain Captain Richards (of an English man-of-war) had promised to assist them in an attack upon the piratical Mohillians, but had not supported them properly so that the attack had been unsuccessful. He said that Captain Richards, finding that the people of Johanna intended to carry their complaints to England, committed suicide and was buried in the Bay (John Pike, Voyage of the Rochester Interloper, Captain Francis Stanes, 360 tons, 28 guns and 64 men, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 24931). As a matter of fact, in February 1703-4, the boats of the Severn and Scarborough did assist the men of Johanna in an attack on Mohilla, but were repulsed with a loss of 22 English and 300 Johannans (Masters’ Logs, No. 280). Pike says that the people of Johanna were so fond of the English and so determined to imitate them in every way that when their King, Sultan Halliman, died, they resolved that, like the English, they would be governed by a Queen, and elected his widow to take his place. She accordingly took a husband “who is not a King.” Pike adds that a valley near the capital was known as Brown’s Garden, so named after a ship-surgeon who had cured a number of their chief men, whilst his ship was in the harbour. The garden was given him in recognition of his services and, as he refused to settle in the island, was free to all Englishmen who came there and no payment was ever asked for the oranges, lemons and coconuts which grew in it. Johnson (I. 122) ascribes the friendship of the Johannans for the English to the assistance given them about 1704 by Captain Henry Cornwall against a piratical attack of the Mohillians. Cornwall himself (Observations, p. 12) says that the Johannans were very bold and warlike, always quarrelling with the Mohillians. Also that visitors to Johanna behaved to be very careful, as Johanna was much frequented by pirates who came there for intelligence regarding the strength and destination of other ships. He calls the Capital Demani.

505. Captain Richards died on the 23rd March 1703-4 and Captain Foulis on the 20th April 1704 (Charnock, Biographia Navalis). The two ships apparently continued their journey to India, for John Leeds (Travels) writes that on the 26th November 1704, he, then master of the Calicut Muncheo (marchua, a sea-going trading vessel), was pressed by Captain Robert Harland of H.M.S. Severn at Calicut, with his boatswain Thomas Brown, they being the only two white men on board. Pike says (f. 106 b) that when he was in India the commanders of English men-of-war impressed any Englishmen whom they found on country ships. As these men were probably the most enterprising of the sailors who had come out on the European

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164 In 1711 Capt.-Woodes Rogers was informed at the Cape that the Dutch used to send yearly to Madagascar for slaves as the Hottentots were too lazy to work. (Cruising Voyages, p. 419).

165 Mentioned in a letter of the Court of Committees to the Sultan of Johanna, dated 26 Dec, 1676 (Letter Book, v. 394), and under date 20-23 May 1683 in the Log of the Herbert, Henry Udall, Commander (Marine Records, India Office).
ships, it can be imagined that their impressment must have excited a dangerous indignation in the hearts of men like Leeds.

Malabarese.

506. In 1703 Hamilton visited Tellicherry on the Malabar coast. About twelve miles south of the town is "Burgara [Badagara] a sea-port in the dominions of Ballanore [Valunnavar or Ruler] Burgarie, a formidable Prince." This Prince and his predecessor have been Lords of the Sea time out of mind, and all trading vessels between Cape Comorin and Damaan were obliged to carry his passports. Those of one mast paid for their passes eight shillings yearly and those with three paid about sixteen." The Portuguese disputed his pretensions and therefore were at constant war with him. "He keeps some light galleys that row and sail very well, which cruise along the coast from October to May and make prize of all who have not his passes." When Hamilton objected to the damage which he did to trade, he replied that "he was no enemy to trade but only vindicated his sovereignty of those seas before mentioned, and that our King was invested with the like sovereignty not only on his own coasts but on those of France, Holland and Denmark [an allusion I suppose to the English claim to the Honour of the Flag], and could have no greater right than he had, only he [i.e., the King of England] was in a better condition to oblige the transgressors of his laws to obedience than he was: however he would maintain his claim and right the best way he could, and whoever lost their ships or vessels for contempt of his authority might blame their own obstinacy or folly" (Hamilton I. 298).

507. On the 24th February 1705 the Westmoreland (Captain Thomas Gallon) had a short engagement off Vingurla with Maratha pirates. He says that they flew a short blewish pendant over their red flag (Ind. Off. Marine Records). As a matter of fact Sivaji's naval flag seems to have been white (Fryer II. 2), so the red flag may have been either the Moor ensign or the usual signal of attack. Gallon refers to the pirates as 'Rogues." It will be remembered that Edward Terry (See para. 230 above) did the same in 1616, and so does Defoe in his New Voyage round the World (II, 32, pub. 1725). So also Defoe writes of men "going a-roguing" instead of "a-pirating."

Anglo-Americans.

508. In the year 1704 the Scotch ship Neptune (Captain James Miller) was taken in Madagascar by the pirate Halsey at the instigation of Samuel Burgess (See para. 478 above; Johnson II. 116 and 268 b). Hamilton (I. 17) says that the Neptune was laden with strong ale and brandy and that the pirates, falling to a carouse, five hundred of them died of their excesses. This did not deter a number of Miller's men from joining the pirates. According to Johnson, the Neptune was taken by Halsey after his capture of the Essex in 1707 and Hamilton is possibly wrong in his date, for it was only on the 7th November 1704 that Captain John Halsey received a privateer's Commission for the Charles Brantaine from Governor Cranstone of Rhode Island. On the other hand, Johnson (II. 110) says that Halsey picked up at St. Augustine's a number of men who had been wrecked in the Degrave in 1700. This appears rather a long time for their stay there. The Charles Brantaine had been a privateer under the command of Captain Daniel Plowman. Plowman was murdered by his lieutenant, John Welch, who having committed piracy on some Portuguese vessels, returned to Boston, where he was arrested and hanged, the Charles being recommissioned under Halsey. The piratical career of the Neptune was short. One David Williams was elected Captain and soon after (Johnson, II. 118, says the year after Halsey's death) she was wrecked. Williams fitted up a sloop in which he came to Methelhege (Massalege), where going ashore he was killed by the natives (Johnson, II. 262).

164 Apparently the Raja of Kadattanad (between the Mahé and Kotta Rivers), whose Commander was one of the Marakkars of Kottakal (Innes, Mal. Gaz. 433. See para. 536 below).
509. Manucci (IV, 169) says that in 1705 a certain Monsieur Delaval, resident at Jun-
calam (Junkceylon, belonging to Siam) had with two of his countrymen, Messieurs Masson and
de Roubal, turned pirates, to the great terror of the merchants.

Anglo-Americans.

510. In 1705 Captain Thomas Green of the Worcester, who had arrived in Scotland in
July 1704 (Johnson, II. 52) was hanged for piracy. His ship had been seized by the Scottish,
African and East India Company in reprisal for the seizure of the Annanade in England by
the English East India Company (See Petition of the Scots East India and African Company,
1705). Some of his men had talked in a mysterious way of their doings in the East and particu-
lar references to the Speedy Return (Captain Thomas Drummond), which ship had totally
disappeared, led to the conclusion that he had taken her and had made away with the
crew. He was arrested and tried and, though the evidence against him was neither trust-
worthy nor conclusive, the people of Edinburgh were in such a state of irritation against
the English, owing to the failure of the Darien Company and the disappearance of some of
the ships of the Scottish African and East India Company (founded in 1695) to which the
Speedy Return belonged, that he and some of his crew were convicted and hanged on this
charge. It is perfectly certain that he was not responsible for the loss of the Speedy Return,
for we have seen (para. 500 above) that she was taken by John Bowen, nor for the death of
Captain Drummond, who was killed by the natives of Madagascar (Drury’s Adventures,
p. 305), but that some of his acts were piratical there can be little doubt, for one of the wit-
nesses in the trial (Antonio Fernando, Cook’s mate on the Worcester) said that a certain one
of the ships which he attacked flew English colours, i.e. white, red and black, like those which
he flew himself (possibly Fernando, being a Portuguese mistook dark blue for black, a not
uncommon mistake at sea. See para. 553 below), and said that he had taken such a ship, mur-
dered the crew and sold the ship to Coge Commodo (See para. 502 above), whilst another of his
crew (John Roberts) deposed that he had been accessory to the cutting off of the heads of some
men at Sacrifice Island, betwixt Tellicherry and Calicut, and others (Reynolds and Linsted)
said “that their Prayers even on Sunday were dropped after they passed the Cape of Good
Hope, the Supercargo having told Mr. May [the Surgeon], who commonly acted the Clerk’s
part, that they would leave their religion behind them and take it up when they came back”
(Flying Post, 17-19 May, 1705).107 Captain Hamilton met the Worcester at Calicut in 1703.
Green, when in drink, personally told him that he had traded with the pirates in Madagascar
and Mascarenhas, and it was commonly reported at the time that he had plundered some
Moor ships and had sunk a sloop with ten or twelve Englishmen on board her off Colombo.
Hamilton sums up the case in a way with which probably every one will agree:—“Whether
Captain Green and Mr. Mather [Chief Mate] had justice impartially allowed them in their
process and sentence I know not. I have heard of as great innocents condemned to death as
they were” (New Account, I. 317-19 ; State Trials, XIV. 1199-1323).

511. Hamilton’s comments are the more interesting for the fact that in 1705 com-
plaints were made at Bombay against “Captain Alexander Hamilton, Master of the Vinta
Gurra,” for seizing at Johor some goods on a junk belonging to the native merchants of Can-
ton (Bombay Cons. 27th May 1705). He himself (II. 159, 234) says that he did this in repris-
al for their false dealing and that the Sultan highly approved of his action, only wondering

107 "If you want rogues . . . . you have that gallant caste of adventurers who laid down their
consciences at the Cape of Good Hope as they went out to India and forgot to take them up again when
they returned " (Scott, The Surgeon’s Daughter : Mr. Craufourdy’s Preface).
at his moderation in not having taken all the goods and having sold the crew and other people on board as slaves. On the 1st Feb. 1706-7 Capt. Richard Collins of the Sloop Calculita reported at Madras that he had been plundered off Negrais by a pirate brigantine (50 Europeans, 16 guns) commanded by one Jones, who came originally from New England and had completed his crew at Madagascar. The pirates had some of them, returned to Madagascar, but the rest had gone to Achin to waylay the China, and a Manilla ship belonging to the Armenians (Madras Public Proceedings, 1 Feb. 1706-7.)

Malays.

512. That the seas of the Malay Archipelago were now full of pirates is shown by the caution which British ships were forced to exercise. Captain Martin Gardiner of the Seafor, sailing from Batavia to China, records on the 26th June 1701:—"Sent my boats to two small junks, taking them to be China junks, but they were boats belonging to Banca, believed to be Rovers, having severall brass patteringoes and many men on board." and the Commander of the Loyal Cook, sailing from Amoy to Malacca, records on the 21st April 1702, "Saw three great boats which we judged to be Rogues. We made a clear ship and lay by but they would not speak with us, our [ship] having Dutch colours. We supposed them to be bound for Malacca."

513. In 1705 the Dutch East India Company, in order to check piracy in the Malay Archipelago, fixed the number of the crew and passengers allowed to be carried on native vessels (Parl. Papers, 1851, LVI. i. 65; Temminck II. 227).

514. In June 1707 the Banjarees made a desperate attack on the English ships Carleton, Blenheim, Squirrel and the Hawke man-of-war (t), lying in Banjar River, and burned the ship Limpo and the English Factory ashore, in revenge for an affront offered to the Malay Chief Gusta Ganton in attempting to arrest him for the murder of the Chinese Shabandar. It was this attack which caused the English to abandon their settlement in Borneo. The Commander of the Carleton (Captain Robert Phillips) was killed in the fight. (Ind. Off., Marine Records.)

Arabians.

515. Arab reprisals for European piracy have already been mentioned in 1701 (See para. 483 above) and in 1705 (See para. 485 above). Some of their vessels carried 40 to 50 guns (Low, I. 90). Encouraged by their early successes, the Muscat Arabs aimed at a more extended sphere of action, and in 1707 obtained permission from the King of Pegu to build ships in his country. Their vessels were to be found and did much damage in all the seas round India from the Madras coast to the Persian Gulf. The Shah of Persia applied to the Bombay Government for assistance and the Marathas organized a fleet to hold them in check. (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 81-2; Low, I. 90; Bruce, III. 649).

516. In 1708 the Shah proposed to the Bombay Government a joint attack on the Arab and Malabar pirates (Bomb. Gaz. XIII. 482).

Malabarese.

517. On the 12th February 1706, a Maratha fleet, under their Admiral Nilla Purbu, took the English ship Monsoon (Bengal to Surat—Captain Wilcox) off Anjediva and carried her into Bed Cove. Nine days later she was cut out by the Portuguese and taken to Goa, where the Viceroy declared her a lawful prize and refused to restore her to the English (Letter from T. Pitt, 11th Sept. 1707; Bombay Quarterly Review, III. 66; Low I. 93.)

108 According to French Law in 1681, vessels retaken from pirates were restored to the owners on payment of one-third of the value (Justice, 370).
518. The Maratha fleet organised for protection against the Arabs was composed of sixty vessels under an officer independent of Angria and was supposed to operate between Bombay and Goa. It devoted its spare time to piracy on its own account. At the same time Kanhoji Angria possessed a considerable fleet occupied with piracy only (Bruce, III. 649; Low, I. 90; Bomb. Gaz. I. ii. 81-2; Bomb. Sel. xxiv. 169). In 1706 the Marathas and Angrians took three English ships, one of them, the *Diamond* (Madras to Surat and Persia, Captain Whistler, who died of wounds received in the fight), carrying twelve guns and 26 Europeans, with a cargo worth nearly two lakhs of rupees—the Madras merchants lost 30,000 pagodas in her (Letter from T. Pitt, 11th September 1707, B. M. Add. MSS., 22850). They also took a Bombay manchua, some Portuguese vessels and a Dutch hoy with a crew of 26 Dutchmen (Letter from Sir John Gayer, Surat 1st March 1706-7). The last mentioned is, I suppose, the Dutch “Hooker” of which mention is made in the Bombay Consultations of the 21st January 1706-7. Twenty-one Dutchmen had arrived, being all that remained alive of her crew when she was taken by an Angrian fleet of two grabs and eleven gallivats. She was carrying provisions to the Dutch garrison at Surat.

519. On the 23rd October 1707 the English frigates *Oley* and *Horsham* reported at the Cape that they, together with a Company’s ship of 44 guns and two galliots, had fought a whole day’s fight with 21 Malabar pirate vessels which had taken the two galliots. On the 27th the *Araby Merchant* reported that she had had many fights with the Malabarrese (Leibbrandt, *Précis*, p. 139).

**Anglo-Americans.**

520. In August 1706 Captain Thomas White took near Mocha the *Dorothy* (Captain Penruddock) of Madras, a Calicut ship of 400 tons (in which his men got a booty of £200 a man, but missed finding 50,000 sequins hidden in milk jars in the stall where a cow was kept for the old Moor supercargo), a small Portuguese ship and the Ketch *Forgiveness* (Captain Benjamin Stacey. Letter from Sir John Gayer, Surat 1st March 1706-7; Hedges’ Diary, II. 144, III. 107). Johnson says (II. 136-7) that amongst the passengers on the *Forgiveness* were two small children, who wept bitterly at the loss of their whole fortune, viz. some 500 dollars, a silver mug and two silver spoons. White harangued his men, saying how cruel it was to rob innocent children, upon which not only was all restored to them, but a collection was made among the pirates and 100 dollars were added to it, whilst a present was also made to Captain Stacey and his officers. White took the *Dorothy* to St. Mary’s where he joined Halsey as a private man. (7th Nov. 1704. *See para. 508 above."

521. John Halsey came from Boston. His commission was to cruise on the coast of Newfoundland. Instead he sailed to Madagascar, where he took on board some of the crew of the *Deg rawe* East Indiaman, Captain William Young, which was wrecked there in 1701.\textsuperscript{109} It was his intention to attack only Moor ships, but after a temporary deposition by his crew, he consented to make prey of ships of all nations. In the Red Sea he took the *Buffalo* (Captain Buckley) from Bengal and soon after a sloop (Captain Collins), with the deck planks of which the pirates repaired their own brigantine. Then he sailed to the Straits of Malacca, where he met and was chased by the *Albemarle* (Captain Beavis) from China. Halsey was probably the pirate who was reported to have taken off Negrais two ships from Bengal to Achin (Letter from T. Pitt, 5th Feb. 1706-7, B. M. Add. MSS. 22850). Returning via Mascarenhas, where they were supplied with all necessaries by the Governor, to Madagascar, at Hopeful Point near St. Mary’s, they found the *Dorothy* and Captain White and his men, some 90 to 100, settled amongst the natives. Some of them, amongst whom

\textsuperscript{109} According to Robert Drury, she passed the Downs, 17th Feb. 1701 and arrived at Madras in June of the same year.
was White, joined them. Halsey now sailed for the Red sea and learned from a Moor grab, which he took, that there were four English ships near Mocha. These ships left Mocha on the 7th August 1707. They were the Bombay Merchant (or frigate, Captain Samuel Jago 45 Europeans and 18 guns) which had been sent out by the Court of Managers to Mocha in the belief that she, being a good sailor, would be of use in freeing the coast from the Sanganians and other petty robbers that attacked small vessels trading with Bombay (Bombay Cons. 22nd August 1707); the Eagle or Rising Eagle (Captain Chamberlayne, 25 Europeans, and 14 guns); the Essex, Captain Thomas Punt, who in 1703 astonished the Dutch broker at Rajapore by refusing to earn an honest penny by carrying off a ship to the pirate Bowen, "telling him, now he was not ashamed to show his face, but should he be guilty of so base an action he must never see the face of his countrymen again, which made the gentleman change his countenance" (Letter from George Wooley, State Trials, xiv. 1302. She had 12 Europeans on board and carried 10 guns); the Mary (Captain Cornwall, 10 Europeans and 8 guns); and the Unity (Captain Greenhaugh, 20 Europeans and 12 guns). Besides these Europeans they carried about 120 lascars. The next day they met Halsey in the Charles Brigantine. One account says that she had only 50 men, and from 4 to 6 guns, another and more probable one, 90 men and 10 guns. Johnson says (II. 114) that Jago, attempting to board Halsey, his ship was raked by a shot, which, apparently so frightened him that he left his companions to their fate and made off for Bombay, where he arrived on the 22nd August. He said nothing of his cowardly flight. On the 28th October his ship was blown up in a fight with a Sivaji vessel. Ten of his men were killed, but he and the rest of the crew got safely to Bombay (Bomb. Cons. 11th November.). On the 9th December the Council received a letter, dated 26th September from Madras, telling of his misbehaviour. By this time he had been placed in command of the Indiam Frigate, but on the 1st June 1708 he was allowed to resign and go home on the Aurangzeb (ibid., 1st June 1708). After the flight of the Bombay Merchant, Halsey attacked the Eagle which brought to, to receive him, trusting Capt. Jugo would return to her support. She made a good defence, but the guns of the Charles killed or wounded all the officers in the poop. Even so, and after she had surrendered, the mate in command of the men stationed in the forecastle continued to fire on the boarders and killed some of them before he could be convinced that further resistance was useless. Some wished to put him to death, but he, being an Irishman, the Irish and Scotch amongst Halsey's crew insisted on his life being spared. From the prisoners on the Eagle, Halsey learned that the Essex was the richest of the three remaining ships, having come from Jeddah. He therefore allowed the Mary and Unity to escape and went after her. Punt prepared to fight, but as Halsey came up he hoisted the bloody flag as a signal of 'No Quarter,' which so frightened the passengers that they forced Punt to surrender without fighting. From the Eagle Halsey took £10,000 and from the Essex £40,000 (between 30 and 40 chests of silver). He then took some of the officers and Sir John Bennett on board the Charles, and having disabled the Essex, made for Calicut (R. Adams to Surat, Tellicherry 17th September 1707. Surat Records, vol. 101). Captain Cornwall arrived in Madras 7th September 1707. The Europeans of that town had lost 200,000 pagodas by this mishap, for the treasure on the Mary had been sent on board the Essex for security (T. Pitt to J. Dolben, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 22850, ff. 49-50). Soon after, Halsey, meeting the Harriott, again tried the effect of the bloody flag ("with a bloody flag at topmast head") but, after exchanging two or three broadsides "turned tayle, when our ship chased his till night."

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110 None of these five ships was large, being between 100 and 200 tons. Their total force was 112 Europeans, 120 lascars and 62 guns (Letter from T. Pitt, Madras, 12th Sept. 1707. B. M. Add. MSS. 22850. 49-50). Soon after, Halsey, meeting the Harriott, again tried the effect of the bloody flag ("with a bloody flag at topmast head") but, after exchanging two or three broadsides "turned tayle, when our ship chased his till night.

111 Capt. Chamberlayne, his Chief Mate and three or four more were killed. Of pirates 7 were killed and as many wounded. Thos. Pitt to Elihu Yale, Madras, 3 Oct. 1707, B. M. Add. MSS. 22860, f. 71.
f. 92). The pirates, of course, were not over eager to run any great risks when they were gorged with booty. From Calicut Halsey went to Madagascar, where he traded for necessities with the Greyhound, which had been sent by the Governor of Madras to buy back the plunder of the Essex and with the Scotch ship Neptune (Captain James Miller. See para. 508 above). Johnson says that the Company's representatives on the Greyhound incited the pirates to take the Neptune, which, in their eyes, was an Interloper. They bettered this advice and took the Greyhound also, but subsequently released that ship (Johnson, II. 110-116). Halsey apparently died soon after these events. Johnson (II. 117) writes:—"He fell ill of a fever, died and was buried with great solemnity and ceremony; the prayers of the Church of England were read over him, colours were flying and his sword and pistol laid on his coffin, which was covered with a ship's Jack: as many minute guns fired as he was years old six, forty-six, and three English, one French volley of small arms: he was brave in his person, courteous to all his prisoners, lived beloved and died regretted by his own people. His grave was made in a garden of water-melons and fenced in with palisades to prevent his being rooted up by wild hogs, of which there are plenty in those parts." Possibly this religious and ceremonious funeral was due to Captain Thomas White, who, according to Johnson (II. 138) died in Madagascar, very penitent for the wicked life he had been forced to lead. By will he left his money to a companion (who faithfully observed his instructions) for the benefit of his son by a native woman of the country, who was to be sent to England "to be brought up in the Christian religion in the hopes he might live a better man than his father."

522. Many of Halsey's crew settled in Madagascar and some were still to be found there in 1719, for when the St. George (Captain Samuel Lewis) was at St. Mary's, her Log (23rd July 1719) tells us that two Europeans, John Guernsey and Old Nick of Dover came on board to see the Captain. "These I kept on board two nights and entertained them plentifully with liquor, in hopes to sound what might be gathered from them. They faithfully promised me provisions speedily, but I found their tempers much alike (with a downeast eye, not able to look me in the face) very cautious of what they spoke till almost drunk, then they lay themselves open and tell of their loose way of living, bragging in their villainy as bravoes. They acknowledge of their being in the brigantine [i.e. the Charles] that took Chamberlayne, and at the plundering of three Moor ships and bringing away a fourth, which lay sunk in their harbour. This they call the Fair Chance, and they wanted but one hit more and then to go home, for they were aware of their course of life. Their number was now reduced to 17 with about 10 or 12 Mustees and free negroes. That they live separate on the other side upon the Main, some 20 or 30 miles asunder, each having a town to himself and not less than five or six hundred negroes, their vassals, ready to serve 'em upon any expedition. They do not appear to be in any wise concerned for their former ill actions, only in relation to Sir John Bennett, whom they acknowledged they had not used well in taking his goods and money from him after a fair agreement. Thus freely they would talk when warm with liquor, but always cautious when sober. I likewise ask 'em why they did not accept the King's pardon [1718] and go home in time. They told me that they believed it was a sham and would not trust to any unless they had the Great Seal to it. Such impudence and ignorance possess them." Another pirate, a Frenchman named Pierre Jerran told Captain Lewis (Log, 22nd July) "that he and all his company had been on the Account (as they call'd it) but now designed to live honest and steal slaves to sell to such ships as came to trade with them."

112 Probably this refers to the seizure of the goods etc., on the Greyhound after they had been re-purchased by the Company's agents, etc., as has just been mentioned. Sir John Bennett's name occurs in the 1714 "List of sea-faring men," not constant inhabitants of Madras (Love's Vestiges of Old Madras, II. 208, note 5).
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SUPPLEMENT:
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5. In citing the titles of books, give the title in full where it first occurs. In subsequent citations the work may be referred to by the significant words of the title; but abbreviations which may not be at once understood are to be avoided; and, above all, entire uniformity should be observed throughout the article. Where some conventional system of citation is in general use, as in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmanic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in Italics; titles of articles in periodicals, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodical in Italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the Journals of the five principal Oriental Societies (J.A., J.A.O.S., JAB., JHRS., EDMG.) should be adhered to.

6. It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy, good usage differs. A way convenient for author and editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an afterthought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.

7. Contributors are requested to kindly remember that additions and alterations in type after an article is printed in pages, are in many cases technically difficult and proportionately costly; the bill for corrections sometimes amounting to as much as the first cost of composition, and that such alterations entail a most trying kind of labour, not only on the editor and compositor, but on the authors themselves as well, and they are accordingly advised that a careful preparation of their manuscript in the manner above indicated will save both the Editor and themselves much unnecessary trouble.

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Notes and Queries will always be gladly received and inserted in the Indian Antiquary.
By the Editors.

We are happy to publish a photograph of our late colleague, Mr. S. M. Fawcett, and take this opportunity of adding to the obituary notice in last month’s issue, a few lines written by an old friend of his and fellow official in the Indian Civil Service. He writes: “I would draw attention to his amazing powers of work. When doing his very difficult Census of Bombay Town and Island in 1901, he managed to write the whole of the Race of Bombay in his spare time. It was published as one of the volumes of the Census, and was later re-issued in book form with illustrations. I would also like to mention his specially valuable work in connection with the Mohammedans. By putting on a stop to the mob procession he brought to an end the regrettable disturbance that usually accompanied that celebration in Bombay City.”

Land’s Anecdota Syriaca on the Syriacs of Malabar.


Our document, a short history of the Syriacs of the Malabar Coast, comes from the Leyden Academy Library, and was published by Land, not only for the style, but also for the sake of the names and of the subject, as a specimen of the work done in this line by Indians, copies of which had yet appeared. Cf. p. 19.

The MS., numbered 1219, consists of twelve leaves of European paper, measuring 120 x 25-30 centimetres, written in two pages, and containing a “Summary of the history of the Syriacs on the Malabar Coast.” Written by Matthew, a Jacobite priest, it deals with the history of the Syriacs from the time of the Apostle St. Thomas up to the beginning of the 15th century.

The title of the Syriac MS. is: At Gabees Tepkoon L’Sairgge U Tanga Indian Jibahd, which means: “Of what happened to the Syriacs and their history.”

In addition, a historical writing, containing that of MS. No. 1219. Cf. p. 7.

Land did not publish the Syriac text of MS. 1219, for want of proper type. Cf. p. 179. In Nos. 12, he gives a specimen of the writing by reproducing the title above. At pp. 125-127, we have a Latin translation of the text, which we translate into English below. I believe that the Latin translation is by Land, although his correcting some mistakes of spelling and translation at pp. 183-184 would make one conclude the contrary. But see his note in his note to p. 184.

The Syriac text contains about 190 lines, and from Land’s marginal references to Eccl. 21, it is clear that they are verses. The date of the document must be earlier than 1527, since Mar Gabriiel, who died in 1527, is mentioned as alive.

At pp. 129-134 we find a number of notes by Land. Omitting a short initial discussion on the peculiarities of the Syriac writing, we translate the remainder from the Latin as closely as possible.

(Pages 123, 184) Of the things which happened to the Syriacs (on the Malabar Coast) and their Ancestry. (MS. vol., Leyden, Patis. Or. 1219.)

[xxv. 1.] In the year 621 of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord Thomas came into India and landed at Maniur. Here he preached the Gospel to many, whom he made his disciples and baptised in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Next he set out and went to Malabar where he arrived at Moljukara. He preached also to the people of this country and set up to the Lord an altar, for the service of which he added two presbyters. From there he went to Kottakiri, where he built a church, as he also did at Irapoli. 

The names in Syriac type have been kindly transcribed for me by Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum.

Weggis’ Orientalium, T. I. (Leipzig), 1840, p. 122, app., has a verbal description of Codex 1219.

LAND'S ANECDOTA SYRIACA ON THE SYRIANS OF MALABAR.

Translated from the Latin by the Revd. H. Hosten, S.J.


Our document, a short history of the Syrians of the Malabar Coast, comes from the Leyden Academy Library, and was published by Land, not only for the style, but also for the sake of the names and of the subject, as a specimen of the work done in this line by Indians, none of which had yet appeared. Cf. p. ix.

The MS., numbered 1213, consists of two leaves of European paper, measuring 120 x 28.30 centimetres, written on both pages, and containing a "Summary of the history of the Syrians on the Malabar Coast." Written by Matthew, a Jacobite priest, it deals with the history of the Syrians from the time of the Apostle St. Thomas up to the beginning of the 18th century.

The title of the Syriac MS. is: Al Gedesi Dagelos Le Suryoye U Tase Isaiah Dehoen, which means: "Of what happened to the Syrians and their history."

Nestorian writing, resembling that of MS. No. 1212. Cf. p. 7.

Land did not publish the Syriac text of MS. 1213, for want of proper type. Cf. p. 179. In Plate B, No. 12, he gives a specimen of the writing by reproducing the title above. At pp. 123-127, we have a Latin translation of the text, which we translate into English below. I take it that the Latin translation is by Land, although his correcting some mistakes of spelling and translation at pp. 180-184 would make one conclude the contrary. But see his note about San Pablo at p. 184.

The Syriac text contains about 120 lines, and from Land's marginal references to ss. 11, 21, etc., one must conclude that they are verses. The date of the document must be earlier than 1737, since Mar Gabriel, who died in 1737, is mentioned as alive.

At pp. 179-184 we find a number of notes by Land. Omitting a short initial discussion on the peculiarities of the Syriac writing, we translate the remainder from the Latin as closely as possible.

(Page 123.) Of the things which happened to the Syrians (on the Malabar Coast) and their history. (MS. vol., Lugd. Batav. Or. 1213.)

(vs. 1.) In the year 52¹ of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the lord Thomas² came into India and landed at Malipour.³ Here he preached the Gospel to many, whom he made his disciples and baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Next he set out and went to Malabar, where he arrived at Moljakare.⁴ He preached also to the people of this country and set up to the Lord an altar, for the service of which he added two presbyters. From there he went to Kuskajel,⁵ where he built a church, as he also did at Irapeli.⁶

¹ The parts in Syriac type have been kindly transliterated for me by Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum.
² Weyers' Orientalium. T. I. (Leyden, 1840, p. 382 sqq.), has a careful description of Codex 1212.
³ Cf. Land's Anecdota Syriaca, i. p. 1, n. 1.
and Gukamaclam, and Nernam, and Tirubokut. Finally he returned to Mallopur, where he was pierced with a lance by unbelieving gentiles; and his soul rested in peace. After his death India and Malabar was left without a preacher and leader, those excepted who had been made presbyters by the Apostle Thomas.

Now, after 92 years, India and Malabar was made a widow, deprived of priests and presbyters (orbata sacerdolibus et presbyteris), (es. 11) and there were only the faithful of both sexes. However, at that time, there arose a magician, called Manikbos-r, one of the infidels. He too came to Mallupur, where through his magical arts he performed many miracles, scandalized the leaders and chief ones of the faithful and drew them away from the true faith; and there was no one to oppose himself to his orders. On this account the rest of the faithful fled and found an asylum in Malabar. Seeing them, the brethren, the faithful of Malabar, rejoiced with the greatest joy, and, according to the custom of the faithful, they became bound to one another by the ties of affinity. (Page 124.) Afterwards, however, when 160 truly Christian families had long been without presbyters and leaders, a dissension arose among them for what cause I know not; that is, some of them renounced the orthodox faith, and others did not. Those who renounced the faith were 96 families; on the other hand, those who retained the orthodox faith were 64 families.

(es. 21.) At the same time, a vision appeared by night to the metropolitan of Edessa. He arose in the morning and went to the Catholicus of the East, and told him of the vision which he had seen. When the Catholicus had heard it, he sent messengers to all the churches and monasteries and cities of the diocese and called the people to his presence. And when many flocks had met with their bishops and merchants, he related to them what the Bishop had seen, and they spoke together (et collocuti sunt). Then, one of them arose, to wit a merchant called Thomas of Jerusalem, who answered, saying: "Behold, I have ere now heard a report about Malabar and India from foreign countries and men." The Catholicus, hearing his voice, rose from his seat, went to him, embraced him lovingly, and thus addressed him: "I entreat thee, my very dear son, to go to Malabar, to visit the inhabitants of the country, and to tell me what has befallen them." Accordingly, that occasion offering, Thomas of Jerusalem set out for Malabar, and, coming to Moljomkare, he saw the Thomas Christians; and they were mutually pleased, the Christians telling him about their affairs. (es. 31.) Which when Thomas had heard, he gave them courage and exhorted them with kind words; and straightway he embarked and returned to his country. Back in his country, he went to the Catholicus and said to him: "Lo! I have seen with my eyes the Thomas Christians, and we spoke together and were mutually pleased. I left them hopeful and returned." The Catholicus, hearing these words, answered thus: "Although I am ready to lay down my life for them, I ask you to be pleased to tell me what those children of mine most wish me to do." Then he stated to the Catholicus what the Malabar brethren desired. Therefore, not long after, yea in those very days, with the help of the adorable God and by order of the Catholicus of the East, Thomas of Jerusalem, the merchant, went forth again, and with him the Bishop who had seen the vision, and at the same time presbyters and deacons, and also men and women, young men and maidens, from Jerusalem and Baghdad and Ninive, and they entered a ship (Page 125) and left for Malabar, where they landed at Moljomkare in the year 345 of the Lord.

(es. 41.) The Malabars at once recognised them, and they came together for advice to the brethren who had arrived, which done, they went to Serkun, the king of the whole of Malabar, and presented him with gifts. And the king was pleased with them (the gifts ?), and said to them: "I shall give you whatever you ask of me." And he gave them the land which they desired, a very long and very broad piece of ground; besides, he granted them all the royal honours, which were written on copper-plates. Lo! these plates are preserved among us to this day. Having received all this from the king, they returned to Moljomkare to
build a church and town. And they built a church in the country of Kūrānaskīlûr which they had received in gift from the king, and there they erected a town of 472 houses from east to west on both sides, and they duly inhabited it. Now, in those days and subsequently Syrian Fathers used to come by order of the Catholicus of the East, and they took care of the district of India and Malabar, (vs. 51) while the Syrians spread from that town.

Again, in the year 823 Syrian Fathers came, the lord Sapor (Sapores) and the lord Pheroz (Pherozes), and with them Sēbarjes, a famous man. So, they came to the town of Kulam, went to the king S̲-akribrit and asked for lands. The king gave them as much land as they wished. So they too built a church and town in the country of Kulam. Next, after those days, Syrian bishops and metropolitans came oftener (rather often, saepius) by order of the Catholicus, who used to send them.

However, long afterwards, about the year 1500, the deceitful Franks (Franci frauduleti) came to this country of Malabar, and they too began to inhabit Malabar and India. At that time, Syrian Fathers came again, the lord Deni, and the lord Thomas, and the lord Jacob, and the lord Jahbaloh, and, according to ancient usage, they shepherded Malabar and India. (vs. 61.) Then, after those days, in the year 1630, came lord Abraham, a Syrian bishop. When he had come to Malabar, the fierce Franks were jealous of him, and they laid snares to him and tried to kill him; but with the help of Christ our Lord he was saved from their hands. Accordingly, in fear and trembling, he could hardly carry on his office. For, in those days, the Franks, enemies of Almighty God, began to lay snares on the roads where the Syrians walked, to seize them and put them to death. (Page 126.) After the death of the Syrian bishop lord Abraham, during 52 years no bishop came to Malabar. Then, by order of the Pope of Rome, a certain Frank bishop came, who tried to reduce the Syrians to his power, but the Syrians were against him. Then that rebel went to the king of Quqs-in, and gave him a present of thirty thousand double gold pieces, and the king began to harass the Syrians in various ways. That vexatious king oppressed the Syrians during three years, and after those persecutions the Syrians had no strength left them. Therefore, under coercion from the king, they submitted to the Frank bishop. The Franks now began to change the good customs of the Syrians, they forbade the marriages of presbyters and deacons and taught a new and abominable faith. When the Syrians had suffered this 52 years, God deigned to reveal the treachery of the Franks through Patriarch Ignatius, who came to Maiilpur on his way to Malabar. As soon as this Syrian arrived at Maiilpur, the Franks apprehended him, loaded him with chains and took him to Quqs-in, where they drowned him in the waves of the sea. The news of this spread through the whole of Malabar by means of the Syrian deacons then living there. So, all the Syrians assembled at the church of Mūtums, near Quqs-in, and all the Syrians swore that to the end of time they would not obey the Franks, nor those who sowed their seed. (vs. 81.) These words they put down in writing. Amen. Now, when the Syrians had thus separated from the Franks, and the strength of the Syrians had grown after a few years, the bishop of the Franks began to send presents of great value to the priests of the Syrians and to write to them letters secretly. Some of the Syrian priests stealthily accepted these gifts and went at night to the bishop of the Franks; others refused them and would not go. When this had gone on for some time, some of the priests were scandalized, and turned against the bishop; others, not at all; accordingly, a dissension arose among the Syrians, and there were two sides. The Franks overcame the Syrians, because part of the Syrians had betaken themselves to the Franks and the Franks solicited the king and nobles with presents to vex the Syrians.

But at that time came a faithful Amirol, a just judge, the chief of the whole of India and Malabar, who extirpated all the Franks from Quqs-in (Page 127) and from all the towns roundabout India. So did Josua exterminate the Canaanites and the other nations.
From that time to this day joy was prepared for the side of the Syrians, and for the side of the Franks sadness. The Syrians obey the Syrian Fathers, who, by order of the Catholicus of the East, came from Jerusalem and Nineve and Bagdad, whereas the Franks obey the Frank bishops, who come from Rome and other provinces by order from the Pope of Rome.

Again, in the year 1705, by order of the Catholicus of the East, came lord Gabriel, Syrian Metropolitan, and he saw both sides, and that there were many Syrians who had turned to the Franks, that they walked in all the abominable customs of the Franks and oblivious of the foundation and root of the Syrian priests, that the priests of the Syrians who had turned to the Franks did not, like their fathers the Syrian priests, take wives, but repre-
hended just marriages in the priests of both sides, and that, therefore, from those days onward and in future, (vs. 101) all the Malabar Syrians would adhere to the Franks, who day and night were exerting themselves. Therefore, lord Gabriel, the Syrian Metropolitan, embraced neither the Syrians his kinsmen nor the Syrians who had followed the Franks, but remained so to say in the middle between them, in the hope of bringing back the Syrian followers of the Franks. On that account, very many Syrians of both sides came to him, and of those who adhere to the Franks forty-two. To-day, however, through the deceit and exertions of the Carmelites and Franciscans(!), twenty churches have fallen away from him.

But, illustrious and blessed masters ours, be pleased to learn that, provided the chief prefect and blessed king of the whole of India and Malabar help this humble Syrian—the two sides will return to the Syrian fold and that the Franks will not for ever lord it in India.

Handwriting of Matthew, the poor, humble, and vile Syrian Priest. Amen.

Notes by Land.

(Page 179) About the Malabar Christians of St. Thomas see especially (Page 180) J. S. Asse-
man's Bibl. Or., vol. IV, pp. 25 sqq. and 435 sqq.; Cl. Buchanan, Christian Researches in Asia, 3rd edition, Edinburgh, 1812, p. 99 sqq.; Ch. Swanton, A Memoir of the Primitive Church of Mala-
yia, etc., in Journal of the Asiatic Society, No. II, London, Nov. 1834, and No. III, Febr. 1835; C. Ritter, Erdkunde, Bd. V, Berlin, 1835, pp. 601 sqq., 945 sqq., where most of the things said by others are carefully collected. As for my remark (at p. 8 of this volume) that the Amsterdam Public Library has another copy of our volume, I have found out that this was not very accurate: there are, however, rather long Syriac letters written by Bishop Thomas to Schaaf, of which I shall speak by and by. I derived almost nothing for my purpose from Missions in South India, by the Rev. Joseph Mullens, London, 1854 (but printed at Calcutta).

1 Ve. 1 sqq. In the year 52. Whish, Asiat. Journal, New Series, VI. (in Swanton, II, 177) says: "The Jews say St. Thomas arrived in India in A.D. 52, and themselves in the year 69."

2 The lord Thomas. On Thomas, the Apostle of India, see chiefly Ritter's discussion (op. cit.) after Neander (Kirchengesch. I). Those who have written on this subject seem to have forgotten too much three things: 1. That in the first centuries there was a tendency to assign to each of the Apostles of Jerusalem a special country, whereas it seems to be clear from Paul's epistles that they were loth to spread the Gospel beyond the limits of Judaism. 2. That Mesopotamia and Babylonia had long been before been connected by trade with India. 3. That the name and story of Thomas of Jerusalem could easily be confused by the Malabars with the story of the Apostle. But this is not the place for a fuller discussion of the Thomas legends.

3 Mailapum. In the MS. with pétōh. with the lower dot (long 'eōp'). After this, the same word is written 'Mailapō' with σαγόφ. Lacroute (in Assem., op. cit., 449): Melpora; Buchanan (op. cit.); Melaçoar; Swanton, II. 172: Mailapdr. However, Thomas is said to have come from the islands of Dioscoris [Sokota] to Cranganor, next to have gone finally to Melpor (Assem., 435, Buchanan, Swanton).

4 Moljokar. No vowel-points here; but at vs. 30 and 40 the vowels o-o-a are added. Lacroute: Maveliar; Buchanan: 106: Mavelyar; Mullens: 129: Mavelikurnar (i.e., Mavelikurnar).

5 Dr. Mingana's translation of this and of the letter of Bp. Thomas (i.e. b below) is given in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. 10, No. 2, July 1926.—T. K. J.

6 Where Land does so, does not appear, though I have searched his four volumes of Anecdota Syriaca.

7 Nis.
5 KuTKajel. Vowels shown : a-o-a. Lacroze : Calicut, a well-known town, the name of which is seen to be composed of the same elements as KuTKajel.
6 IraPeli. Vowels shown : i-a-e-i. Buchanan, 125 ; Verapoli ; Lacroze : Ignapeli.
7 GuKamaGlam. Vowels shown : a-a-a. The Mangalan of Lacroze ?

9 TirakotA. Vowels i-d-o-u. The Tecaneute of Lacroze ? Possibly, rather, Travancore (Swanton : Travuncor) ?

10 Malabar. In the MS. everywhere Milbar.
11 Vs. 11 sqq. MantKor. Vowels : i-o-o. Others too speak of a persecution by the Brahmas and of a flight to the Malabar Coast. So, do not think of a Manichean.
12 Truly Christian families. Baitöö ; perhaps we should understand communities or churches.
13 Renounced the orthodox faith. It seems therefore that Gnosticism or Manicheism or even Arianism crept in from Babylonia.
14 Vs. 21 sqq. The metropolitan of Edessa. I hardly believe this, because the Edessan writers say nothing of it. For want of a name, they seem to have dragged in the name of the famous Edessa. Others have nothing about the dream.
15 To the Catholics of the East. He ruled over Babylonia, Assyria, and the Christians subject to the Sassanians, and was said to have derived his dignity from the Apostle Thomas. Others (Swanton, II, 176) speak of Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch.
16 And their merchants. A picture of the Syro-Malabar community, which, besides clergy and merchants, people skilled in many things, comprised mostly husbandmen, and fishermen. I say Syro-Malabar, not as if it was chiefly composed of Syrians, but because it was imbued with Syrian Christianity : for it is certain that in that church a very large number of natives was mixed up with a few born in Babylonia and other countries.
17 And they spoke together. We should even write : his very words.
18 Thomas of Jerusalem. The 'Thomas Cana' of the Portuguese (Lacroze in Assem., op. cit., p. 442 sqq.); 'Cana' (Swanton, loc. laud.) seems to be a misprint. Wrede (Asiatic Researches, VII) has 'Thome Caname', which he seems to have taken from other Portuguese writers; from this there is but a step to 'Canasamum' ('Canasamum' in Assem. 27, quoting Bammage and Smeded), which may be compared with our 'of Jerusalem'. There is no question at all of Thomas, Manes' discipie (Assem., 28 sq. and Flugel's Mind, s. Lehre u. s. Schriften, etc., Leipzig, 1862, 174 n. 62), though it is maintained that Manes himself wrote to the Indians.

* (Fahristael-odin in Flügel, 73). Our Thomas is called Armenian and Arian (Swanton, 176). I do not know on what authority, unless perhaps armagjo and Ariga usage for Origenes. Surely, the Catholics of the East did not send an Arian to India.
19 Vs. 31 sqq. from Jerusalem and Bagdad, and Nineves. That is from all the Aramean countries.
20 In the year 345 of the Lord. 'The native historians, however, from their own (Page 182) annals and traditions recount that, up to the year of Our Lord 345, after the first propagation of Christianity by St. Thomas, there were no foreign bishops or priests amongst the Christians of India, and that they had but a few places of worship, built after the form of Hindu pagodas of the country, till Mar Thomas, by the direction of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, assumed charge of their Church, and introduced amongst them several bishops and priests, as also many Christians, men, women, and children, from foreign countries.' (Swanton, II, 176.)
21 Vs. 41 sqq. Serskan. The vowels shown are : e-u. Swanton (II, 181) and Lacroze : Sharan Pemaur (t.e., Pemal or Pemur).
22 Kärmakikir. One vowel ā, at the end. Lacroze (in Assem. IV, 449) : Caramulur.
23 Syrian Fathers. First they belonged to the Catholic faith; later, after the Eastern Syrians had embraced Nestorius' tenets, they became, as they are commonly called, Nestorians. However, the Metropolitan who ruled at the beginning of this century, condemned both Nestorius and Chalcedon in the profession of faith which he presented to the English (Buchanan, 117). Only a Monophysite could have done so.
24 Catholicus of the East. This title is assumed both by the Jacobite Maphrian (cf. Assem., B.O. II, in his discussion on the Monophysites) and by the Nestorian Catholicus (cf., IV, 620).
25 Vs. 51 sqq. The lord Sapor and the lord Peroz. They are called Sābūr and Pīrīt, without vowel points. These are Persian names. Some say that Saul and Ambrose were sent by the Nestorian Patriarch, and were brought from Babylon to Quilon by one Job, a merchant, in the year 825 (Swanton, 178) ; others speak with our author of Sapor and Peroz (or Peroz); but, to my knowledge, they are wrong in shifting the date to the year 922 (Assem. 442). Our author gives the year 823. The Job of other writers seems to be Sēbarje-ūn.
26 Kuwan. Only the vowel ā is marked. Coulon or Quilon is the common spelling.
27 S-akibiritt. Vowels shown : a, and the second and third i. The King's name is not given by other writers.
28 And asked for lands. Add : where they might build a church and found a city for themselves.
29 After those days. Better : after the days of those.

* Three words in Arabic type are omitted here by me.—H.H.
About the year 1500, the deceitful Franks. The name of the Franks was familiar to the Syrians at the time of the Crusades. Barbeheus also uses it for 'Europeans.' Here it applies to the Portuguese, who in 1498 came to India under Vasco da Gama. For their history see J. de Barros, Asia (Venice, 1562, and often republished). Calling them deceitful (σειτ) was already an old custom. (Cl. pp. 6, 82, 87.) On the other hand, about the year of the world 6121, a certain Athanasius is called in Theophanes κακοῦργος τῆς Συρίας κακοῦργος, and the fact is that, long before, the Syrians had been held in contempt by the Romans.

31 Ex. 61 sqq. Abraham. Assemani tells us, however, (B.O., IV. 447) that, as early as 1578, (Page 183) at the third Synod of Goa, he had condemned the Nestorians. Although he had formally acknowledged the Pope of Rome and had even been created by him Archbishop of Angamale, the Portuguese laid snare to him (Swanston, II. 184).

32 A certain Frank Bishop. Aleixo do Menezes, who in 1599 held the Synod of Diamper, where he burned the books of the Syrians, and ordered to change their rites and customs and even their doctrine.

33 Qvins. With q. d. a Commonly Cochin.

34 Double gold pieces. In Spanish: 'doblones de oro.'

35 Ex. 71 sqq. — 52 years. I.e., from 1601 to 1653 (Assem., B.O., IV. 447).

36 Ignatius. This is also the name given him in the Malabar documents seen by Swanston (189); others, he says, call him Attila. Assemani (loc. laud.) calls him 'Ahatalla.' It is the same name as we saw already above (ad Litt. Chal. p. 53v), with add: 'the slave Aithales' from the jurisconsult Scaevola L. 24. D. de lege Corn. de falsis 48: 10. According to Assemani, 'the Nestorians had heard that Bishop A., whom they had asked for from their Patriarch, had died while kept in prison by the Portuguese.' Swanston (p. 190) writes: 'The fate of Malabar Ignatius was not known,' etc.

37 By means of the Syrian deacons. Menezes had deposed all the native priests and bishops.

38 Mithunseri. Vowels: o—a—e. Swanston (189 sqq.): Alanghât. Assem. (loc. laud.): 'Making a conspiracy at Matanger, Rapolin and Mangate, they proclaimed as Bishop the Archdeacon Thomas de Campo and had him consecrated by twelve priests.'

39 Nor those who sowed their seed. Correct: nor their children.

40 Ex. 81 sqq. A Bishop of the Franks. Francisco Roz, of the Society of Jesus. Hero, for 'Bishop' we have the word bispe, which is the Portuguese word Bispo. The pronunciation with the letter b unless it be Portuguese also, may have come from the Sanscrit vispa, 'lord.'

41 Amriot. Vowels: a—o. Not the Spanish word 'almirante,' but the Dutch word 'amiraal.' There is question of the Dutch Captain Ryklof van Goems, who took Cochin in 1653. Cf. Ph. Baklaens, Beschrijving der Indische kosten Malabar ende Coromandel, Amsterdam, 1672, p. 120, and Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oostindien, IV, 308. The Indians of Batavia in their historical poems also apply wrongly the title 'amiral' to other captains of those times.

42 Ex. 91 sqq. Gabriel. Assemani (loc. laud.) says that Gabriel, Metropolitan of Adoribansa, went to that country; see (ibid., p. 299 sqq.) his profession of faith in favour of the Roman Church; he shuffled off this mortal coil (laream caeli), as Assemani puts it, in 1716.


44 Of the Franciscans? Vade Sampūt. No doubt 'San Pablo,' i.e., St. Paul is meant; but I had not discovered whether the Franciscans or the Dominicans, or, perhaps, the Jesuits had a St. Paul's Church at Goa. At Rome, as far as I know, only the Benedictines and Cistercians have a church dedicated to St. Paul; but neither help our case. However, afterwards, I learned who they were from a codex in the Royal Academy (which see under No. 8 in Weyers' Catalogue lately printed by de Jong), J. H. Schwea explaining the name Saint-Paulites by 'Jesuits' in his letter of April 12, 1732, p. 14. (Land adds in Anecdota Sacra, II. 19: 'Nowadays, in Italy, the Jesuits are still called 'Paolotti.'')

45 Masters ours. He addresses the XVII Directors of the Dutch India Company. Already before 1729 he seems to have sent to Charles Schiaf a petition of the kind, addressed to them: for Schiaf, in his last letter of that year, tells the Bishop not to send copies of Malabar books, our scholars not understanding them; however, a copy of a Malabar book was added to our document.


(To be continued.)
DHARVARSHA PARMARA OF ABU AND HIS INSCRIPTIONS.

By R. R. HALDER.

Dhārvarsha was a famous ruler among the Parmāras of Abu. He is popularly known in Rājputānā as ‘Dhār Parmārā’. The word Parmāra denotes the name of the family and is derived, as has been supposed, from the name of the man, who arose from the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vaśiśṭha on Mount Abu, and was considered by the latter as one who would take delight only in killing his enemies, and was thus named.1

Dhārvarsha was a son of Yaśodhavāla, who was a feudatory of the Solaṅki ruler Kumārapāla of Gujarāt. When Kumārapāla waged war against Mallikārjuna of northern Kauṅkaṇa, Dhārvarsha led his forces and greatly contributed towards victory. In the Tāju’l-Ma’aqīr, we find that Dhārvarsha and Rāi Karan were the two commanders of the Hindu army, which had collected at the foot of Mount Abu, when, in the middle of the month of Safar A.H. 593 (January, A.D. 1197), the world-conquering Khusrū [Quṣbu’ddin I-bak] turned his face towards the annihilation of the Rāi of Naharvālā (Anhilvālā).2 Though the Hindus faced defeat in this battle, nevertheless, in a previous one fought against Shihābudd in Ghūrī at that place in the A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178), they had won victory. “Tod asserts that it was at this very place [Nadole3] that ‘Mahmūd’s arms were disgraced, the invader wounded and forced to relinquish his enterprise”’.4 It is also clearly written in the description of the battle with Quṣbu’ddin I-bak that “the Musalmāns did not dare to attack them [the Hindus] in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sulṭān Muhammad Sām [Shihābuddin] Ghūrī had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander”5

Dhārvarsha was the contemporary of the four Solaṅki rulers of Gujarāt, namely, Kumārapāla, Ajaipāla, Mūlarāja II and Bhimdeva II. After the accession of Bhimdeva II, many of his ministers and chiefs threw off his yoke, and became independent.6 Dhārvarsha was among them, but, when the Yādava king Siōghāna of Deccan and Sulṭān Shamsuddin Altamash of Delhi attacked Gujarāt, he prepared to render help to the king of Gujarāt along with other kings of Mārwār.8

Dhārvarsha was also very brave and extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions. In the Pāṭanārāyaṇā inscription8 of Saṁvat 1344 (A.D. 1287), it is mentioned that he could kill three buffaloes with one arrow. In support of this statement, we can still see on the margin of a big kuṇḍa (reservoir), called Mandākini, outside the temple of Achalēśvara on Mount Abu, an image of Dhārvarsha with bow in hand, drawn at three life-size stone buffaloes, standing in its front with a hole right across their bodies.

Up to the present, one copper plate and 14 stone inscriptions of the time of Dhārvarsha have been discovered by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar H. Ojha, curator of the Rajputana Museum.

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3 It was not, however, Nādole but Kāyadrā, a village at the foot of Mt. Abu. Kāyadrā is also called Kāsākhra (Ep. Ind., vol. IX, p. 77, verse 36), which is wrongly identified by Prof. Bührer, see p. 73, ibid., and also Ep. Ind., vol. I, p. 229. See also Ep. Ind., vol. VIII, p. 296, n. 2.
4 Raverty’s Tābuṣka-i-Nāsīrī, p. 322 n.
6 जानवरोपाय समझने वाले तत्त्वज्ञानी: चारों दिशाएँ। अजरूल भूतानाय सिंहवाक वालोऽस्मिन ||

Someśvar’s Kirtiksaṃvat, canto 2, verse 61.

8 Hamramadamananda of Jayasimhsastri, p. 11. In it the Sulṭān is called ‘Mlecohbarāja’, ‘Mila-ehrikāra’, etc. The latter is a changed form of Amir-i-shikāra, an office assigned to his slave Altamash by Quṣbu’ddin I-bak (note 4 above, p. 603).
9 एकचालननिहित विविधानम् के निरीक्षा कुरुरूपाङ्गतः |

verse 15 (From original impression).

Museum, Ajmer. The earliest is dated Sāñvat 1220 (A.D. 1163) and the latest Sāñvat 1276 (A.D. 1219), engraved on a marble pillar on the bank of a tank at a little distance from the village Makāval in Sirohi State. From these, it is evident that Dhāhrāvarsha ruled at least for a period of fifty-six years.

He was succeeded by his son Sōmāsināha, who is said to have inherited bravery from his father and learning from his uncle Prahlādana, younger brother of Dhāhrāvarsha. It was this Prahlādana, who was sent by Dhāhrāvarsha to the help of the Gurjara king Ajaipāla, (and not Bhūmdēva II) as shown in my former article, when the latter was attacked by Sāmantasimha of Mewār.

This long reign of Dhāhrāvarsha gives rise to a fact, which proves the story narrated in Forbes's Rāsmālā relating to the rule of Jaiśi Pamār at Abū, the marriage of his daughter Ichchhāni with Prithvirāja, and the fight between Bhūmdēva II of Gujarāt and Sōmēsvara, to be utterly baseless. It will not be uninteresting to give here a summary of the story as given in the above book. It runs as follows:

"Ajaipāla's younger brother, Bhūmdēva II, called also 'Bholo', ascended the throne in A.D. 1179 and reigned thirty-six years. In these times, Rājā Bholo Bhūm Dēva was the ornament of Anhilpoor in Gujarāt-land. He was like the deep ocean in power; he led an invincible four-limbed army; the three Lōks sought the protection of the Chāluk Rā; he possessed ships that sailed to Sindh; his military posts were in the land of Dhārā.

"Jaiśthee Pamār at this time ruled at Abū. He has a son named Salakh and a daughter, Ichhāni Kumārī, who was very beautiful and praised by every one. Bhūm-Dēva formed the design of marrying her. His dreams were full of visions of Ichhāni. He sent Umar Singh, a servant of his, to Abū to demand the hand of the Pamār princess, but she was already betrothed to the son of the Chohān.

"The ambassador [said] 'O! Mountain-lord, Bholo Veer, the Chālūk, having heard of Ichhāni, forgets her not; he demands that you betroth her to him; if you give her to the Chohān [Prithvirāja] he will cast you from the battlements of Abu-garh'. Jaiśthee also spoke, 'In the land of Maru there are nine millions of good warriors; eighteen royal seats belong to Abu-garh. It is well to maintain my royalty or else to die'. With this answer he dismissed the ministers of Bhūm. Writing a letter with his own hand, he sent to hasten the marriage of Ichhāni with the son of Sōmēsvara.

"When Bholo Bhūm heard of these occurrences, it was as if some one had struck him on the face. He sent for his ministers and bade them instantly prepare; 'Who is this that lays hold on the sleeping lion', [said he]. From Pattan he sent orders in all directions—to Kutch and to Soreth. A vast army assembled from all sides. Bholo Bhūm arrived at Abū and pitched his tents. He surrounded the fort on all sides. The armies of the Pamār and the Chālūk joined battle; for many days the contest raged; Salakh and Jaiś at length gave back; but fighting as they retired, they reddened the earth with blood. Bhūm pressed on; he beheld Achales'var; the Pamārs fled to Maru-land, they left the fort to the Chālūk; he ascended triumphantly to the summit of Abū.

"Then the Chohān was attacked. [In the heart of Bhūm], Sōmēsvar of Sāmbhur rankled. 'Now will I take his land, the enemy crushing; I will make a rule under one umbrella'. From hither and thither the army collected as a river fed by dependant streams. The good warriors seemed full of joy, smiling as at sunset smiles the ocean; they were eager to fight in company with their sovereign, as a wife is eager to burn in company with her lord.

10 पादार्पणमें 54 जनविशिष्ठ आंविष्ठगति में विशिष्ट गातानि विशिष्टकाहारमुख्यतया सूत्रम् || २५ ||

11 Ep. Ind., vol. VIII, p. 211.

"When the troops arrived in Someśvar's territories, the inhabitants left their houses and fled. The country was plundered. The armies joined battle,—Sōm, desirous of fight, and Bhim, that never turned back in war. The drums sounded, swords began to rattle; for three hours arrows and other missiles rained upon Kun [the Chohān]; at last, Bhim's force fled. Someśvar Chohān and Bhim fought a terrible fight. Many on both sides were wounded yet no one left the field or fled. Someśvar himself rushed on. The field of battle seemed like a dark and stormy night in the rains when a conflagration rages in the mountains. Someśvar Chohān fell in this field, hacked to pieces."

"Rājā Prithvirājā heard of the battle; he recalled the remains of his army. He determined on taking revenge for his father. He vowed a vow that he would wear no turban. He prepared an army to execute his purpose of revenge, but determined first to take his seat on the throne, and then to go to the war. In the prescribed manner, at Nigumbodh, where Yudhishthrā received initiatory rites, Prithvirāja's royal union was performed. The women sung their solemn hymns. The cry of 'Conquer! Conquer! Prithvirāja!' sounded. It seemed as if Indra were assuming the throne of the celestial city. The dress of Ichhāni was tied in a knot with his; they shone like the King of Heaven and his spouse. Great joy reigned.

"In the heart of Prithvirāja, Bhim continually rankled; his rage was like fire, not to be extinguished but by the death of his foe. At sunrise the warriors assembled. Prithvirāja thus addressed them all: 'To take revenge for Someš, let us prepare an army and fight with the Gūjar, king of men. Let us dig up Chāluk from the roots'.

"The Chohān summoned his troops; at the appointed hour the drum sounded. He led the troops outside the city. Troops arrived at Sāmbhur from all sides. War music roared. Prithvirāja advanced to destroy the houses of Gujārat. Evening came on; they pitched their tents on the ground on which they stood. Kun was near the Rājā; Jait and Salakh, the chiefs of Abu. When one watch of the night remained, they determined to follow the chase. [They looked for omens.]

"The sun arose. Prithvirāja said 'It is needless to look for omens—the day of battle is the day of pleasure to the warrior'. [The army] advanced to destroy the land of Pattan. Sixty-four thousand were they in number. Prithvirāja gave the royal umbrella to Kun, his kinsman.

"Hearing that the valiant warrior had arrived near Pattan to take revenge for his father, Bhim raged like a snake. The two armies arrived within sight of each other, balls began to fly from the tubes; fire arrows flew into the air. On one side Kun Chohān, on the other Sārang Makwāna fought like lions. Warlike men attained in a moment the place, which with painful labour, the devotee attains. At length the Cāluk's army took to flight. The Sāmbhur Rājā struck at Bhim. Bhim Dēva, seated in a celestial chariot, took the road to the city of the Soors. Thus Prithvirāja took revenge for his father'.

It is needless to dilate upon the whole story. It will suffice to consider only a few points in it.

Up to now, several inscriptions of Someśvara have been discovered of which the latest is dated s. 1234 (A.D. 1177) and was found at Ānumālā in the Jahāzpūr district of Mewār. Similarly, among the several inscriptions of Prithvirāja, the earliest is dated s. 1236 (A.D.

14 चौथे १२ श्रेष्ठ श्रीमान्यासावराण्यांतरिक्षेतरसम( ल २)वेशसमावराण्य (ग्वे) वेंसरा- चेंबराचे . . . संवत् १२३४ नांद द्वारे २ फुटचे . . . (unpublished).
15 संवत् १२३६ चापाड वर्ष ५१२ श्रीप्रत्येकाणाते वागर्भसल्लावणु . . . (unpublished).
1179) and was found at Lohārī in the same district. From these, we may infer that the death of Sōmēśvara and accession of his son Prithvirājā took place between Saṅvats 1234 and 1236 (A.D. 1177 and 1179). We also know that Bhīmdeva I. of Gujarāt ascended the throne in 1235 or 1179 A.D.18 That is to say that the death of Sōmēśvara had occurred before Bhīmdeva came to the throne. Hence, we cannot believe that Bhīmdeva fought a battle with Sōmēśvara. So, also a battle between Prithvirājā and Bhīmdeva was not possible, as the former had no such cause for it as is described in the story. Next, we see that Dhārāvarsha ruled from Saṅvats 1220 to 1276 (A.D. 1163 to 1219). Consequently it was impossible for any other ruler to rule at Ābū during the period of his reign. Thus, it naturally follows that the story about Jaitshī Pāmār’s rule at Ābū and the marriage of Prithvirājī (A.D. 1179–92) with his daughter Ichhani is fictitious. The names Jaitshī, Salakh, and Ichhani seem to be purely imaginary.

Hence, judging from the accounts of the story as well as from the period of Dhārāvarsha’s rule, we cannot but conclude that the whole of the story is a myth.

This story is in all probability based on Prithvirāj-Rāṣṭrīya, which is composed of many such fabrications of the bard at a period much later than that of Prithvirāj III, the hero of the book. They will be dealt with in my next paper.

*Three Inscriptions of Dhārāvarsha.*

These inscriptions are now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, and are important only for their dates, which have a bearing on the subject of this article. The surface of the inscriptions is broken at many places and, consequently, many letters are indistinct. The characters are Nāgari of the thirteenth century A.D. Their text is a mixture of Sanskrit and vernacular, and is full of mistakes.

Inscription No. I contains fourteen lines of writing, of which lines 7 and 14 are indistinct. Lines 1–6 record that on Saturday, the 15th day of the bright half of Jyēśṭha, s. 1220 (A.D. 1163), Mahārājādhīrāj Mahāmāndālēśvara, the illustrious Dhārāvarshadēva, granted a ṭhāna for the redemption of (tax) on Pulahali (a village) belonging to Bhaṭṭāraka Dēvēśvara of the temple of Kāśēśvara by the prince Pālānandēva. Lines 6–7 show that something was granted by Bāl (Bālmōt) Kahlha, but nothing can be made out of it. Lines 8–9 contain the names of witnesses Vijayārājī (Vijayārāja), son of Vāhāḍa and Dedā, son of Dejā. Then follows the usual imprecatory verse. Lines 13–14 say that a field was granted by Amāṭya Śivānuśa, an inhabitant of the village of Vāsana.

Inscription No. 2 contains only four lines, and is dated Monday, the 4th day of the bright half of Asōj (Āsvina) Saṅvats 1271 (A.D. 1214). It records the grant of one halavēha of land (the area that can be tilled with one plough in a day) at the village Sāvāḍa Vṛiddha (now known as Bādi Anval) by Dhārāvarsha to a merchant named Amāpa.

Inscription No. 3 is broken into two pieces, and is dated Magha Śudi Pūṇam Saṅvats 1274 (A.D. 1218). It was found in a temple of Śiva. The purpose of the inscription is not clear, but it appears from its text that it probably records the vow of certain persons to observe festivity for two days on the day of Mahārātri (Śivarātri), during the prosperous reign of Dhārāvarsha, son of Yāsodhavāladeva, born in the family of Dhumārāja (Dhumārāja). The names of the persons are Rāṇā Vaijā, son of Vaijāsi, and Lakhāmī, Kamaṇa, Śovā etc., sons of Rāṭhāuda (Rāṭhōr) Āṇā, belonging to the family of Hathundi Rājputs (ll. 1–12). Then it contains the name of the Āchārya Bolhā, who seems to be the bhāṭṭāraka of the temple. Lines 14–17 contain the imprecatory verse, while the lines that follow next seem to have been added later by some persons.

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Inscription No. 1.
Text.

Inscription No. 1.

1. जो || गांव || श्नाति || आयु || १२२० || जेहां || थु[चु] दि
2. १५ || शनिंहिने || सोमपरवे || महाराजापि—
3. राजनमपांडलेखसारवरीधरारवरवी—
4. न शासन || परम् || भीकारवेववेदरीवम—
5. द्वारकदेववेदरसय || पुलवलीसय
6. मानवन: || आकृति || शालियाने || वां—
7. लो || केल्हेन || प्रदेंत् || .
8. — गीतारय ओशोने || गोमें || पि || शानति || वां—
9. हेदुंचत्रवर || देवनवलुको || सारति || दे—
10. — सारति || माणन || जो || (यो) || प्रदेष || प्रवदेष || वां—
11. रे || मूर्ति || मरारिये || पुनः || मनि || कल्लेन ||
12. नामांवादावलके || मंगल || (तो) || मदिरी || [?][?]
13. वासगामानवालके || मातिशिवसिल श्री—
14. लोंचे || प्रदेंते—.

Inscription No. 2.

1. संवत || १२७१ || वर्षों आशोक सुवि || सोमे
2. महामंडलेक्षर भीरारावकेश्वर देवेन
3. कर्मयेव साहचत्रुद्दमूलमहेश्वर—
4. वारू || प्रशोधन प्रदेशत

Inscription No. 3.

1. संवत || १२७४ || माघ—
2. फाल्गुन || [म] || घे
3. [तो] || मवहरिप्रेष || भैरो—
4. मराघंतवासेनसप—
5. राज्यवृत्तभीराहव—
6. ब्रजवराजये || विवेकीरा—
7. हसू || (सु) || नरवराजना हार—
8. चित्रदीवसेनरावरपत—
9. नासू || (सु) || तलपसशिहक—
10. मणसोमाकास—

11. . . . . . [म.]
12. हरामे || मासमध्ये || दि—
13. न २ || आचारिये || मेलत्रू—
14. त प्रधम || [पूर्वम] || रम || बास्थ्य || [ची]
15. जे || वनसो || राणा || भवन्तित
16. तस्यात्तरालम्बनिप || [?]
17. रम || शें || न || चारल .
18. [लालादुजुङ्जुङ]
19. [वु. . . सुत] || [महावेणे] [भुनिङ]

17 Read कवीचे
18 Read "वर"
19 Read "वर"
20 Read प्रथम
t21 Read प्रथम
t22 Read प्रवर्त
23 Read प्रथम
t24 This and the following line is vernacular.
25 Read प्रवर्त
t26 Read चामरे
27 Read हरे
28 Read चामरे
29 Read कालिदा
30 Read कालिदा
31 Read चामरे
32 Read कालिदा
33 Read प्रस्तावन
t34 Read वेदां
35 Read भाषां
36 Read वेदां
37 Read यामनयं
38 Read वेदां
39 Read वेदां
40 Read वेदां
BRAHMA-VIDYĀ AND SUFISM.

By UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.

Von Kremar in his book on Islamic Culture (Khuda Bukhs's Translation, p. 108), makes a bold statement about the influence of Brahma-vidyā or Vedantism on Sufism. He says: "I wish to show that the real Sufism, as it finds expression in the various orders of the Dervishes, which I sharply distinguish from the simple ascetic movement which appeared in the earliest Christianity and even in the earliest Islam, owes its origin mainly to the school of Indian Philosophy, which is known as that of the Vedanta School."

And how does Von Kremar proceed to prove it? "The proof that I will adduce," he goes on to say, "is based upon enquiries and research." These 'enquiries and research' are, however, nothing more than a parallel discovered between the practices followed by certain orders of Dervishes and similar 'yoga' practices of the Vedanta School. "With the growth of the ecstatic and rapturous tendencies," we are told again, "numerous orders of Dervishes sprang up in Islam. Every one of these orders of Dervishes had its own secret rules and procedures disclosed only to the initiated. They were mainly concerned with the mode of bringing about mystic ecstasy." There are, of course, noticeable differences in these rules in the different orders: One, for instance, enjoins meditation in a separate, dark room, 'accompanied by severe fasting and castigation'; another prescribes chanting of litanies until the senses are exhausted and visions present themselves to the benumbed mind; and a third advises 'dances and movements of the body', 'with musical accompaniments and singing of hymns'.

About these secret rules of the various orders, however, Von Kremar goes on to say, "there is very little trustworthy information". Happily he has lighted, he says, "upon a text which contains the rules of the Naqshbandi Order". Precise information is given there as to how spiritual exercise is to be conducted for the purpose of bringing about the desired ecstasy in the mind of the Dervish.

These rules are principally rules for the regulation of the breath, just as it was practised among Hindu yogins, technically called by them 'prāṇayāma' (including the threefold process of pūraka, kumbhaka and recaka). Into the details of these rules we need not enter; the fact of similarity has been generally admitted and need not be disputed; but the question is:—Were they borrowed from the Hindus by the Sufis, as Von Kremar suggests?

Similarity in itself does not indicate borrowing either way, nor does it even prove that one system was acquainted with the other. In religion and philosophy, remarkable parallels are often found which are of independent origin. The mere fact of similarity, therefore, does not warrant us in holding that Sufism borrowed from Hinduism. Authentic, historical information is necessary to justify a conclusion like this.

Von Kremar quotes a passage from "the great encyclopedic work Naf'a'is̲u-l-funūn," where a direct reference to the Indian yogi is found. The passage runs as follows: "The sciences of breathing and imagination . . . . The Indians value these two sciences very highly, and whenever any one attains perfection in them, they call him a yogī and reckon him among the holy spirits. The founder of these two sciences, they say, is Kāmāk Dyw. They call spiritual beings Dyw . . . ."

'Dyw' is apparently the Sanskrit word deva. But who is this Kāmāk? No matter who he was, it is obvious that the author of Naf'a'is̲u-l-funūn took him to be an Indian and possibly a Hindu. And a knowledge of the so-called science of breathing is also attributed to the Indians; and, by implication, it is perhaps also suggested that such knowledge, in the same degree at least, was not to be found anywhere else.

Von Kremar quotes yet another authority in support of his contention that Yoga practices migrated from Hindu India to the Islamic world. His own words are: "In the Dubistān.
it is said of the Indian yogis: 'Among them the restraining of the breath is held in great esteem, such as was practised among the Persians by Azar Hushang and by the kings of those people.'

This is practically all the proof that Von Kremer has to produce in support of his theory. But one has to confess that the passages are not conclusive as to borrowing by the Sufis from the Indian philosophers. The authors quoted by Von Kremer were obviously acquainted with Hindu yoga practices; and we may even assume that the Islamic world at large also, at the time of these writers, was aware of the fact that the Hindus practised yoga and that they had a knowledge of yoga. But our authorities do not categorically state that these practices were borrowed by the Sufis from Indian sources. The second of these writers is even less conclusive than the first; he no doubt mentions the Indian 'yogis', but at the same time compares them with the Persians, leaving the question of borrowing absolutely undecided. If the practices were in existence among people nearer home, would the Sufis really go abroad to learn them?

Of course, in a matter like this, we should not always expect direct evidence. And we should not forget that the value of any piece of evidence depends upon the cumulative effect, when it is taken jointly with other evidence. From the evidence adduced by Von Kremer, we find, in the first place, that Muhammadan writers referred to India as the place where the practices in vogue among them were held in high esteem. The so-called sciences of breathing, we are told, were very widely cultivated in India. In the second place, we find a remarkably close similarity between the Islamic and Hindu practices. And this similarity is found not only among certain external and auxiliary practices, but extends deeper down into the very heart of their teachings. Like the Indian yogi, the Sufi also not only practised a regulation of breath—something quite akin to Hindu prāṇāyāma—but he even believed, like the Hindu Vedantist, in the identity of the individual with the Infinite. He, too, was a pantheist. And so far as external practices were concerned, the similarity was not confined to the regulation of breath only; the Sufi also appears to have had a theory of dhāna (or, form of sitting), and seems to have preferred the lotus-form of sitting (padmāsana) to any other.

Now, all these similarities, in doctrine and in practice, are, Von Kremer would say, too close to be regarded as accidental. So there must have been borrowing; and in so far as an express mention is found of Indian yogis in Musalman writers, and in view of the fact that, in India, the science of breathing and its practices were developed almost to perfection, the conclusion cannot be escaped that it was the Musalman Sufi who borrowed from Hindu India.

Primá facie, therefore, we have a plausible case that Hindu yoga ideas and some of the concepts of Vedantism found their way into an important branch of Islamic culture. But it should not be forgotten that the authorities quoted by Von Kremer belong to a later period of the history of Sufism. The first authority is the author of Naḥa‘īsū-l-funūn, who has been supposed to be ‘Mahmud Amuli who died in 753 A.H.’, i.e., one who belonged to the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The Muhammadans had already come to India as conquerors and rulers and Sufism was already a developed system. Any Muhammadan record of that time about the practices of the Indians need not imply more than an interest taken by the conquerors in the life and habits of the people under them.

The author of the Dabistān belonged to a still later period and was perhaps an Indian Musalman. Much earlier than they, Al-Beruni had written his monumental work on India; Von Kremer does not refer to him; he can expect little support from him either, as we shall see later on. The authorities quoted by him, however, are no evidence that Brahmacvidyā had any influence on the development of Sufism in its earlier stages, even though it be conceded that some of its ideas were grafted on to the other system in its later history; and much less do they prove Von Kremer’s contention that ‘Sufism owes its origin mainly to the school of Indian Philosophy.’
Von Kremer no doubt distinguishes "real Sufism as it finds expression in the various orders of the Dervishes" from "the simple ascetic movement which appeared in the earliest Christianity and even in the earliest Islam". But even the 'various orders of the Dervishes' date their origin much earlier than the fourteenth century A.D. The 'origin', therefore, of Sufism is not shown to have been due to 'the school of Indian Philosophy'.

There is another inaccuracy in Von Kremer's theory. He connects the regulation of breath and yoga practices more or less exclusively with the Vedanta system. Though not unknown to the Vedanta system, these were much more elaborately dealt with in the Yoga Philosophy, specifically so called. The most characteristic Vedantic doctrine that may be traced in Sufism is the ecstatic vision of the identity of the individual soul with the Universal. The regulation of breath is not a special feature of Vedanta, but rather of the Yoga Philosophy. And Von Kremer's omission of all reference to the Yoga Philosophy is rather surprising, especially in view of the fact that Al-Beruni, writing in the eleventh century, had pointed out some of the more striking similarities between that system and Sufism. Of course, we must admit that Von Kremer's omission of reference to Patanjali is a lesser mistake than Al-Beruni's omission of all reference to the Vedanta.

Now, so far as Von Kremer is concerned, he may be regarded as having shown that, after the conquest of India by the Musalmans, Hindu culture became known to them, and, possibly, some branches of their own culture were influenced at that time by Hindu thought. His contention that Sufism owed its origin to Hindu philosophy is not proved by the evidence that he has cared to produce here. We are not suggesting that it could not have been the case; we are only pointing out the want of sufficient proof.

To show that Sufism was indebted to Hindu thought, it is not enough to show that after their conquest of the country, the Musalmans acquired a knowledge of Indian thought; for, even before this conquest was complete, a knowledge of India was not altogether absent from the Islamic world. And when the Muhammadians came to India as conquerors, Sufism was no longer in its nascent condition; it was then fully grown. So Von Kremer's authorities not only do not prove anything about the origin of Sufism, but they even fail to prove that Brahmavidya exercised any influence on it in its earlier stages. For his purpose, it is necessary to show that Hindu philosophical ideas had travelled beyond the borders of India and had penetrated into the heart of western Asia—Arabia, Syria, and Persia—and also into Egypt, where Sufism had its rise and its early development; and it is also necessary to show that these ideas had been in existence in those places, exercising an active influence, before the rise of Sufism. Von Kremer has not shown all this; but can it be shown?

The following facts are relevant in this connection:

(i) That from the earliest times, a more or less continuous intercourse has been maintained between India and the western world.

(ii) That Hindus from India sometimes went abroad and even established colonies in western Asia, among other places.

(iii) That Buddhism had been in existence in and about the places where Sufism arose, before and even after the appearance of Islam.

(iv) And that even the Court of the Khalifs of Bagdad was an important seat of Sanskrit culture, especially in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.

(i) That India had been connected with the western world from very early times, has been proved by a number of facts. (Rawlinson: Intercourse between India and the Western World). "From pre-historic times, three great trade-routes have connected India with the West." And it cannot be said that, in view of this trade-connection, India could not influence the culture of any of these countries even indirectly. (Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 15.) Nor was this intercourse very limited in scope and in area. One of the trade-routes 'linked India not only to the gold-fields and the fabulously wealthy incense-country of Southern Arabia and Somaliland,
but to Egypt and Judaea." (Ibid., p. 9.) Dion Chrysostom "who died in or after 117 A.D. mentions Indians among the cosmopolitan crowds to be found in the bazaars of Alexandria," (ib., p. 140). And in Damasius' Life of Isidorus, as preserved by Photius, there is an "account of some Brahmins who visited Alexandria and lodged in the house of Severus, Consul, A.D. 470." (Priaulx, Apollonius of Tyana, &c., p. 189.)

In one of the Buddhist Jātaka stories, "we hear of Indian merchants who took periodical voyages to the land of Baberu (Babylon)"—(Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 4). And Bardesanes is said to have derived his information about India from "an Indian who came with an embassy to Syria to welcome the Emperor Elagabalus to the throne in 218 A.D." (ib., p. 143). Even Greece was not altogether outside the pale of this intercourse, though perhaps the 'intercourse between India and Greece, before the days of Alexander, was of an indirect nature'. Between India and the great nations of Asia Minor, however, 'there had been a long and continuous intercourse'. "Persia, of course, was in close contact with India for nearly two centuries, and the Punjab was a Persian satrapy for that period'.

Now all these facts show that people of the West came to India, and Indians also went to the western world; and that this connexion had been maintained for a very long time. The connexion that was thus maintained was not merely a commercial one: commerce and culture often go hand in hand; and thus there was a possibility of Indian culture migrating to the west with Indian commerce. Even Brahmans went to the west, we are told. So, even if we suppose that the Brahmins were the sole repository of all philosophical learning, it was not impossible for Indian philosophy to travel to the west at that period. The place where Sufism was born, therefore, was not inaccessible to Hindu influence, even before its birth.

(ii) This was not all. Indians established colonies in western Asia, and vestiges of such colonies have been traced in Armenia. (JRAS., 1904, p. 309.) Whether these Armenian Indians were strictly speaking Hindus or not, is not certain. Kennedy thinks "we may conclude with considerable probability that the Armenian Indians came of the same aboriginal stock from which many of the western Rajput clans were subsequently developed". And the gods which these Armenian Hindus worshipped were "not Brahmanical". But at the same time, we are reminded that "the westward migration of these Indians cannot have been the first of its kind." No doubt, such migrations "have been comparatively rare;" but they have taken place, making possible the migration of Indian culture also to the west (B.C. 130—A.D. 300). And it is also a known fact that, for a long period in history, Hindu kingdoms extended as far as Kabul and even farther (vide, Al-Beruni, ch. xlix; Elliot's History of India, etc.). Hindu culture thus maintained a proximity to the birth-place of Sufism for a considerable time—long enough to leave influences behind.

(iii) Another fact that requires notice in this connexion, is the presence of Buddhism in the area where Sufism was either born or had its early development, at and about the time of its birth. "Buddhism flourished in Balkh, Transoxiana and Turkestan before the Muhammadan conquest, and in later times Buddhist monks carried their religious practices and philosophy among the Moslems who had settled in these countries". (Nicholson: Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v. Sufism).

(iv) In the fourth place, we may remember here that Indians held appointments as body-physicians to the Khalifa Harun-ar-Rashid, and that at the time of Khalifa al-Mamun, Sanskrit was already well-known at the Court of Bagdad. (Elliot's History of India, v. 570).

All these are well-known facts. But what do they prove? We certainly cannot doubt that, both before and after the rise of Islam, the very seat of Islamic culture—the very nursery of Islamic philosophy—had been fully accessible to Indian influences, Hindu as well as Buddhist. Both Hindus and Buddhists went to those territories, and people from those places also came to India. Indian merchandise found its way, now by one route, now by another, to all of these places. And it is needless to point out that ideas also sometimes
follow in the wake of men and merchandise. Wherever, therefore, Indians and Indian goods went, Indian ideas also might have gone. It is therefore just possible that in the regions where Sufism had its rise and first development, Hindu philosophical ideas may have been floating about long before the appearance of Islam. And it is equally possible that Sufism found some ready-made formula of belief and practice, which it quickly adopted and assimilated. But it was only possible; whether it actually so happened or not, is not proved.

It is interesting to note that among certain writers there is a tendency to under-rate the possibility of Hindu influence on Islamic philosophy. The claims of Buddhism are recognised on a more generous scale. Vedantism is no doubt frequently mentioned as a possible source from which Sufism may have borrowed; but some people are so enamoured of Buddhism that even this Vedantism is spoken of as a part of it. Without in any way depreciating the claims of Buddhism, we are bound to point out that the claims of Brahmacvidyā ought to receive special treatment in this connection, so great indeed is its resemblance with Sufism.

Prof. Goldziher has shown that Islam in general and Sufism in particular, have been profoundly influenced by Buddhism among other foreign influences (J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 126). The Buddhist doctrine of *karma* finds its parallel in the Islamic dogma of *kismat*; the Sufi conception of *fanā* is similar to the Buddhist conception of *nirvāṇa*; Moslem monastic orders are closely akin to those of the Buddhists; and so on. Of course, fatalism or the doctrine of *kismat* is not exclusively a Buddhist idea; it is found in orthodox Hinduism also; so are monastic orders and the rest. On the face of it, therefore, there is nothing to show that these things were not borrowed from Hinduism, if they were at all borrowed by Sufism. But it is to Buddhism rather than Hinduism as distinguished from it, that these influences are usually traced. We are not suggesting that this is all wrong. Buddhism was present in the vicinity of the home of Sufism which, therefore, had perchance a closer contact with it than with Hinduism. Yet the presence of Brahmacvidyā was not altogether impossible in that area; and in view of the fact that there is such a close similarity between it and Sufism, we ought to consider if there was no direct borrowing from it by Sufism. In any case, to regard 'the ancient Vedanta Philosophy' as something 'which the Buddhistic system so successfully developed' (cf. J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 135), is a confusion of thought. The two are not the same and ought to be kept separate.

There is another point which should be considered here. The similarity between Vedantism and Sufism is fully recognised; and the possibility of the indebtedness of Sufism to Vedantism also is not altogether ignored. But it is rather striking that, except Vedantism, nothing else in Hinduism is considered to be a likely source of influence on Sufism. Even Von Kremer, who has said so much about the 'science of breathing', overlooks the possibility of this being borrowed from the Yoga Philosophy. Al-Beruni, curiously indeed, is one of the few writers who has fully realised the very close similarity between Sufism and the system of Patañjali. Yet the historical facts which make the presence of Vedantic ideas possible in the birth-place of Sufism, may also be regarded as making possible the presence of Yoga ideas in the self-same place. In a way, the presence of Yoga ideas were more likely than that of Brahmacvidyā; wandering mendicants or *sannyāsīs* know more of the *yoga* practices than they know of Brahmacvidyā, and among Hindus these men travel more than others. So, if it is a question of the migration of Hindu ideas to western Asia, Yoga ideas were not less likely to go thither than ideas of Brahmacvidyā. Yet, so far as Hinduism is concerned, our scholars have shown a preference for Vedantism as against Yoga; and as between Hinduism and Buddhism, they see more of Buddhist influence on Sufism than they are prepared to admit of any other Indian system. It is a question of history, and perhaps they stand on unassailable ground. But the fact is important for our purpose and must be pointed out.

*(To be continued.)*
BOOK-NOTES.

The Vision of Vásavadatta (Swapnasvāsavadattam). Edited by Lakshman Sarup. Lahore, 1925.

In his preface Dr. Lakshman Sarup has a remarkable paragraph on the subject of transliteration from Sanskrit works, which is worth repeating: "It has been noticed that Indian students are unable to transliterate Sanskrit correctly in Roman, even after their graduation. Nor do they find it easy to read Sanskrit texts transliterated in Roman characters. Their inability puts them at a disadvantage, for they cannot utilise several texts of Pali and Sanskrit works, which are published in Roman characters only, and are not available in Devanagari and other Indian characters. The result is that the sphere of their scholarship is considerably narrowed. The fault, however, is not theirs. They seldom receive any training in transliteration. Indian text books, prescribed for them, generally do not use any diacritical marks at all. Nor do the teachers insist on correct transliteration. The students thus never learn the use of diacritical marks. A suitable text book, using diacritical marks correctly, is therefore a desideratum. The object of the present volume is to supply their need."

On p. vii Dr. Sarup makes another statement worth noting: "I had translated all the plays of Bhāsa into English in 1921. The MS. is still awaiting publication." This is a great pity and let us hope it will soon be remedied.

The Swapnasvāsavadattam of Bhāsa is based on the story of Vásavadatta, made available to all kinds of modern readers through Tawney's translation of the Kathāsāraṭāla of Somadeva, now being so worthily handled by Mr. Penzer. In his introduction Dr. Sarup goes into what is known of Bhāsa, "a mere wandering though distinguished name," and takes up the questions raised in the controversy round this name of ancient India. The first point—are the plays that are attributed to Bhāsa the work of one or several authors?—he decides on page 20: "All these plays, in my opinion are the work of one and the same author." The second point—is who is the author?—"The conclusion is (p. 35) that the present play is a genuine play. It is the Swapnasvāsavadattam mentioned by various writers. It is the work of Bhāsa." This conclusion is arrived at after a real plunge into the controversy on the point. The third point is—what is the age of the plays? Here again scholars have differed widely, and after discussing opinions Dr. Sarup arrives at the conclusion: "The play may therefore be assigned to the beginning of the second century A.D." (p. 41).

Dr. Sarup then discusses the legend of Udayana "the king Arthur of Indian Literature; the fascinating hero of romance, the Prince Charming of the fairy tales," one of whose wives was Bhāsa's heroine Vásavadatta. He shows that Bhāsa "utilised the same materials, the same floating mass of oral tradition, which served as the original sources of Guptārya, p. 57" i.e., of the stories told in the Brhadāraṇyakā and Kathāsāraṭāla.

Finally, Dr. Sarup discusses the question: "What is Drama?" This he discusses in true Indian philosophical fashion, arriving at the conclusion "It may therefore be stated that the main function of drama is to employ dialogue in order to represent a harmonious action such as may spring from the circumstances of life, actually or conceivably real" (pp. 59 & 60). He then discusses "the Law of Brumetières," and accepting that law which lays down that volition is the soul of drama. Dr. Sarup is of opinion that The Vision of Vásavadatta "will indeed be regarded as a dramatic masterpiece" (p. 62). Finally he winds up (p. 77) with an enthusiastic admiration of the play. "The Vision of Vásavadattā" is a great play. The principal characters are magnificent human portraits. Each personage is invested with an individuality of its own. The poet has made profound psychological studies and painted them with a rare skill, such as is found in the works of master playwrights only. The critical situations are managed with a delicacy of art which a genius alone could show. It is indeed a masterpiece. Bhāsa is therefore entitled to claim our attention and his plays deserve a closer study."

Then follow a text and translation and some very useful notes.

R. C. Temple.


The object of this valuable monograph is to ascertain by direct research what the origin of Tārā was: whether she was of "Buddhist or Brahmanical origin, whether her cult arose in India or elsewhere and what was her chief function." Mr. Hirananda Shastri has done his work well and conscientiously and arrives at likely conclusions that are not at all subversive of previous ideas, for which old scholars must be thankful. To sum them up, his conclusions are that Tārā was probably Buddhist in origin and non-Indian and most probably arose in the Indo-Tibetan borderland or in Indian Tibet itself, as the goddess who helped the people to cross the large lakes there. She was thus originally a water-goddess, just as Al-Khidr was originally a similar water-god in another part of the world. As a Buddhist deity Tārā of course belonged to Mahāyāna Buddhism and does not
date further back than the fifth century A.D., and here Mr. Shastri makes a useful observation: "as is apparent from the titles and names of the twenty-one Tārās I do not think they should be taken as distinct forms of the goddess; they are rather the attributes which a votary has in view while worshipping the divinity who is one throughout." In form Tārā is either pacific or angry—a typical primitive goddess.

R. C. Temple.


This book deals with "International Law" in India up to A.D. 500, and the writer intends to compose a companion volume on Medieval Indian Diplomacy. He explains that by the term International Law he means a "body of custom," and indeed that is the most that can be claimed for a condition where man-made law is not enforceable by any authority. He is also aware of the difficulty of using terms applicable to modern society to describe the conditions that obtained in the ancient world, and he seeks to clear the air by setting himself three questions (pp. 5, 6):

1. Whether there were nations in ancient India,
2. Whether there was a general code of laws to regulate their dealings with one another,
3. How far this body of doctrine was actually carried into execution.

He answers the first in the affirmative. As to the second question, he says that International Law—i.e., the body of custom which we now call International Law—"was accepted by all Indian States—for it was based on Dharma [duty; that which should be done], which regulated also the conduct of the individual society." In dealing with the third question he replies that in theory it was—at any rate in as great a part as now—carried into practice, running through the stages of śrutis (revelation) and smṛitis (tradition), and visible in the Epics and the Purāṇas, in the secular writers of arthaśāstra (administration) and the like, in the Asokan Edicts, and in the accounts of Megasthenes and Yuan Chwang.

Here we have the author's position, on which he has built his remarks, with a wealth of reference to ancient authorities which cannot but rouse the admiration of his readers. The nature, however, of such authorities as have survived through the ages only permits him to make remarks of a general description on all the many points which he has taken up.

It is a thoughtful and impartial book of great learning, honestly compiled, and shows once more that the ancient civilisation was in its essentials very like that of modern times.

R. C. Temple.

Djawa: Tijdschrift van het Java Instituut 5e Jaargang, No. 3 en 4, Mei-September 1925, Secretariaat van het Java Instituut, Weltevreden.

These numbers of Djawa give a full report of the Congress of that body held at Jogjakarta, 24-27 December 1924. During the Congress an exhibition of Javanese architecture and furniture was held, and an exceedingly interesting lecture was given by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch on "The Prambanan Temple," to which there are two beautiful illustrations, one of the temple before restoration, the other of the restored south door. The lecturer, after examining the question of the date of the temple and its purpose, speaks of its architecture and carvings.

Another paper was read by Thomas Karsten on the value of recent Javanese architecture. There were also papers and discussions of matters of less general interest, e.g., Old Javanese Monuments in connection with Javanese culture of the present and future, and native culture in Javanese education.

M. J. B.


This little book will be of much interest to Parsis and students of ancient Iranian culture. It contains three lectures delivered at the Upsala University, Sweden, by A. Meillet, who was a former pupil of James Darmesteter. Indeed he dedicates the book to the memory of his teacher, though, as he is careful to point out in the preface, his views on the subject of the Gāthās differ widely from those of Darmesteter. The subject-matter of the lectures are (a) the date of Zoroaster, (b) the composition of the Gāthās, (c) the character of the teaching of the Gāthās. The author claims to have followed Darmesteter's advice in two directions, viz., first, he has tried to formulate clear and definite conclusions, easily capable of refutation, if they are erroneous; secondly, he has sought to envisage the facts from the standpoint of the historian, who, not content with mere words, strives to evoke the actual character of past events and clothe them with reality. I leave it to Iranian scholars like Dr. J. J. Modi to decide how far M. Meillet's views deserve acceptance.

S. M. Edwardes.


This work is stated in the preface to be a partial reprint, with additions, from the first, second, and fourth parts of the Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, published in Boston; and the author to some extent disarms criticism by an admission that none of the bibliographies
except, perhaps, those on painting, are complete. There are one or two points, however, which seem to deserve comment. On page 10, the 1914 reprint of Tod’s *Annals and Antiquities* is entered, whereas a later and better edition is that prepared by the late William Crooke and published by the Oxford University Press in 1920. There are other important omissions from the general list. On page 17 Sir J. H. Marshall’s *The Monuments of Ancient India* in the Cambridge History of India is mentioned twice running for no apparent reason; while under the main heading of Mughal architecture and decoration there is no mention of a recent Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India on the geometrical patterns in Saracenic art. The author claims to have included under “Sculpture” a few of the more important works on coins. But only three works are mentioned, and the list might have been augmented by the inclusion of other well-known publications on Indian numismatics. On page 34, in the section on Textiles, Brandon’s *Woolen Fabrics of the Bombay Presidency; and as author of *Silk Fabrics of the Bombay Presidency,* I may point out that I do not spell my name in the way adopted in this bibliography. Useful as the volume is, it seems to me to require careful revision before appearing in a second edition.

S. M. Edwards.

**Samarangasantrasudhara of king Bhujádeva,** edited by Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapati Sastri: volume II. Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, No. XXXII; Baroda, 1925.

This second volume of king Bhoja’s work contains descriptions of “pruañdas pertaining to Devas, statues made of gold, silver, etc., the art of painting, 64 kinds of hasta beginning with pataka and other topics. The editor repudiates the view that the quaint machines mentioned in the poem—the elephant machine, door-keeper machine, flying-machine, etc.—are mere products of the poet’s imagination, and suggests that they may once have existed, but have fallen into disuse owing to their costliness or intricacy. His arguments on this point do not strike one as over-whelmingly sound; but otherwise the work performed by the editor on the original is doubtless worthy of his scholarly reputation.

S. M. Edwards.


There is little of special interest mentioned in this annual report. In a well at Gopanatha an inscription was discovered, recording that the well was built by a Dakshini Maharaṣṭra Brahmāchārī at a date long before the Marāṭhās had any political connection with the province. Two or three inscriptions were discovered at Vav, the capital of a small but very old State in Palanpur; they refer to the wife and a descendant of king Mahāpālādeva, who apparently ruled the modern Thar in the time of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji. The Gujarāt Rāshtrakutas, plates, mentioned in the report for the previous year, clearly prove that the main Rāshtrakuta dynasty regarded their Gujarāt brethren as mere vassals.

S. M. Edwards.


The first of the two publications mentioned above, entitled “The Geography of the Andaman Sea Basin,” forms Part I of the main subject of “Geographic and Oceanographic Research in Indian Waters,” by R. B. Seymour Sewell, M.A., L.M.S., Director of the Zoological Survey of India. The Andaman Sea, which is here described, is the name of the part of the Indian Ocean which lies between the Burmese coast and the Malay Peninsula on one side, and between the chain of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Sumatra on the other: and the author, after a survey of existing facts and data, arrives at the conclusion that this sea-basin was first formed at the beginning of the Tertiary Epoch, when the great Alpine-Himalayan system began to rise. Though at first shallow, this basin underwent subsidence at the close of the same epoch, and this process continued at intervals as late as the Pleistocene period, thus incidentally giving rise to the shallow channel we to-day call the Straits of Malacca. The paper is of interest, as dealing with an area that has long been known to geologists as specially rich in both shallow and deep water faunas.

The second Memoir is entitled “The Santals and Disease” and forms the first part of “Studies in Santal Medicine and Connected Folklore,” by the Revd. P. O. Bodding. It describes the general attitude of the Santals to life and death, their beliefs in the origin of disease, the qualities of the hongas or supernatural influences which they recognise, their medicine-men and ojhas, their methods of divination, their witch-finding, and a variety of other matters concerned with the onset and progress of disease and the Santal method of combating it. The paper is full of carefully garnered information and represents the fruits of a prolonged and intensive study of the habits and ideas of one of the most numerous and most primitive of Indian forest tribes. Anthropologists and folklorists alike will find Mr. Bodding’s memoir of great value.

S. M. Edwards.
NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE BIRTH PLACE OF THE PHYSICIAN SUSHENA.

On the 9th February 1913 I visited a village named Chandkuri 16 miles east of Raipur, the headquarters of a District in the same name in the Central Provinces. While going over the old ruins, the villagers pointed out to me some stones which they worshipped as Baid Sukhena on an island in the centre of a tank known as Jalasena tardi. They told me that not long ago people used to fetch a certain herb growing on that island and administer it to a patient suffering from any disease, in the name of Sukhena, and this was sufficient to cure him. All they knew about him was that he was a great physician, and that is why he has been deified and their village is known as Baid Chandkuri, to distinguish it from other villages of the same name.

Can it be that this Sukhena is identical with Sushena mentioned in the Rāmāyana as physician of Sugriva? Kishkindhā, where Sugriva lived has been recently located somewhere near Matin Zamindari in the Bilaspur District, which is about a hundred miles north of Chandkuri. Chandkhuri is considered to be a very old village and to have been very wealthy in ancient times. That it was so is indicated by the remains of temples built in the Medieval Brahmanic style, one of which is still standing and has the figure of Mahākalāshmi at the door. On the jams are depicted the Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their respective ekaṇas, the makara and tortoise. There is also a much worn inscription here, the characters whereof appear to belong to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. Tradition has it that there were 120 tanks, of which 22 still remain, and their Sanskrit names such as Sāgara, Jalasena (Jalakayana) etc. appear to indicate the occupation of that place by Aryan colonists.

Sushena appears to have been a very popular name as no less than 18 individuals are mentioned in Wilson's Dictionary as bearing that name, taken from various Sanskrit works like the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Bhāgavad, Harivamsa, Vācesvadattā, Vaiśamityaśaṁkīrti, Vidyapūrṇa, Kāthā-saritāgama, Raghuvaṇṇa, and Harshacharita.

Hira Lal

BHARUKACHCHA.

In "Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad," an account has been given of Bharukaccha (I.A., Sep. 1925). It is Bhṛgukaśtra or Bhṛgupura, named after the Hindu sage Bhṛgu. It would perhaps be interesting to learn the legendary account given by the Buddhist of the origin of this city. The following information is contained in the Diśyavaśāda in the story of Rudrāyaṇa (Cowell and Neil: XXXVII, p. 544 et seq.).

King Rudrāyaṇa's capital was Roruka. His queen was Candraprabhā, his heir, Kumāra Śikhanda, and his ministers, Hiru and Bhiru. At that time the king of Rājagrha was Bimbisāra. The merchants of Roruka used to trade with Rājagrha and those of Rājagrha with Roruka. Through them the two kings exchanged greetings and presents. King Bimbisāra sent his friend a portrait of the Buddha. Afterwards the therī Mahākātyāyana and bhikṣunī Sālla arrived at Roruka to preach religion to the king and the inmates of the harem. Queen Candraprabhā was converted by Sālla, and she died seven days later. The king also left his kingdom, came to Rājagrha and turned an aṇḍaṅkī (homeless bhikṣu). Kumāra Śikhanda became king and at first listened to the precepts of his father's ministers, Hiru and Bhiru. But he soon took to evil ways and turned them out, and allowed himself to be guided by two evil counsellors. The merchants of Roruka, who had gone to Rājagrha, informed bhikṣū Rādṛāyaṇa of this, and the latter proposed to proceed to Roruka to reveal his son from his evil life. The evil ministers advised the new king to intercept Rādṛāyaṇa and even to murder him, which was done. At another time Śikhanda incited his subjects to throw dust on Mahākātyāyana till he was buried in it. But nemesis was not long in coming. For this gratuitous insult to the monk the city of Roruka was to be buried in dust on the seventh day. The monk had warned the two faithful ministers of the impending retribution. They fled the city on the sixth day, when jewels rained from the heavens. The new city founded by Hiru was called Hiruka; that founded by Bhiru was called Bhiruka and also Bhīrukaccha.

The following passage occurs on p. 576 of the Diśyavaśādānā:

"...atra Hirukāṇḍasyataṣṭasmin pradeśe Hirukāṇḍaṁ nāma nagaraṁ maṇḍitaṁ | tasya Hirukāṇḍaṁ Hirukam iti satyajā samārtatā | Bhīrukāṇḍasyataṣṭasmin pradeśe Bhīrukāṇḍaṁ nāma nagaraṁ maṇḍitaṁ | tasyād Bhīruru kaśchanch Bhīrukacchaṁ iti satyajā samārtatā |"

Dust rained on the seventh day and buried the city of Roruka.

Kalipada Mitra.

1 This tank is exactly like what are known as Teppa Kulaṣams in the south, containing a temple in the middle, to which the idols of gods on certain occasions are taken for water-pleasure. The Jalakayana (lying-in-the-water) apparently derives its name from this practice.

There used to be a temple said to be dedicated to Kausalyā, and it would thus appear that it was probably Rāmā's idol that was taken for Jalakayana there.
523. The Abbé Rochon (Voyage to Madagascar, p. 768) says that the slave trade was introduced into Madagascar by retired pirates, but we have seen (para. 285 above) it was a regular mart for slaves in the first half of the 17th century.

524. The expression 'on the Account' always meant 'engaged in piracy,' so Captain Robert Hyde referring to a suspicious vessel writes:—"She must certainly be on the Account or else she would not have had so much time [to follow us] for she dogged us eighteen days" (Log of the Duke of York, 23rd July 1721).

525. In 1709 Captain Woodes Rogers (Cruising Voyage, p. 293) before fighting a Manila ship "ordered a large kettle of chocolate to be made for our ship's company, having no spirituous liquor to give them: then we went to prayers." The 'tot of rum' before a fight was probably a very ancient institution at sea. Sir Richard Hawkins wrote in 1594:—"In fights all receipts which add courage and spirit are of great regard to be allowed and used: and so is a draught of wine to be given to every man before he come to action, but more than enough is pernicious, for exceeding the means it offendeth and enfeebleth the senses, converting the strength (which should resist the force of the enemy) into weakness, it dulleth and blindeth the understanding and consequently depraveth any man of true valour" (Observations, p. 177).

526. In 1711 when Captain Woodes Rogers was at the Cape he was told by an Englishman and an Irishman, who had both been some years in Madagascar, that the pirates who had settled there were now reduced to 60 or 70, were very poor, and despised even by the natives from among whom they had taken wives. As they then were, they were no real menace to trade, but unless cleared out, might form a nucleus for fresh bands of desperadoes (Cruising Voyage, p. 293). In April 1716 one Eaves, mate of the Rochester, with 14 of her crew, plundered the ship and turned pirates in the Straits of Malacca (Bombay to Court, 7th Jan. 1716-17).

527. In 1715 Governor Edward Harrison of Madras sent the Anne (Captain Jones) to Amoy to trade. The Chinese merchants, who had taken up goods to the value of some 15,000 tael (or £6,700) refused payment. Captain Jones could obtain no redress from the Governor of the Province and was finally turned out of the harbour, whereupon he seized a junk belonging to the Barkalong of Siam bound for Batavia. The Chinese thereupon sent out a number of war-junks with orders to burn the Anne, but Captain Jones having been warned by a friendly Chinaman, escaped with his prize to Malacca. There he put some 70 Chinese ashore on an island, where they were seized by the Malays and sold as slaves at 10 dollars a head, but were soon ransomed by one of their countrymen. Captain Jones carried his prize to Madras. Meanwhile both sides had made complaints to the Emperor; an enquiry was instituted and the Chinese officials having been found in fault were punished (Factory Records, China, vol. VIII; Hamilton, II, 188).

528. A still more striking instance of the high-handed methods of English seamen may (though in advance of its proper date) be mentioned here. On the 18th October 1721 at Tonquin, Captain Richard Pearce in a ship from Bengal, bought some copper from the native merchants. Such purchases being prohibited under pain of death, the local Mandarins sent 24 armed junks to capture his vessel, but he made good his escape after sinking one junk, burning another and killing forty men (Factory Records, China, vol. VIII).

529. On the 4th November 1712 the Angrians took the Anne Ketch. Among the passengers was a Mrs. Chown, whose somewhat lively story is appended to Colonel Biddulph's Pirates of Malabar (See also Downing, pp. 7-9, 24). They were less successful when on the 20th December 1712 they impertinently attacked the Company's ships Somers (Captain Eustace Peacock) and Grantham (Captain Jonathan Collet) off Vingurla. The English indeed boarded one of their grubs, but it was so strongly manned that they were beaten back with the loss
of two men killed and fourteen wounded (Logs of Somers and Grantham; Downing, p. 9). By 1713 Kanhaji Angria (See para. 468 above) was virtually independent of the Marathas and commanded the whole coast from Bombay to Vijaydurg (Bomb. Gaz. I, ii, 87). In 1714 the Marathas made over the island of Henery (i.e. Underi) to him and in this year Angrians unsuccessfully attacked the Company’s ships Arabella (Captain Read), the Blenheim (Captain Abraham Parrott) and the Godolphin (Captain Ingram). Downing (pp. 10-14) says that the pirates on this coast were the “Mollwans [i.e., Marathas, see para. 307 above] a people to the northward of Carwar, the Kempshews [i.e. pirates of Savantvadi] and the Sangarians [i.e. the Sangarians], a people northward of Gogo, who are troublesome to the Surat and Bombay traders.”

530. In the Bombay Consultations of the 30th December 1713 is mentioned a letter from Carwar of the 17th November, saying that a Surat ship at anchor in Carwar Cove had been surprised and seized by seven Malwan gallivats and that the Portuguese, being informed of the fact, had sent one of their ships to retake her. Having done this, the Portuguese refused to restore her to her former owners. As a matter of fact (See para. 517 n. above), at this time there was no law, national or international, which required the return of a ship retaken from pirates or national enemies to the former owners, and complaints were now and then made that cruisers sent to protect commerce sometimes allowed their countrymen’s ships to be taken only in order to recapture them and claim them as prizes.

531. On the 24th October 1715 Mr. Stephen Strutt was sent by the Bombay Government on a special mission to the English Settlements on the Malabar coast. He sailed on the Catherine with the Anne in company. Off Carwar he found a small Portuguese cruiser, nominally engaged in protecting commerce, but really doing a little piracy on its own account. At Goa he was politely received by the Viceroy, but failed to obtain the return of the Monsoon (See para. 517 above; Low. I. 93). It was in this year that Mr. Charles Boone assumed the Governorship of Bombay. He was a man of great energy and absolutely disinterested, but ignorant of the means necessary to success, destitute of competent advisers and almost always unlucky in his choice of commanders. His first effort towards the suppression of indigenous piracy was the construction of a suitable fleet. He therefore had built the Britannia of 18 guns and 140 men (Captain Weeks) and the Fame of 16 guns and 120 men (Captain Peter Passwater), each with a company of marines in addition to the crew. To these he afterwards added the Defiance (Captain Matthews) and the Victory of 24 guns and 180 men, of which he gave command to Captain Alexander Hamilton as Commodore of the whole fleet (Downing, p. 14).

532. Early in 1716 Angria took, under pretence they were Moors, two English ships, the Otter of Bengal and one belonging to Mr. Bennet. The arms of the Englishmen on board were broken and they were so ill used that there was little chance of their recovery. The Governor wrote that he was helpless to check these outrages unless he received reinforcements of four or five hundred Europeans (Bombay to Court, 18th March 1716-17). In 1716 an attempt made by a British force under Captain John Stanton to take a fort of the Khem Sawant (i.e. Vingurla) met with no success (Downing, pp. 11-14).

533. In 1717 Kanhoji Angria’s ships took the Success under English colours. This is said to have been his first overt act against the British. Apparently previous attacks, such as I have mentioned, were either unauthorised or disavowed. Governor Boone immediately initiated reprisals, against which Angria protested, threatening “From this day forward what God gives I shall take &c. &c.,” to which Boone replied:—“The trade you carried on formerly and that you have since the peace with us you well know, and for the future will know the difference if you break with us. Whilst there is an amicable agreement it is necessary to observe it mutually on either side, and when broke it will be necessary to be more circumspect, and on these two heads do you consider and accept of which you please, for in the same manner you act I shall too without dissimulation” (Bomb. Cons., 13th April, 1718).
Unfortunately the only result of this Roman declaration was an unsuccessful attack on Gheria (15th April 1717), that fortress proving impregnable (Downing, p. 26; Low, I. 97).

534. In 1718 the Desai of Sawunt Wares (known to the English as the Kempshaw or Kempsaunt) seized, according to old Indian custom (See para. 45 above) the cargo of an English ship that had been wrecked near Carvar and so came into conflict with the English Agent at that Factory, which last he besieged. Captain Alexander Hamilton, now Commodore of the Bombay naval forces, soon reduced him to reason (Low, I. 94-9). Downing, however (pp. 15-20) gives the date as September to December 1716.

535. Governor Boone now thought it opportune to expel the Angrians from the Island of Khanderi, but his plans were betrayed by one Rama Kamattee and the expedition, which was made in October, was unsuccessful. Rama Kamattee was convicted on this and other charges in the following April and sentenced to imprisonment for life (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 148). According to the Log of the Addison (Captain Zachariah Hicks, 6th November 1718) the Angrians flew red flags during the fighting. Another attempt to take Khanderi in 1719 was equally unsuccessful (Downing, pp. 34-36; Low, I. 98-99).

536. Early in 1720 an expedition from Bombay, in combination with a Portuguese force, attacked Gheria and burned 16 of Angria’s vessels. It then returned to Bombay as if victorious, but Angria claimed that the British had been defeated. In April four of his grubs and ten gallivats attacked and captured the English ship Charlotte, after a gallant defence in which she exhausted her ammunition, and carried her into Gheria (Low, I. 99, 100). The Dutch chaplain Visscher noted about this time (Letters from Malabar, p. 22) that the English at Calicut used to give notice to the local pirates when richly-laden Muhammadan merchant vessels were about to leave port. He also says (p. 65) :— “Geringal Namboori [Nambudiri] is a spiritual lord, whose lands extend from Balenoor (which contains several nests of robbers, as Tirtambiere, Bergaree, Moetigal, Tjombas and Magilje) in the Kingdom of Colastri [North of the Zamorin] to the River Cottesal. The most famous pirates inhabit his territories, who make prey of vessels engaged in the inland navigation between Calicut and Cannanore and even advance beyond Calicut to the borders of Cochin. They are called Cotta Marrekaree.” (See para. 506 above).

537. In 1715, according to Hamilton (I. 74), the Arabian fleet comprised a ship of 74 guns, two of 60, one of 50 and eighteen small ships of from 32 to 12 guns, together with some treenkeys or rowing boats of from 4 to 8 guns. Hamilton is evidently referring to the Muscat fleet. With these vessels they terrorised the whole coast from Cape Comorin to the Red Sea (Low, I. 91).

538. In a letter, dated Cairo 1st May 1716, Father Sicard, a missionary in Egypt, describes Arab robbers on the Nile, who, armed only with a knife, used to swim off to ships, floating on a kind of leather bag fastened under the stomach (Lettres Édifiantes, V. 125). This reminds us of the Asoitae mentioned by Pliny (See para. 11 above).

539. In 1715 the Dutch East India Company employed a small squadron of three cruisers to watch the pirates of the Malay Archipelago. Supported by vessels belonging to the Princess of Cheribon, they attacked and defeated 17 corsairs off the coast of Java. One of the largest of the pirates was so disabled that it could not escape, whereupon the crew set it on fire. Only 16 men could be induced to surrender; all the others died fighting (Parl. Papers, 1851, LVI. i. p. 65).

540. In 1717 Spanish garrisons were established at Zamboangam in Mindanao and at Lobo in the Island of Paragua to hold in check the pirates of Mindanao and Sulu (Zuniga II, 20-21). De Marga (App. 361) says that Zamboangam was not re-established until 1719 and that between 1719 and 1734 the Spaniards sent seven expeditions against the Mindanaoans, but the latter never ceased their raids into the Philippines. It is said that they carried off from eight to fifteen hundred captives annually.
541. In 1717 Captain Curtis, Commander of a Dutch ship, was ordered to give passage to a Javanese Chief and his family and followers from Madura. The Chief’s wife, coming on board last, Captain Curtis greeted her in European fashion by a kiss. She, thinking that he meant to insult her, screamed for help to her husband who had been taken below. The Chief, rushing on deck, cut down Captain Curtis with his kris and then, with his followers, ran amok. Every one of them was killed by the Dutch crew (Raffles, Java, II. 201). This story illustrates the fatal results of European ignorance of their customs in dealing with Orientals. In the same year a Sumatran adventurer, Raja Kechil of Siak, made himself master of Johor and, though already 53 years of age, ruled there until 1745. He was the only Chief who could hold his own against the Bugis pirates, whom he repeatedly defeated. When the Bugis took Rhio his wife fell into their hands and, when he tried to secure her liberation by negotiation, sent him word that he should come and liberate her himself by force. This he did in 1727. In 1728 he made an unsuccessful attack on Rhio, but when, in 1729, the Bugis attacked Siak, he drove them out (Wilkinson, Hist. of Pen. Malays, pp. 76–81).

542. The mutinous reputation of Malay seamen as well as a common Malay superstition are illustrated in an entry in the Log of the Hester (John Gordon Commander) dated June 1717. Some seamen having been stabbed in the night, three Javanese sailors were suspected and were tortured with lighted matches between their fingers to force a confession. As soon as they were set free, to escape further ill-treatment, they all jumped overboard. Two of them were drowned, but the third came safely to shore, having swum five leagues, whilst for eight or nine hours a great shark swam alongside of him without attempting to do him any harm. This, according to the Malays, was a certain proof of his innocence (Ind. Off., Marine Records).

543. In 1719 Hamilton visited Johor, and speaking of the Island of Redang says:—“They are uninhabited but sometimes the Saleeters or Malay freebooters frequent them, and when they meet with trading vessels that they are able to master, they make prize of them and carry the men into other countries than where they belong to sell them for slaves, and when they meet with no purchase [a piratical euphemism for booty, see para. 447 above] at sea, they go ashore in the nights and steal all they can get. Men, women and children go all into the booty, but the Chinese vessels afford them the most prizes” (Hamilton, II, 159).

544. In 1720 Dulasi, King of Butuy, with aid from Sulu and Mindanao, attacked Zamboangam. Though he failed to take the fort commanded by Don Sebastian Amorrera, he ravaged the country (Zuniga, II. 44). During the siege a Spanish frigate being surrounded by forty of the pirate galleys, the Captain, a young and inexperienced officer, lost his head and began to weep, but Father Jean Nonet rallied the crew and allowing the enemy to approach, suddenly fired a broadside into them, which did so much damage that they fled in confusion. The siege lasted more than two months and the fort was saved only by the valour of the garrison (Lettres Edifiante. Letter from Père Gilles Wibault, Manila, 20th December 1721).

Sanganian Piracy.

545. In 1716 the English made an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the Warrels (Vadhelns) of Chane, near Diu. These Warrels occupied about thirty leagues of the coast from Din to Dand and often associated with the Sanganians in their piratical enterprises (Hamilton, I. 140). On the 20th March 1716–7, whilst in command of the Morning Star and on his way from Gombroon to Surat, Hamilton was attacked by eight Sanganian vessels, one of which boarded him, when 14 of his lascars deserted and he was himself wounded in the thigh by a lance. They were however driven off and apparently opened negotiations, for some native merchants went on board the enemy to try to arrange terms. These failing, the attack was renewed on the 22nd by five of the Sanganians but was again repulsed, two of the pirate vessels being so disabled that they seemed unlikely to reach port. The Morning Star also was on fire, and though the flames were extinguished she was forced to put into Bombay. Beside his
lascars Hamilton had only 17 Europeans (six being members of his crew and the rest passengers) who were able to fight. The Sanganians were estimated to number 2,000 men. The merchants who had gone on board the enemy had been detained and carried off as prisoners. They were forced to pay a ransom of £500, but the Sanganians were so dissatisfied that they put their commander to death (Hamilton I. 133; Bomb. Cons., 25th March 1716-7; Low I. 101-2).

Threat of Piracy.

546. On the 30th November 1716 the Court of Directors warned its Settlements in India of the likelihood of ships appearing in the Indian Seas with commissions (to protect them from arrest as pirates) from various European Powers, notably from the Knights of Malta "who are always at war with the Turks, to fight against the Muhammadans" (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 258). As far as I know this threatened invasion of Eastern Waters never materialised.

Anglo-Americans.

547. Robert Drury (p. 305) who was wrecked on the coast of Madagascar in the Degrave (1701) and was for some fifteen years a slave amongst the natives, says that when he left (20th January 1717) there were a number of ex-pirates and castaways of all nations, chiefly English, French and Dutch, settled amongst the natives at St. Mary's, Massalage, St. Augustine's, Port Dauphin and other places. Amongst others he mentions at Massalage one named Thomas Collins, who had been carpenter on the Degrave and, with his associates, had built a kind of fort. A letter from Virginia, dated 20th November 1721 (Misc. Letters Received, XII, No. 256), says that the pretence of buying slaves put forward by New York shippers and others trading to Madagascar was a mere pretext for trading with pirates. In 1718 among a number of such ships, trading in this way under the Company's licence, was the Prince Eugene of Bristol (Captain William Stratton) which went to Port Dolphin, (Dauphin) where they found an old pirate of Every's crew established under the style of General Collins, who, in return for a present of £100, gave them a licence to trade with the natives. In 1720 the Henrietta (Captain Thomas Hibbert) went there without any licence from the Company, but Collins was dead and his European companions had gone to St. Mary's. The trade in slaves had other dangers than the chance of the ship being seized by pirates for their own purposes. On the 3rd June 1719 the ship Elizabeth arrived at the Cape with 600 slaves from Madagascar for Barbadoes and Jamaica. She reported a mutiny of the slaves during the voyage, in which they had killed the boatswain and some others of the crew, so that the latter were forced to kill and throw overboard a number of them (Leibbrandt, Précis, p. 277).

548. I have already mentioned (See para. 522 above) Captain Lewis' visit to St. Mary's in July 1719. He was short of water and most of his men were down with scurvy. Probably the men he mentions as having come aboard were amongst the Kings of whom Clement Downing (p. 114) speaks, though one does not recognize the names. Such of the pirates as came on board or met the watering parties ashore, tried to seduce Lewis' seamen to join them, and he had to set a watch and keep men ready armed to prevent the ship from being surprised, for the pirates living near by had large well-manned and well-armed whale boats, and he had been warned that such an attempt would be made by the Dutchman John Pro (he was there in 1703 when the Scarborough visited St. Mary's, see para. 503 above, and is mentioned by Drury, p. 304), who was dying of consumption and in a penitent state of mind. At last, his sick men being a little recovered, but his own foremastmen very discontented and ready to listen to the doctor's mate Stephen Lee, who was inclined to join the pirates, he consulted with his officers and put to sea on the 28th. Lee, having claimed his discharge, was left ashore, and two or three men, who were in the longboat towing astern, cut her adrift and regained the land. From St. Mary's Captain Lewis went to St. Augustine's Bay, where a man called Captain John Rivers,113 acting as Deputy to the King, in consideration of a present, allowed him to trade

113 A man of this name is mentioned as having been a trader at St. Augustine's when Capt. John Tyrrel visited the place in 1695, but he was then already 50 or 60 years old (Shawe MS. 554).
for provisions and refit his ship (Log, 4th September 1719). After a long and dangerous voyage (17th December 1717 to 24th March 1719-20) Captain Lewis arrived in England, but on the 13th March, when already in the Thames, Captain Delwall of H.M.S. Gosport "prost most of our men, in lieu of which he sent 25 from their own ship to carry us up the river" (Log of the King George). With such treatment to welcome their arrival home, one can understand the temptation of the foremastmen, when they were at St. Mary's, to postpone their return indefinitely.

549. The menace to trade presented by the pirates settled in Madagascar was so great that both France and England were forced to consider measures for putting an end to it. In their letters of the 11th December 1719 and 20th January 1719-20 the English East India Company requested the despatch of a squadron of King's ships, whilst the French East India Company considered the advisability of an actual Settlement in agreement with the pirates (Letter from Mr. D. Pulleney, Paris, 10th February 1720, Col. Office Records, 28-13). This however came to nothing. From the Calendar of the Stuart Papers (VII p. 362) it appears that on the 24th June 1718 Charles XII of Sweden granted a Patent to Captain William Morgan as Governor of Madagascar and a Pardon to the Pirates on condition that they should give up Piracy and with ships and money assist the Stuart cause.

550. In 1719 the Portuguese at Macao were compelled to arm two brigs for defence against the local pirates (Ljungstedt, p. 109).

551. At this time the port of Amoy was celebrated for the roguish behaviour of its officials. On any foreign ship arriving it was first disarmed, then enormous port charges were imposed, provisions were sold at very high prices, and lastly presents were made to the officers, for which a bill was sent in and had to be paid before the ship's arms and munitions were restored (Kerr, X. 427). In other Chinese ports official villainy took another form. In November 1721 Captain John Clipperton of the Success Privateer, having been forced by a mutiny and the bad condition of his ship to sell her in Macao, sent one of his mates, Mr. Taylor, to Macao in an armed boat along with a Mandarin. On the way they saw a pirate take a boat, but the Mandarin made no effort to protect it. "This plainly showed that the Government winks at these things, perhaps deeming it good policy to raise thereby a considerable revenue, partly by presents from the pirates and partly by sums paid by the merchants and passengers for protection" (Ibid., p. 431).

552. When the Henrietta visited St. Mary's in May 1720, she found there a prize which had been sent in by a certain Captain Condon, who was then out on a cruise, but who had recently come to settle in the island. This was Captain Condent, a New England pirate who, off St. Jago, had taken a Dutch privateer, which he renamed the Flying Dragon. When Captain Woodes Rogers was appointed Governor of the Bahamas and in July 1718 summoned the New England pirates to surrender under an Act of Grace, Condent was one of those who refused to come in and sailed for the East Indies (Biddulph, p. 156 n.). Nothing much of him is recorded beyond the fact of his joining the more famous pirates, England and Taylor. It was this latter who brought the black flag with the skull and crossbones, afterwards known as the Jolly Roger, to the East.

553. The earliest instance which I can find in any contemporary record of the use of the black flag by professed pirates is in the fight of the 5th to 9th July 1700 off the Island of St. Jago between the French pirate Emmanuel Wynne, hailing from Domenico, and Captain St. John Cranby of H.M.S. Poole. Captain Cranby says that Wynne fought under a sable ensigne with Crossbones, a Death's head and an hour glass" (Admiralty Records, 1589 No. 25). He makes no remark on either the colour or the character of the flag, so that it seems hard to

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114 The instance of the use of the black flag in 1581 (See para. 131 above) is not quite in point as no mention is made by Faria of the skull and crossbones. The same is true of the doubtful case of Red Hand (See para. 419 above).
suppose that such a flag was then seen for the first time. On the other hand, there seem to be very few contemporary references to the black flag for the next twenty years. Its use was certainly not universal, for the Paris Gazette of the 7th January 1719, quoting news from Lisbon, dated the 1st December 1718, says that the Comte de Vimieyro, Governor designate of Bahia de Todos Santos, had been attacked on his voyage to his Governorship by a pirate, which at first hoisted Dutch colours, but on its approach put out a black flag. "Tis believed that it was one of those pyrates who have taken so many ships of England and other nations in the American seas, some of them having carried black flags" (Daily Courant 3rd January 1718-19 O.S.). This would show that the black flag was now well known in that part of the world, but not always used even there. That it was well known to British seamen is shown by the fact that Defoe in his Captain Singleton (published in 1720) mentions "a black flag with two cross daggers in it on our maintopmast head" as an indication of piracy. (He also speaks of "the black flag or ancient in the poop and the bloody flag at the topmast head"). The Boston News Letter of the 25th July 1723 describes the execution of a number of Anglo-American pirates taken by Captain Solgard as having been carried out under their own deep blue flag which had pourtrayed in the middle of it an Anatomy [i.e. a skeleton or figure of Death.] with an hour glass in one hand and a dart in the heart (sic) and three drops of blood proceeding from it in the other . . . which flag they called Old Roger and often used to say they would live and die under it" (Samuel Sewall's Diary, III. 325). The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer of the 19th October 1723, describing the same execution, differs only in saying the pirate flag was black. The first instance of the use of the name Jolly Roger occurs, I believe, in a letter from Captain Richard Hawkins, dated 12th August 1724, in which he says that on an occasion of rejoicing, his captors "hoisted Jolly Roger (for so they call their Black Ensign) in the middle of which is a large white skeleton with a dart in one hand, striking a bleeding heart, and in the other an hour glass . . . When they fight under Jolly Roger, they give Quarter, which they do not when they fight under the red or bloody flag" (British Journal, 22nd August 1724). The skeleton with its dart, and the dart and bleeding heart soon disappeared and were replaced by the chaiser skull and cross-bones. This had been used as the Ecclesiastical symbol of Death for over two centuries and is to be found depicted on the tomb of Thomas Montfort knight of St. John, who died in 1502 at Rhodes (See F. de Belabre, Rhodes of the Knights, p. 50). Soldiers also had used it as a badge. It is stated that the Pomeranian horse have carried it on their high fur caps ever since the days (1594-1632) of Gustavus Adolphus (Notes and Queries, 5, S.I. 141). Motley (John Barneveld, II. 440) says that William Barneveld, Seignior of Stoutenberg, entered Antwerp (subsequently to 1623) "in black foreign uniform . . . waving a standard with a Death's head embroidered upon it and wearing like his soldiers a sable scarf and plume." The earliest representation of a flag with the skull and crossbones that I have found is that attached to the trumpet carried by Death in the picture of Death and the Maidens in H. Frolich's Todtenzane Basel und Berne (1607). Here the flag is bound in a yeaft, which was the sea sign of distress. However, the skull and crossbones, the Ecclesiastical symbol of Death, alone, or with the other Ecclesiastical symbols of the Sword (i.e. Judgment) and the Hour Glass (i.e. Time), were from this time on, almost always the recognised emblems of piracy. According to Falconer (New Universal Dictionary of the Marine, 1769) the pirates said that the Hour Glass indicated the time during which the prisoners might deliberate whether to join the pirates or die. If they chose to die the sword indicated the means and the skull and crossbones the result of their decision. There is no certainty as to the origin of the name Jolly Roger, but my personal opinion, absolutely unsupported by any documentary evidence, is that French pirates naturally referring to the red flag as le rouge (pronouncing the final e)

115 One of the angels seen by Sir Galahad (Morte d' Arthur, XVII, Cap. XX) held "a spear, which bled marvellously that three drops fell within a box which he held with his other hand."
English sailors called it Roger or old Roger and when the black flag became the professional emblem transferred the name, which was meaningless to them, to it. In Schenck's Schouwpark aller Scheeufs Vlagen (1711) the earliest representation of the pirate flag is a red flag with the three emblems which I have mentioned, and this is reproduced in J. Millan's Signals for the Royal Navy (1746). I think that this may well have been the original joli rouge and that English sailors, again copying the French, called this decorated specimen the Jolly Roger. The only other solution of the origin of the name which appears possible to me is that it is an English perversion of Ali Raja, the Tamil title (See para. 641 n. below) of the Mapila Chiefs of Cannanore. This title meant King of the Sea and was often assumed by pirates. The chiefs of Cannanore belonged to the family of Mammat and its members were the Marakkars, whose piracy was notorious. All the pirates on this coast flew the red flag (See para. 553 above). In the 17th century the word Raja was invariably rendered by the English as Rodger or Roger and Ali Raja would certainly have been rendered as Ally or Olly Rodger. Here again however, I have no documentary evidence to offer.

Anglo-Americans.

554. According to Johnson (I. 113) Edward England (See para. 552 above) was the impudently assumed name of an Irishman, mate of a Jamaica sloop, which had been taken by the New England pirate, Captain Winter, about 1716. According to Downing (p. 109) he had been mate of the Onslow, taken off the coast of Guinea by the pirate ship Terrible of Rhode Island (Captain John Williams Commander, Bartholomew Roberts Quartermaster). His real name seems to have been Jasper Seager. The pirates burned the Terrible and went on board the Onslow, of which England was made Captain. By 1719 he and Roberts had become the most popular commanders amongst the pirates on the Guinea coast. To prevent quarrels between their partisans they agreed to separate. Roberts sailed for the American coast in the Onslow (renamed the Royal Fortune) and England for the Indian Seas in a Dutch Interloper (originally the Merry Christmas, a Dutch built vessel of about 300 tons. British Journal 14th September 1723), which he had renamed the Fanev伊 （after Every's famousship）. England took with him the Victory or Victoria (Captain Taylor), a ship variously stated to have been the Prosperous of London (Captain James) and (See Johnson, I. 117) the Peterborough of Bristol (Captain Owen), and also the Brigantine Unity, which they had renamed the Expedition. On the 11th December 1719 he with three other pirate ships under black flags and death's heads, had, off old Colabar, taken the Colabar Merchant, Captain Thomas Kennedy (Col. Office Records, 5-1319), and it was probably he who vainly attempted the capture of a Dutch ship which came into Table Bay on the 20th February 1719-20, reporting that she had beaten off a pirate (a Dutch ship which the pirates had exchanged for an English ship) which "could not have less than 250 men on board her and threatened if they did not strike they would give no quarters, with their black flag at masthead with Death's head in it. They made great use of their small arms so that the Dutchmen left their commander on the Quarter-Deck by himself, the small shot flew so briskly about." The fight lasted for seven or eight glasses one day and for six or seven the next and the pirate was only beaten off when her flying jibboom was "within one foot of his [the Dutchman's] ensign staff" by the gunroom guns of the chase raking her fore and aft. A few days later another Dutch ship came in and reported a similar escape, but had seen the pirates take a small ship flying a blue English ensign (Log of the Prince Frederick, 20th February 1719-20). Apparently they went straight for the Red Sea as they took a rich Moor's ship at its mouth, which they carried to St. Mary's, where they murdered their prisoners. Probably this was the rich ship bound from Jeddah to Surat which was reported in the Bombay letter of the 20th August 1720 as having been taken by a pirate with two tiers of guns and carrying 300 men (C. R. Wilson, Annals, III. 285-6).
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2. Śunam.

Amongst the words nitya, sva, niya, priya, vāma, and jushṭa that have been mentioned in the preceding article as signifying both (1) own, svāya, and (2) dear, pleasing, etc., priya, should be included the word śunam also.

This word is enumerated by the author of the Nighaṭṭu amongst the synonyms of suka, happiness; and this meaning suka or the derived meaning sukha-kara is repeated by Sāyāna in the course of his commentary on all the RV. passages where the word occurs. In 3, 30, 22, however, he has in addition explained śunam as śunam utēthena pravṛddham, thus connecting the word with the verb ētuk or śayā, 'to swell.' This derivation is given in the PW by Roth who explains the word as ' (adv.) glücklich, mit Erfolg, zum Gedeihen; (n.) Erfolg, Gedeihen' and by Grassmann who explains it as ' (1) Wachsthum, Gedeihen; (2) Gedeihen, Wohlergehen, Glück, Segen; (3) (adv.) zum Gedeihen, zum Wohlergehen, zum Segen.' Geldner, on the other hand, has suggested (RV. Glossar.) that the word is related to śivam, and has explained it as 'Heil, zum Heil (svastaye). And this suggestion seems to have found favour with Hillebrandt who has translated śunam as 'zum Heil' in Lieder des Rigveda, p. 106. Later, however, Geldner himself has translated (RV. Übersetzung) the word in this passage by 'gedeihlich, zum Gedeihen' and in 3, 30, 22 by 'mit Erfolg;' and seems therefore to have abandoned his suggestion and gone back to the meanings proposed by Roth.

None of the above-mentioned meanings, however, suits the context in a passage of the Maitr. Saṁ. (1, 4, 11; p. 60, 1, 3f.) which reads as follows:

na vai tad vidma yadi brāhmaṇa vā smo brāhmaṇa vā | yadi tasya va ṣekeṣn smo 'nyasya vā ṣasya brāmahe | ṣasya ha to eva bṛvāṇo yajate taṃ tad īśṭam āgacchati netaram upanamati | tat pravare pravaryaptamā bhūyāt | devaḥ pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje | yo 'smi sa san karomi | śunam ma īśāṁ śunam śāntam śunam kṛtam bhūyāt | iti tad ya eva kis ca sa san yajate taṃ tad īśāṁ āgacchati netaram upanamati |

The mantra devāḥ pitarah . . . occurring in this passage is found in the Ait. Br., Tait. Br., and Kāṭhaka-samhitā also, but in a slightly different form, namely, as devāḥ pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje 'yasyāṁ na tam antar emi svam ma īśāṁ svam dālam svam pūrtam svam śrāntam svam kṛtam in Tait. Br. 3, 7, 5, 4 and 6o. Sr. Śūṭra 4, 9, 6 and as devāḥ pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vah prabṛvāṁ tasya me vittā svam ma īśāṁ astu śunam śāntam svam kṛtam in KS. 4, 14. The word śunam in the MS. reading of the mantra is thus parallel to the word svam in the TB. reading of it, and is obviously equivalent to it. The above passage from the MS. therefore means: 'We do not know whether we are Brāhmaṇas or not Brāhmaṇas, whether we are (the descendants) of the rishi whom we name or of another. But (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to (the descendant of) him who is named and to no other. Therefore when the lineage (pravara) is being proclaimed (1), he should recite: 'O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers, O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be (that is, whosoever descendant I may be), that sacrifice; it is I, whoever I may be, that perform. Let (this) sacrifice of mine be (my own), (this) work (my own), (this) act (my own). In this way, whoever he who sacrifices, (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to him and to no other.'

Similarly, it is equally obvious that śunam=svam (with which it is parallely used) in the KS. reading of the mantra: deved pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vah prabṛvāṁ tasya me vittā svam ma īśāṁ astu śunam śāntam svam kṛtam: 'O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers, O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be, that sacrifice; this I declare unto you; bear witness to this
on my behalf. Let (this) sacrifice be (my) own, (this) performance (my) own, (this) work (my) own.”

On the other hand, this meaning svam, ‘own,’ is unsuited to the word śunam in the passages of the RV. and other texts where the word occurs. And I therefore infer, from the analogy of the words priya, vāma and jushja or nīya, eva and niya, that mean both ‘dear’ and ‘own,’ that śuna, too, has these two meanings, and that it has, in the passages referred to, the meaning priya, ‘dear, pleasing, agreeable.’ This meaning priya, as I shall now show, suits the context well and yields good sense in these passages.

Sāukh. GS. 2, 10, 6: agnīḥ śraddhāṃ ca medhāṃ ca ‘vinipātan smṛtīṃ ca me |
ūtō jātavedā ayaṃ śunam naḥ samprayacchatu ||

“May Agni bestow faith and intelligence, not falling off (unforgettable) and memory on me. May this Agni Jātavedas, praised (by us) bestow pleasing things on us.” Compare the similar use of priya and vāma in TS., 4, 7, 3, 1: priyaṃ ca me ‘nukāmaśca me . . . . (yajśena kalpantām), RV. 4, 30, 24: vāmāṃ-vāmāṃ ta ādure deo ādāve aryamāḥ | vāmāṃ pūṣāḥ vāmāṃ bhāgo vāmāṃ devāḥ kārujaś; 10, 56, 2: vāmāṃ asmaḥbhyaṃ dhātu śāmaṁ tāhyāṃ.

RV. Khila, 10, 128, 4: śunam aham hiranyasya pitur nāmeva jayagha |
tena maṃ sīrayetvacat akeṣaṃ pūrṣuḥ priyam ||

“May I have invoked the dear name of hiranya (gold) that is as dear as that of the father. I have therewith made myself sun-skinned (i.e., bright as the sun to look at) and pleasing to many.” Compare 7, 56, 10: priyāḥ vo nā'ma hwe turvāṃ; 10, 84, 5: priyāṃ te nā'ma sahure grūmasi where the epithet priya is applied to nāman. Compare also, with regard to the invoking of the father, 2, 10, 1: johā'tro agniḥ prathamāḥ pātēva; 8, 21, 14: ā'd' ū pātēva hūyase; 6, 52, 6: agniḥ susūnāḥ suhāvaḥ pātēva; 1, 104, 9: pātēva nah ṣṛṇuḥ hūyāmnāḥ; 10, 39, 1: pāt ur nā'ma suhīvaṃ huvāmaḥ, etc.

10, 160, 5: asaṣaṇānto gavyaṇto vajjayaṇto
huvāmahe tvopagantavā'u |
dhāḥ' shantas te sumalaś nāvyāṇa
vajapa īndra teś śunāṃ huvema ||

“Desiring horses, cows, and riches, we call on thee to come here. Desiring to be in thy new (i.e., latest) favour, O Indra, we invoke thee that art dear.” Compare the verses 8, 98, 4: īndra no gudhi priyāḥ and 1, 142, 4: īndram citram ihā priyāṃ where the epithet priya is applied to Indra.

3, 30, 22: śunāṃ huvema mahīvānam īndram
asmiḥ bhūre nā'lam nā'jasaṭāu |
ervāṇām ugrām utāye samāsau
ghnāntām vtrā'śi sanjītanu dhānānāṃ ||

“We invoke in this battle, in the winning of booty, dear Indra, liberal, most valiant, fierce, who hears (our cries) for protection, kills enemies in fights, and is the winner of wealth.”

6, 16, 4: teś'um ise ādha dvitā' 
habitā vajjikibhi śunām |
ījā yajjasuḥ yajñiyam ||

“Bharata again, also, with the sacrificers has praised thee (sc. Agni) that art dear; he has offered worship to thee that art worthy of worship in sacrifices.” Compare 1, 128, 8: agnim hetāram ījete vāsamahīṃ priyāṃ cetiṣṭham; 1, 128, 7: agnir yajjasuṃ jenyo na vīpāṭāh priyā 
yajjasu viṣpāṭiḥ and the other passages referred to on p. 202 in vol. LV above where Agni is called priya, puruṣpriya, preṣṭha, etc.

10, 126, 7: śunāṃ asmaḥbhyaṃ utāye
vīravā no mitrā aryamā’
śārma yacchantu saprītha
dāityāḥ so yād i'mahe ēbī dvishah

"May the Ādityas Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryamā grant us for our protection (their) dear wide-extended shelter which we pray for (and carry us) across enemies." Compare 10, 126, 4: yushmā'kam śārmaṇī priyā syāma; 7, 95, 5: śārman priyātame dādhānā āpa stheyamā śaraṇām na vrksām in which the epithet priya is applied to śaraṇām.

1, 117, 18: śunām anāhā'ya bhāram aheyaat sā' vṛkṣa rśvū na rśvadā na nītī
jārāh kanśī na ima cakshādānā
vṛka śravā labhām ēkam ca mehān

"(May) that which is pleasing (i.e., favourable) (happen) to the blind man, O ye bulls, valiant Aśvins," cried the she-wolf, "like a youthful lover has Rjrāśva cut up a hundred and one goats."

Maitr. Saṃ., 2, 7, 12: śunām naro laṅgalaṃ naudbhīr
bhaṅgā phālaśī sirapati marudbhīk
parjanyo bījām trayāino dinotu
śunāsārā kṛutam bhāyatam

"May the men (give) pleasure with the plough and oxen; may Bhaga with the ploughshares and the lord of the plough with the Maruts (give) pleasure. May Parjanya, impelling the seed (to sprout and grow) delight us; may Śuna and Sira confer grain on us." One has to supply the word kṛutu, daddu or similar word after śunām in the first half-verse. Note the parallelism of dinotu in the second half-verse with śunām (kṛutu or daddu) in the second.

Kauśika-sūtra, 46, 54: śunām vada dākṣiṇātalaḥ śunām uttarato vada
śunām purastān no vada śunām pasćāt kāpiṣṭala

"Say what is pleasing to the right, say what is pleasing to the north; say what is pleasing in front; say, O partridge, what is pleasing behind." That is to say, whether you cry to our right or to our left, in front of us or behind us, O partridge, may such cry portend and bring to us what is pleasing or favourable.

RV., 4, 57, 8: śunām naḥ phālā vi kṛṣhantu bhū'mīṃ
śunām kīnād abhi yantu vāhāḥ
śunām parjanyo mādhunā pāyobhīk
śunāsārā śunām asād' su dhatām

"May our ploughshares plough the land pleasantly; may the ploughers proceed pleasantly with the draught-animals. May Parjanya with waters and honey do us favour; may Śuna and Sira confer pleasing things (favourites) on us." The word śunām in the first half-verse is used adverbially and denotes 'pleasantly;' in a pleasing manner; well;' while in the second half-verse, it is a substantive as in the above passages. In the third pāda one has to supply a word like kṛutu or daddu on the analogy of the fourth pāda. Compare also 4, 2, 8: priyām va tvā kṛṣyaṭe havishmāṇa and the phrase rāṇam dāhāḥ and rāṇam kṛtiḥ in 8, 96, 16: vibhumadhyayo bhūkanebhīyo rāṇam dāhāḥ and 10, 112, 10: rāṇam kṛtiḥ rānakṛt satyāushmā.

4, 57, 4: śunām vāhāḥ śunām nārāḥ
śunām kṛṣhantu lā' nyālam
śunām varatraṇā badhyantām
śunām asātānaḥ ud yagaya

"Pleasingly (i.e., well) may the draught-animals, the men, (and) the plough plough; may the straps be tied well; well may the goad be applied (i.e., may the ploughing of the draught-animals, men and the plough, the tying of the straps, and the application of the goad, all bring pleasing results to us)."
The subject of acarat in pada a above is the bull, vyshabha, that is mentioned in the previous verse as running—ārambha pādyābhīh kabūdman. And hence I interpret kapardī as ‘wearing cowries’ instead of as ‘wearing a braid, zottig’ (Roth, Geldner, Oldenberg, etc.) as this latter epithet is unintelligible to me in connection with a bull. The custom, on the other hand, of ornamenting bulls and oxen with strings of cowries fastened round the neck is fairly wide-spread in India, and I conceive that this must have been the case with Mudgala’s bull also. Drū in the second pada refers, of course, to the druga or block of wood mentioned in the next verse.

It has been suggested by Oldenberg (l.c.), perhaps with a view to get over the difficulty caused by the word kapardī (which he interprets as ‘wearing a braid, zottig’), that the subject of acarat is not the bull but Mudgala. This does not seem to be correct; for I believe with Geldner that Mudgala was too old to take part in a chariot-race and that the chariot was in fact ridden by Indrasenā with Kesu as charioeteer (see my article in vol. XLVII, ante, referred to above).

4, 3, 11:

śēnāḍriṃ vy āśan bhīdāntah
vāṃ āṅgiraso navanta gōbhīh
śunāṇ mṛṣā pārī shadann uṣhāsam
āḍiḥ svār abhāvaj jātē agnād

"Properly they did burst open the rock, shattering it. The Aṅgirasas loved with the cows. Pleasingly (i.e., with pleasing results; well) did the men worship the Dawn; the sun made himself manifest when Agni was born." The explanation of parishadan as ‘umlagerten’ by Roth, Grassmann and Geldner (RV. Übersetzung) seems to me to be hardly satisfactory; and I prefer to follow Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara who has paraphrased parashadayam in TB. 3, 1, 2, 9 as parita upāsyam (cf. also Mahādāra on VS. 5, 32) and regard parishadan here as equivalent to paryupāśācakrire. Compare 7, 76, 6: prāti śvā stāmaīr śatate vāsishtaḥ uṣhabhādah subhāge tussvāṁsaḥ gārāṃ netri va jatam ā ha uchchhah sujāte prathamā jarakat 7, 78, 2 prāti śhīṃ agnir jaratā sāmīdhak prāti vīpāsim nasthir gṛṇatāh uṣhāḥ yāti jyotishā bē δhamānā viśā tīmānā durātāpa devī; 7, 80, 1 prāti śembhāḥ uṣhāḥam vāsishtaḥ gībhīh vīpāsaḥ prathamā abadhān. The expression ‘the men worshipped the Dawn’ indicates that the Dawn showed herself at that time when Agni was born, that is, was kindled before daybreak. The kindling of Agni, the coming of the Dawn and the rising of the sun are referred to in other verses also of the RV, for instance, in 7, 72, 4: vi cēd uchchhānti abhinā uṣhāḥ prā vām brahmānī kārāso bharrantā | uśr̥heḥm bhānām samavatā devaś akṛ̥tāh agnir yathā samādīya jārante 7, 77, 1-3: upaururuce yuvatān na gāshā vīshvām jotīṃ prasuṣānaḥ catur yati śabdāḥ agnir samādīha mā nābhānām ākar jyoti bē δhamānā tīmānā | vīṣvam pratīcī saṃprātiḥ uṣhāḥ rūkṣaḥ vaśo bhūvirātāḥ.

The hymn to which this verse belongs has been much discussed by the exegetists and been interpreted in many ways; for literature connected with it, see Oldenberg, RV. Noten II, p. 318 and also my article on Indrasenā in vol. XLVII, ante, pp. 280 ff. I agree with Oldenberg (l.c.) that the hymn neither concerns a ‘drame qui se joue au ciel et sur terre durant l’orage’ (Bergaigne) nor reveals the ‘méthode de la devinette primitive’ (Henry), but that (as believed by Geldner, Ved. Studien 2), it deals with the story of a Brāhmaṇa couple and a chariot-race.

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sprinkle, O Agni, this our path, this road which we have followed from a distance. May our bargain and sale be pleasing (i.e., turn out favourable); may the barter make me abounding in fruit (i.e., may the barter be fruitful to me). Do ye two enjoy this oblation in concord. May our transaction and trading be pleasing (i.e., favourable).” Śaraṇi=road, path, and not hiṃsā, offence or Verdruss; see Apte. Accordingly I take the verb mesh in the sense of ‘to sprinkle,’ a meaning which the author of the Dhātupāda assigns to it, but of its use in which no example has been up to now met with. The expression ‘sprinkle this our path’ means probably ‘make our path smooth and easy to travel’; compare the expressions ṭānunāyatā pathā vāsa yā nān mādheśa samāni jān svadāya suṣikhe in RV. 10, 110, 2; &c. no dadhiṅkā ṭathād yām anakthu in 7, 44, 5; and madhvāya devo deevībhoy devayaṁdān patho anaktha in T.B. 3, 6, 2, 1.

Come, O ye Āsins that have all desirable things; this your place in the earth has been praised. Like a powerful horse, it stood up with pleasing (i.e., pleasure-giving; comfortable) back on which you sat as if settling permanently in a house.” Śunaprasthāh=prīyasprasthāh which is used many times in the RV. as an epithet of akṣa, aṭṭa, harī, etc.; see Grassmann s.v. This word does not signify ‘schlichten Rücken haben’ (Roth in PW.) or, ‘dessen Rücken eben ist’ (Grassmann) but means ‘having a pleasing (i.e., comfortable) back’; compare the word susahada ‘easy or comfortable to sit upon’ that is used as an epithet of arun in VS. 11, 44: āsūr bhava vāṣy aranc pṛthu bhava susahada tuṃ. Compare also ṣaṁkṣa ṣaṁkṣa in RV. 7, 97, 6: tṛ̤m ṣaṁkṣaḥ so aruṣhaḥ so ṣaṁkṣaḥ brhaḥ pahāvīḥ sahaḥvīḥ vahanti and ṣaṁkṣaḥ harī in 8, 2, 27: ṣaṁkṣa harī brahmayājaḥ ṣaṁkṣa vakrathāh sākhyāyam.

6 This word ṣaṁkṣa too has been wrongly understood and explained by Roth and other exegetists. It does not mean ‘hilfreich, mittelbarm, entgegenkommend, gütig’ as explained by Roth (PW), or ‘vermögend, stark, kräftig’ as explained by Grassmann, or ‘ākṣa as alternatively explained by Sāyana in 7, 97, 6, but sūkha or sūkhabara as explained by the author of the Nīghaṇṭa and by Sāyana himself in 7, 97, 6 and other passages. Ṣaṁkṣaḥ pāyubhiḥ (in 1, 130, 10; 1, 143, 8) means ‘by happiness-conferring protections’ and is the equivalent of ajasṛṣṭaḥ pāyubhiḥ, avabhadhaḥ pāyubhiḥ, avalabhābhīḥ pāyubhiḥ or arīṣṭheḥ pāyubhiḥ (for references see Grassmann, s.v. pāya; compare mayēbhār śīṣaḥ in 1, 117, 19; and 1, 94, 9); ṣaṁkṣa ṭraḥaḥ (6, 74, 8) means a ‘chariot that gives happiness or comfort; a comfortable chariot’ and is the equivalent of sūkha ṭraḥaḥ (for references, see Grass. s.v. sūkha): ṣaṁkṣaḥ harī and ṣaṁkṣaḥ ṣaṁkṣaḥ in the above-mentioned passages mean ‘horses that carry one comfortably; ṣaṁkṣaḥ pūtra gātibh (7, 60, 5) is equivalent to ṣaṁkṣaḥ kā ṭraḥaḥaḥ in 1, 106, 2 and means ‘the happiness-conferring Āditya’; and ṣaṁkṣa vājāḥ in 10, 31, 5 means ‘happiness-conferring riches.’ Similarly, ṣaṁkṣa has the meaning of ‘happiness-conferring’ in the three other verses where it occurs as an epithet of Indra and the Soma juice (6, 44, 2) of vikale or speech (5, 43, 11) and of soma or company (7, 54, 3).
2, 18, 6: 
āśītyā' navatyā' yāhy arvā'ā'n
ā śatēna hāribhir ubhyāmānāh ||
ayām hi te śunāhotreshu sōma
indra tvāyā' pārīshikto mādāyā ||

"Come here drawn by eighty, by ninety, by hundred horses. This Soma-juice, O Indra, has been poured out for thee, for thy pleasure, by (the priests) who have pleasure in sacrifices."

2, 41, 14: 
terō co mādhumān ayān
śunāhotreshu matsarā'h ||
etām pibata kā'myam ||

"For you is this exhilarating, sweet, and sharp (Soma-juice) with the (priests) who have, pleasure in sacrifices; drink this beloved (drink)."

2, 41, 17: 
vaś visvā sarasvati
śrīdāyūnishi devyā'm ||
śunāhotreshu mātreyo
prayā'n devi dīdīldhi nah ||

'On thee, O goddess Sarasvati, depends all longevity. Delight thou with (the priests) who have pleasure in sacrifices; confer children on us.'

The exegetists have explained the word śunāhotreshu in all the above three verses as a proper noun (Śāyaṇa does so in 2, 41, 14 and 2, 41, 17 only; in 2, 18, 6 he interprets śunāhotreshu as sukhena hāyate somo yebhir īśi śunāhotrāh pātraviśeṣedhāh)—an explanation for which there does not seem to be any necessity. For, just as the word śunapreṣṭha is equivalent to vītāprṣṭha, in the same way does the word śunāhotra (śunām hotrāyām yasya) seem to be equivalent to the word vītihotra (vītih hotrāyām yasya) 'he who has pleasure in sacrifices,' i.e., 'he who takes delight in offering sacrifices to the gods,' which occurs in 1, 84, 18: kō mainaste vītihotraṁ sudevāḥ and 2, 38, 1: athābhajad vītihotraṁ svastād with the signification of 'priest.' This meaning, 'priest' suits śunāhotra also in the above verses, and there is thus no necessity to regard it as a proper name.

The word śuna occurs further in the compound ducchunā which means 'unpleasantness,' vipriya or dubhka, and in the denominative verb ducchunāy, formed from the above, meaning 'to cause unpleasantness or discomfort.'

The word śuna that forms part of abhiśunatarā in T.Br. 1, 7, 1, 6: tuv samalabhetām | so 'smād abhiśunatarā bhavat means, as explained by the commentator Bhāṭṭa-Bhāskara, balena abhiśvṛddhaḥ and is clearly derived from the root śu, śvay 'to swell.' It is thus quite a different word and unconnected with śuna meaning 'dear; own.'

Śuna thus signifies originally, as I hope is clear from the foregoing, priya, 'dear, agreeable,' etc., and secondarily, svya or 'own.' The meaning suḥka assigned to it by the author of the Nighaṇṭu seems to be but an approximate equivalent of the original priya, and, like all approximations, not quite accurate.

(To be continued.)

7 The word śunahotra does not occur elsewhere.
BRAHMA-VIDYA AND SUFISM.
BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.

(Continued from page 56.)

In myths and legends and also in practices, a good deal in Sufism is considered to be only a copy of similar things in Buddhism. "Besides these legendary and practical indications, we find an affinity between Sufism and the fundamental thoughts and the lessons of Buddhism. The tone of mind, and the spiritual tendency of Sufism seem as if the Buddhistic way of thinking had been transferred into the frame of Islam and adapted to it." (JRAS., 1904, p. 135).

Nicholson seems to think that in the beginning Sufism was not indebted to any external influence (JRAS., 1906, p. 305). Yet even he concedes that, in its later development—specially in the development of the conception of fanā, Sufism was indebted to Buddhism (ib., p. 330). We should not forget that this doctrine of fanā or self-annihilation has an apt parallel in the Vedantic conception of the merging of the individual into the infinite self. But so far as the idea is present in Sufism, it is more usually traced to Buddhism than to Hinduism.

So far, therefore, as admissions go, and so far as admissions are a part of proof, not much is found in favour of Brahmavidyā. Sufism's indebtedness to Vedantism is vaguely hinted; but what is proved or admitted as proved, is a contact of Sufism with Buddhism. It is obvious that contact with Buddhism cannot be taken as evidence of borrowing from Vedantism; yet this is just what we have to examine. Direct contact with Vedantism was not inherently impossible for Sufism; rather, we may suspect on historical grounds that it had taken place. And the grounds are not materially different from those in the case of Buddhism. But this possibility of contact with Vedantism has not been sufficiently stressed, and is not even admitted by all. And naturally, it has not been explored to the same extent as the possible relation of Sufism with Buddhism. With regard to other systems of Hindu philosophy, such as the Yoga, even the suggestion of a possible relation of Sufism with them, is rarely made. We see, therefore, that, with regard to the nature and extent of the indebtedness of Sufism to foreign influences, scholars are more generally inclined to admit borrowing from Buddhism than from Vedantism. The possibility of borrowing from the Yoga is noticed by very few, of whom Al-Beruni, however, is one.

The similarity between Vedantism and Sufism in some important respects has been always admitted. Von Kremer quotes from the Vedānta-sūtra to establish the fact that there are parallel lines of thought and practice in Sufism and Vedantism. But as we have pointed out before and as Nicholson justly remarks (JRAS., 1906, p. 315), "the question whether Sufism is derived from the Vedanta cannot be settled except on historical grounds, i.e., (1) by an examination of the influence which was being exerted by Indian upon Muhammadan thought at the time when Sufism arose; and (2) by considering how far the ascertained facts relating to the evolution of Sufism accord with the hypothesis of its Indian origin". Nicholson is of opinion that a chronological study of the evidence will not prove this hypothesis; nor will it prove "the alternative form of 'Aryan reaction' theory, namely, that Sufism is essentially a product of the Persian mind". "It seems to me", he says again, (ib., p. 305) "that this type of mysticism was—or at least might have been—the native product of Islam itself, and that it was an almost necessary consequence of the Muhammadan conception of Allah, a conception which could not possibly satisfy the spiritually-minded Moslem".

In his Literary History of the Arabs (p. 384), Nicholson seems to modify this view somewhat, and is prepared to admit that all the theories about the origin of Sufism contain 'a measure of truth'. Now, Vedantism is one of the supposed sources of Sufism (vide Browne, Literary History of Persia, p. 418). Nicholson is obviously more favourably inclined to it now than before (JRAS., 1906). But he does not appear to have discovered any new proof.
Nicholson's attitude in this matter is rather hesitating and indefinite. In the first place, he is inclined to hold that Sufism had an independent origin within Islam; but at the same time, he is not blind to the possibility of foreign influence. There, however, he warns us that if Sufism had a foreign origin, it must be "sought in Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism", rather than in any Indian system. It may be that Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism were, in their turn, influenced by Indian thought; "but this is a large question which has not been, and perhaps never can be, definitely settled". (JRAS., 1906, p. 320.) On the other hand, apart from this possible indirect influence, he is willing even to admit direct influence of Indian thought on Sufism; but he would not admit that this was possible during the initial stages of Sufism. "The direct influence of Indian ideas on Sufism", he says, "though undeniably great, was posterior and secondary to the influence exerted by Greek and Syrian speculation". (JRAS., 1906, p. 320).

So far we have seen that, though in its beginning Sufism is regarded as of independent origin, yet in its subsequent history the possibility of Vedantic influence is admitted in a general way. There is not much proof, but the hypothesis is not ruled out. Browne, however, is categorically against even such an hypothesis (Literary History of Persia, p. 419). He says: "Though in Sasanian times, notably in the sixth century of our era during the reign of Nushirwan, a certain exchange of ideas took place between Persia and India, no influence can be shown to have been exerted by the latter country on the former during Muhammadan times, till after the full development of the Sufi system, which was practically completed, when Al-Beruni... wrote his famous memoir." Browne, therefore, is not only unwilling to trace the origin of Sufism to Indian thought, but he is not prepared even to admit Indian influence on the subsequent history of this branch of Islamic culture.

On the whole, therefore, the idea of Vedantic influence on Sufism is not very favourably received by European scholars. (Cf. also, Margoliouth, Early Development of Muhammadanism, Lectures V and VI.) Similarity between the two systems is not denied; but to prove indebtedness either way, something more than mere resemblance is necessary. And this is exactly what is not found, so far as Vedantism is concerned. With regard to Buddhism, as we have already seen, opinion is more favourable. This is no doubt due to the fact that it was a living religion in the neighbourhood of Sufism even after the rise of Islam. As to Vedantism, it cannot be shown that it was being cultivated in that territory before and after the rise of Sufism; nor can it be shown that Sufism had any direct connection with it. Browne, therefore, is right in maintaining that 'no influence can be shown to have been exerted' by India on Sufism.

But at the same time, it seems to be going too far not to allow even the possibility of such an influence. We cannot get over the fact of political and commercial intercourse between India and the west for a fairly long period, from pre-historic times up to a date posterior to the rise of Islam. And there is the fact of Indian colonies in western Asia. Even Browne admits that 'in the sixth century of our era 'an exchange of ideas took place between Persia and India. And then again, we have the further fact that during the eighth-ninth century A.D., the court of Bagdad patronised Hindu learning. The ministerial family of Barmak "engaged Hindu scholars to come to Bagdad, made them the chief physicians of their hospitals, and ordered them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astronomy, and other subjects. Still in later centuries Muslim scholars sometimes travelled for the same purposes as the emissaries of the Barmak." (Sachau; English Translation of Al-Beruni; Introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxii.) As to this family of Barmak, or the Barmakides, we are told that they came from a Buddhist temple (Navabihara) in Balkh.

The position then is this: In the sixth century, an exchange of ideas took place between Persia and India, even according to Browne; and in the eighth century, Hindus were expressly
invited to the court of Bagdad and were commissioned to translate books from Sanskrit into Arabic, and these books included books on philosophy, too. Brahmavidyā, therefore, was not without a chance. We have no evidence, it seems, that this contact between India and the west was maintained during the seventh century also; but this was a period when Islam was busy consolidating itself and, perhaps, had not much time to attend to outside realities. But if Hindu philosophical ideas had been travelling to the west up to the sixth century, and if they were again honourably received at court in the eighth century, is it likely that they were completely banished from the Islamic world in the seventh? Buddhism continued to live a vigorous life even after that; was Hinduism alone, if it had already been there, doomed to complete expulsion?

Thus there is no inherent improbability in the supposition of Vedantic influence on Sufism. The presence of Hindus at the very centre of Islam—at the court of the Khalifs at Bagdad, makes it rather probable. They wrote books on philosophy, we are told; but even if they had done nothing of the kind, they might still have left some influence behind. In modern times, almost every important seat of learning has foreign teachers; it cannot be said that they exert no influence, unless they leave behind some permanent and enduring record of their activity. The Hindus at Bagdad, however, did more solid work than merely holding conversations on diverse subjects: they wrote books. And it is not conceivable that books which were written under royal patronage in those days, were not read. It is unlikely, therefore, that Hindu ideas which were in existence in the western world in the sixth century a.d., all disappeared with the beginning of the seventh century; and it is difficult to imagine that the Hindus who went to the court of Bagdad on invitation, were men of so little worth that they could produce no impression at all.

All this is true. But all these facts put together do not allow us to do more than hazard a guess that Vedantism may have exerted some direct influence on Sufism. It was just possible; but whether it became actual or not, is more than can be proved. The opportunities were there; but it cannot be shown that they were utilised. The hypothesis is not disproved that ideas of Brahmavidyā may have found a lodgement in those distant countries and in those far-off days. But the existence of floating ideas of Vedantism in those regions does not warrant us in ascribing the origin of Sufism to that system, any more than the presence of Vedantic missionaries in America, and even an acquaintance with their system of thought and belief on the part of William James, will warrant us in ascribing his philosophy to this source.

To assert the indebtedness of one philosophical system to another, more direct evidence than mere resemblance and even acquaintance is necessary. We know that Kant was indebted to Hume and we also know why. We know also that mediaeval European philosophy was indebted to Aristotle: the evidence there is so palpably direct. The debt of Avicenna and Averroës to Aristotle is also proved by evidence other than mere resemblance. Neo-Platonism is easily traced to Plato in spite of differences. But in spite of parallels that may easily be drawn between Plato and, say, the Bhagavadgīthā, it would be rash and extravagant to affirm that Plato borrowed straight from India. In the same way and for similar reasons, we cannot justifiably conclude that Sufism owed its origin to Vedantism or to any other system of Indian philosophy. The historical facts brought to light up to now make it just possible; but we can do no more than European scholars have done, namely, hint at this possibility and wait for more knowledge. A definite and final conclusion appears to be yet premature.

The only people who could really help us in arriving at a satisfactory solution of this problem, are Muhammadan and Hindu writers on the subject. Von Kremer no doubt quotes two Muhammadan writers; but they are hopelessly modern, and are too near our own time to be of much use. A much earlier writer is Al Beruni, who wrote in the beginning of the eleventh
century A.D. His evidence deserves careful consideration in this connection. In his book
on India he refers more than half-a-dozen times to Sufism (Sachau's Translation, vol. II, p. 431);
and draws parallels between it on the one side and Greek, Christian and Hindu thought on the
other. But nowhere does he suggest more than a mere similarity of thought. For instance,
(op. cit., vol. I, p. 57), while discussing the doctrine of metempsychosis, he refers to Mānī,
Patañjali, Plato and Proclus, and says that the same doctrine is professed by some Sufis also.
He does not suggest that there was borrowing in any way. And (vol. I, p. 62), he compares
Sāṃkhya with Sufism and notices a difference also between the two. Again, in discussing the
conception of mokṣa according to Patañjali, he compares it with Sufism and also says that
"from these and similar views the doctrines of the Christians do not much differ" (vol. I,
p. 69). Further on, (p. 83), he again refers to the idea of liberation or mokṣa, according to
Sāṃkhya and Patañjali and says that "similar views are also met with among the Sufi ".
All these similarities between Indian thought and Sufism attracted his attention. But at
the same time, he notes that the Sufi in developing his theory, proceeds by an explanation
of Koranic verses (cf. also, vol. I, p. 88; also compare Margoliouth, *Early Development of

Al-Beruni appears to have been a careful student. If he had known that the Sufis were
indebted to Indian philosophy, would he not have mentioned this fact? He does not refer
to the possibility of Buddhist influence on Sufism either, which European scholars are more
willing to admit; but that is perhaps due to the fact that he knew little about Buddhism
(Sachau, op. cit., p. xlv). And "in the first half of the eleventh century, all traces of Buddhism
in Central Asia, Khurasan, Afghanistan and North-Western India seem to have disappeared.”
(*Ibid.*) Al-Beruni's knowledge of Hindu philosophy, however, was more accurate and extensive.
It is likely, therefore, that if Vedantic influence on Sufism could be traced at that time, he
would have known it; and from his veracity as a historian, it seems fairly certain that had
he known it, he would have said so. With regard to Mānī, he has not omitted to tell us that
"he went to India, learned metempsychosis from the Hindus, and transferred it into his own
system" (op. cit., vol. I, p. 54). Of course, he had no partiality for Mānī (cf. ch. XXVI),
and so had no motive against exposing foreign influences on his doctrines. But he had shown
no partiality for the Sufis either any where; and there was, therefore, no reason why he should
not disclose the origin of their teachings, if he only knew it to be the Vedanta or any Indian
system of thought.

He has not been slow in acknowledging even the debt of purer Muslims to Indian thought.
For instance, he has told us that the numerical signs which they use "are derived from the
finest forms of the Hindu signs" (op. cit., vol. I, p. 174). He has also admitted (ch. XXXII)
that Muslim authors followed the example of the Hindus in describing a certain duration of
time; and that "the theory of Abū-Ma'shar that a deluge takes place at the conjunction of the
planets" is derived from the kalpa-theory of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (vol. I, p. 325). If
such an author only knew that Sufism owed its origin to Vedantism, would he have concealed
this by no means insignificant fact?

Al-Beruni has been careful to note a good many important parallels between Sufism and
Indian thought; but he speaks of Sāṃkhya and Patañjali and makes no mention of Vedanta.
The points which he discusses in Sufism are just some of the points where Vedantism could
have influenced it, if at all. The omission of any reference to Vedanta on his part, is signifi-
cant; it seems to suggest that Vedantism was not as accessible to him as the other systems;
 i.e., it was farther away from north-west India to which the Moslems had access. If so, the
hypothesis of Vedantic influence on Sufism becomes less probable.

In Al-Beruni, then, we find two things. Although he compares Sufism with some of the
Indian systems, he does not suggest that it was indebted to any of them in the way supposed
by some; and in the second place, he omits to refer to the Vedanta. Of course, he does not speak of the indebtedness of Sufism to Christianity or to Neo-Platonism either; and his omission to mention such indebtedness does not prove that it did not exist. In the same way, his omission of reference to the Vedanta or its influence on Sufism, does not necessarily prove that such a thing could not have taken place. But here we had an opportunity where proof of such an influence might have been found, and yet we have not found it. So, although a hypothesis is not yet ruled out, we cannot prove that Brahmanidity or Vedantism exerted any direct influence upon Sufism.

Our review of the problem would remain incomplete without at least a passing reference to Hindu sources. Unfortunately very little is to be found there. We may note that the period of the Abbaside Khalifs in Bagdad almost synchronised with the revival of Vedantism in southern India and the great impetus given to this culture by Śankarācāryya is well-known. An account of the many missionary activities of this great Vedantist has been preserved, though not unalloyed with myths, in Ananda-Giri’s Śankara-Vījaya and Vidyāranya’s Śankara-Dīgviṣay. Many men and many sects, we are told, were converted to Śankara’s absolute monism; and quite a good number of places, also, did he and his disciples visit in search of conquests. But there is not the slightest hint of any communication between them and people outside the pale of Hinduism, except perhaps the reference to Bāhlika or Balkh (Śankara-Dīgviṣay, XV, 142). But even there it is the Buddhists again who were fought and conquered. We are no doubt told that there were in Bāhlika also those who wanted to learn the great Bḥāṣya of Śankara; but it is not even hinted that they were other than his ordinary pupils or disciples.

However that may be, it is, on the whole, extremely difficult to place much reliance on an account like this. The author is not endowed with the historical sense; and his accounts of Śankara’s intellectual and physical exploits are so mixed up with myths and fables, that it is impossible to believe on the testimony of a writer like this that Śankara ever visited Balkh, or even that any of his remote disciples ever did so.

One thing, however, seems certain: Balkh was known at the time, and known too as a seat of Buddhism. That Balkh was an important centre of Buddhism is proved by other evidence also. But whether Śankara or any one else ever carried Brahmanidity to that stronghold of Buddhism, is more than can be proved by this author’s testimony.

There is another point: In a manuscript, the difference between Bāhlika and Bāhlika is not much; but in latitude and longitude, it is certainly a considerable one. Therefore from this single mention of Bāhlika, it is not even safe to suppose that Balkh was meant and not a country much nearer home, namely, Bāhlika in the Punjab.

Besides, even if the conjecture is allowed that Brahmanidity was carried up to Balkh, at the time of the Abbaside Khalifs, it is still a far cry from Balkh to Bagdad and the fountainhead of Sufism.

The author of the Śankara-Dīgviṣay, it seems, was aware of the existence of the Turks, if not also of the Musalmans; and he also knew the fact that the Turks killed cows (I, 10: . . . Dhenus-Turnskair-īna, etc.). If he had any information about Vedantism spreading beyond the borders of India, beyond Balkh and Afghanistan,—if he had ever heard of such a thing,—was it not natural with such an author to seize such an opportunity, and add to the list of his hero’s achievements by narrating either a fact or a fable of the conversion of Musalmans to Vedantic monism?

1 Pratiṣṭhāya tu Bāhlikaṁ mahārṣau vinayādyah pravīrṇi vṛttaḥ sa bhāṣyaṁ avaśayaṁ avadanaṁ-akṣaraṁ pravīrṇaṁ sankṣayaṁ kṣud-athā-ratatābhivyadān, etc.
From the evidence of Ānanda-Giri and Vidyāranya it appears that the activities of Sāṅkara and his disciples were mainly directed against the Buddhists and other minor sects within the fold of Hinduism. Still that was the period of the most triumphant career of Brahmavidyā; and it was not impossible for her influence to travel beyond the borders of India at that time. If Sufism was influenced by Brahmavidyā, that was about the time when such influence may have been exerted. It is rather striking, therefore, that there is no reference to any such foreign conquest by Sāṅkara and his disciples. Of course, there were possibly other Vedantists too in the land who could have achieved such conquests; and the absence of any mention does not necessarily disprove the possibility of such influence in other lands. But here again there was an opportunity where evidence of Vedantic influence on Sufism might be found; yet we do not find it. Now, if all possible sources of positive proof fail us, what else can we do save cling to fond hypothesis?

The final conclusion to which we are led, therefore, is this: So far as Von Kremer is concerned, he makes an exaggerated claim on behalf of Vedantism, which has not been established; and, as to whether Brahmavidyā ever exerted any influence on Sufism, and if so, to what extent, no definite conclusion can be drawn, though certain historical circumstances were quite favourable for such influence. We may just suspect, as Dr. Margoliouth points out (op. cit., p. 199), that Sufism was influenced by Vedantism at some stage or other of its existence; but unfortunately we have not data enough to prove it.

A MEDIEVAL JAINA IMAGE OF AJITANĀTHA—1053 A.D.

BY N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

The focus of Jaina glory seems to have shifted from South India northwards during medieval times. Jainism appears to have suffered an eclipse in the south after the sixth century A.D. as a result of the revival of Shaivite worship, the full force of which was felt about the ninth century A.D. Jainism reached its climax during the reign of Kumārapāla (1142–73 A.D.), who was converted to the gospel of Mahāvīra Vardhamāna by the greatest and the most versatile of medieval scholars—Hemachandra Śūri. Jainism may be said to have achieved its greatest triumphs in Western India under the Solanki rulers of Gujarat (960–1243 A.D.). The most notable monuments of this period are the Delvāḍa temples; the celebrated Vimalavashāhī temple, constructed in 1023 A.D. and named after its founder Vimalāshāhī, the Daṇḍa-Nāyaka or Governor of Abu, and dedicated to Ādinātha, the first Tīrthankara; and the Lājavāshāhī shrine dedicated to Neminātha—the twenty-second Tīrthankara and constructed by Tejapāla in memory of his son Lūqasinha in 1230 A.D. This was also the period of great literary activity, specimens of which are still preserved in the various Jaina bhāndāras or libraries—at Pātan, Jaisalmīr and other places.

The beautiful figure illustrated here was executed during the reign of Bhāmadeva I (1023–1063 A.D.), the patron of Vimalashāhī. The inscription engraved at the foot of the pedestal consists of three verses, the first in the metre Shardūl Vikritiditam, the second in Sṛṇḍhāra, and the third in Āryā, and runs as follows:

बारा पदुराजस्मयज्ञमनोदायकः मार्गजनमूल दहरः खमरसंभव निषुतगुणः श्रोतासिद्धान्निविश्वायः।
तत्तत्त्त्रयं सम्रतःस्मानवृज्ञानसञ्चारः सताश्रयः सुरतः श्रवणवाक्षरतासवीतः श्रोतासिद्धान्निविश्वायः।
सरस्वतीसिद्धान्निविश्वायः नान्तः यान्तं ज्ञानमं वस्मविभासः।
स्मानेति कस्याने दहरः सम्रतिजनमूलाद्वारालाभाने श्रवणार्थमानसमुपास सहितम्योऽविद्याधिभाताम।
श्रोतासिद्धान्निविश्वायासारस्वतिचन्द्रासः विचारित तेन।
अविष्णुविविचारसंतुलं नयं श्रवणेष्व विनम् [भ] को।

संवत् १२६० ज्येष्ठ शुद्धि २२
A JAINA IMAGE OF AJITANATHA.
It may be thus translated:

1. "[There was] the saint by name Shālibhadra, the solitary sun among the stars of the monastic firmament of Thārāpadra town, of learning as wide as the limits of the seas. His pupil was one by name Pūrnabhadra, free from ignorance and sin, the foremost amongst the virtuous, and the veritable abode of the climax of all good qualities.

2. "The fame, spotless like the moon, of this very learned man (literally, the crest-jewel among the learned) spread by itself throughout the whole world. When his master Shālibhadra of godly appearance attained peace (lit. did honour to his high status, i.e. died), Pūrnabhadra even took his place in the world,—of incomparable greatness, who enshrined within himself all the exceptional virtues unattainable by the ordinary run of men.

3. "May this incomparable statue of Ajita-Jina set up by him in memory of his preceptor, the saint Shālibhadra, rejoice in the house of the Jaina Baghusena, 13th Chaitra Sudi Samvat 1110."

Nothing is known about Shālibhadra or his distinguished pupil Pūrnabhadra, nor is there any information available as to how the image came to Ahmadābād from its original home in Thārāpadra town. The image executed in 1053 A.D. measures 51 inches, or with the pedestal 63 inches in length. It is still worshipped in the Ajitanātha temple in Zaiverivadā at Ahmadābād; and but for the inscription which is a part and parcel of the pedestal, one would hardly have credited the great antiquity of the figure, so polished and in such a perfect state of preservation is it to-day. The image must contain a large amount of gold, judging from the exceptionally bright and yellow lustre of the body. The characteristic emblem of the Tirthamākara—the elephant—is missing. Unlike the bulk of Jaina statuary, this mediaeval statue is remarkable for its aesthetic qualities. The apostle is standing in the characteristic pose of a Jaina kevali—seel, one who has attained the Peace born of perfect knowledge and of absence of attachment to things mundane. The face is that of a young man strikingly handsome, with the various limbs beautifully modelled and of pleasing proportions. The loin cloth is attached to an elaborately carved girdle of fine design. The expression on the face is not one of contemplation, but of naiveté, of innocence, almost boyishness, with the eyes wide open. The udayuṣṭhi, the symbol of enlightenment, is just indicated, while the jewel of illumination is prominently shown on the forehead, as is also the shrivatsa mark on the chest. Every single anatomical detail is suppressed without in the least sacrificing the dominant quality of form. The image is fitted in a simple but effective frame,

1 I am indebted to Muni Jinavijaya Ji for the following information—Thārāpadra is the modern village of Tharad about thirty miles from Deesa in the Pilanpur Agency. It appears to have been an important town—especially a notable Jaina centre in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The following verse given on pages 132-133 of the Fifth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, by Prof. P. Peterson refers to both Shālibhadra and Pūrnabhadra. It should be noted that the Pūrnabhadra mentioned here is not the same as the author of Puchākhyānaka (पुचाख्यानक) written in 1198 A.D.

2 See my note on Two Images from Bharatpur in Rupani, pp. 98-99, April, 1924.
with two figures standing on smaller pedestals and waving the whisks round the deity. It is possible that the figures may represent Śhālibhadra and his pupil Pūrnabhadra.  

Ajitanātha is the second Tirthāṅkara, born like Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthāṅkara, and most of his successors in the royal house of Ikshvāku, to which the hero of the Rāmdāyaṇa also belongs. According to Hemachandra Sūri, the greatest of the mediaval Jain scholars, Ajitanātha was the son of Jitashatru and Vijayādevi and was born at Ajodhya on 8th day of the bright half of the month of Māgha. It appears to have been a tradition of Jaina theology that Ajitanātha was a contemporary and a cousin of the mythical prince Sagara, just as Rishabhadeva is said to have been a contemporary of the sovereign Bharata. It is absolutely impossible to find out what kernel of truth such traditions possess, for they have been overlaid with an impossible amount of myth, legend and fairy tale. Hemachandra devotes a lengthy chapter of some 150 printed pages to the description of the life of the second Tirthāṅkara, which has little of interest, notwithstanding the enormous mass of verbiage and hyperbole. Jaina theology has not even the merit of originality or of imagination, for it usually borrows wholesale from the Hindu Purāṇas and re-edits the material somewhat clumsily, changing of course the emphasis from the Brahmanical deities to the gods of its own pantheon.  

It would appear that the art of casting metallic images reached a high standard of aesthetic merit in mediaval Gujarat, the traditions of which were somewhat different from those of the South-Indian artists. A very large number of good specimens representative of the mediaval school of Gujarat can still be seen, principally in the Jaina temples scattered throughout the length and breadth of Gujarat and Rajputana (the major portion of which formed a part of the old kingdom of Pātān). The subject however needs to be systematically studied and surveyed in detail. It would seem that, unlike the development of graphic art, the course of Indian sculpture in Northern India continued to be even and produced works of great merit for many centuries after the death of Harshavardhana; and the plastic art of mediaval India has nothing to lose by comparison with the great epoch of the Guptas.

FOLK-SONGS OF THE TULUVAS.

By B. A. SALETORE, B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 17.)

The following song is sung by the Mundāla Holeyas of Udipi Taluk when they bury their dead:

5. Text.

Le le le le le là kōjē le le le,  
Le le le le là kōde le le le,  
Aithumukhariye, le le le le le,  
Nala mara danna mudetta Aithumukhariye,  
Mallavonji mudetta Aithumukhariye;  
Kela mall ha kattonēnē Aithumukhariye,  
Uruvada grāmođu, Aithumukhariye.  
Andabanda maltonde, Aithumukhariye.  
Jātipolikeda, Aithumukhariye,  
Nimatalōndēnē, Aithumukhariye.  
Kankanādi nilēdana, Aithumukhariye,  
Kotaradanna mudetta, Aithumukhariye,  
Pōnu malla tāvōndēnē, Aithumukhariye.  
Radda karē sangātērena kūdovonde, Aithumukhariye.

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3 I am indebted to Mr. K. P. Modi of Ahmadābād for getting the image adequately photographed.

4 The details about Ajitanātha have been taken from the dreary Mahābhīṣya-Tri-Shaśti-Shalēkha-Purusha Charitra, by Hemachandra Sūri, canto 2, Gujarati translation, published by Jaina Dharma Prachārak Sabha, Bhavnagar.
Jātiṇīti maltondenyā Aithumukhariye.
Kallmulla guṛt̪denyā Aithumukharige,
Jātigalā sangāde, Aithumukhariye.
Ullayaga mānanāye Aithumukharige;
Jātigela kulludu Ullayaga untudu,
Pande Aithumukhariye.
Deverenā buttibulega phovandenā Aithumukharige,
Bhumiga beripādye, Aithumukhari;
Akāshho puggenā Aithumukhariye.
Jātipokika budźu Aithumukharige,
Deverenā chakarīga, Aithumukhariye,
Deverānandā lettonderā Aithumukharina;
Devere kadekka Serondenā Aithumukhariye.
Le le le le le lā Aithumukhariye,
Le le le le le lā Aithumukhariye.

Translation.
Le le le le le lā, Yesterday, le le le,
Le le le le le lā, Yesterday, le le le,
O Thou, Aithumukhāri, Le le le le le,
The shade of the good old tree is fit for Aithumukhāri,
Near the great tree is the place for Aithumukhāri;
A great house he had built, Aithumukhāri,
In the grāma of Urvā, Aithumukhāri.
Beautiful he made it, and guarded it well, that Aithumukhāri.
In the interests of his caste, Aithumukhāri,
He did much justice, (that) Aithumukhāri.
In the settlement of Kankanādī, Aithumukhāri,
In one of its store-rooms, Aithumukhāri,
He saw his bride, did Aithumukhāri.
Two companions of his caste, he banded together, did Aithumukhāri,
To do justice in the interests of his caste, Aithumukhāri.
The hill with its stones and thorns, Aithumukhāri,
He did cultivate for his caste, Aithumukhāri.
He served his land-lord as a farmer and as a messenger, Aithumukhāri.
To the castemen, sitting; to the land-lord, standing, Aithumukhāri;
(He) used to talk, Aithumukhāri.
(And now) He is gone to requite the compulsory labour of God, Aithumukhāri;
He has put his back to the earth, Aithumukhāri;
He has entered the Akāsā, Aithumukhāri.
Leaving aside the welfare of his caste, Aithumukhāri,
He is gone to do the Service of God, Aithumukhāri;
And God has called him, Aithumukhāri;
He has joined the side of God, Aithumukhāri.
Le le le le le lā, O ! Thou, Aithumukhāri,
Le le le le le lā, O ! Thou, Aithumukhāri.

The following is sung by the Mundālā Holeyas of Udipi Taluk.

6. Text.
Le le le le lā Nāyeremāro, Le le le le la Nāyeremāro,
Tānumchelya, bālenāye, Nāyeremārudā,
Tänunchely's bālenāye, Nāyeremārudā,  
Tenakāyi deshadugo, Nāyeremāro,  
Tenakāyideshaṇḍu puttiyena, Nāyeremāro.  
Edurulā jutundinā, Nāyeremārudā;  
Bāle podu balamanāye, Nāyeremārudā;  
Mundogulā muttilāganda, Nāyeremārudā,  
Tegaḷega shirilāganda, Nāyeremārudā,  
Le le le le lā Nāyeremāro, Le le le le la Nāyeremāro.  
Madhyāna porutuguyā, Nāyeremāro,  
Kerekaḷā povendenā, Nāyeremārudā.  
Pālēda korumbudiyā, Nāyeremārudā,  
Tareka maika miyyondenā, Nāyeremārudā;  
Tundu bhairasada, Nāyeremārudā,  
Taremāi orosondenā, Nāyeremārudā.  
Tarekudutu pādondenā, Nāyeremārudā.  
Gandādā korada pattada, Nāyeremārudā.  
Kallagala taretondenā, Nāyeremārudā.  
Mundogula muttilāganda, Nāyeremāro,  
Tigeḷega shirigandha, Nāyeremāro.  
Dangagal laḍḍa ganda, Nāyeremārudā  
Gandānāma tirondena Nāyeremārudā,  
Madhyāna bojanala, Nāyeremāro,  
Tirondenā, Nāyeremāro,  
Le le le le lā Nāyeremārā, Le le le le lā Nāyeremārudā.

Translation.

Le le le le lā, Oh, the man of the Nāyar caste! Le le le le lā, Oh, the man of the Nāyar caste!
He is a fine little child,  
He is a fine little child!  
In the southern kingdom,  
In the southern kingdom was he born, Oh, the man of the Nāyar caste!  
He has worn his clothes crosswise.  
From a child he has grown into a man, Oh, the man of the Nāyar caste  
He has got sandal-paste on his forehead,  
And on his arm, too, Oh, the young man of the Nāyar caste!  
Le le le le lā, Oh, the man of the Nāyar caste! Le le le le le lā, the man of the Nāyar caste!
During afternoon time,  
He goes to the tank, the man of the Nāyar caste.  
He has got an umbrella made of the dammer tree.  
He has taken a bath on his head and body;  
With a piece of upper-cloth,  
He has rubbed his head and body;  
And he has flapped his hair, Oh, the young man of the Nāyar caste!  
With a large slump of sandal-wood,  
He is rubbing (it) against a stone.  
Over his forehead, sandal paste,  
Over his neck, sandal paste,  
Over his arm, sandal paste,
Has he finished smearing all the sectarian marks.
And his mid-day meal,
He has finished it, Oh, the young man of the Nāyar caste!
Le le le le là, Oh, the man of the Nāyar caste! le le le le là, Oh, the man of the Nāyar caste!

(Note.—Why the above song, which deals with a man of the Nāyar caste of Malabar, should be popular with a section of the Holeyas seems strange. The significance of this song cannot easily be made out.)

II. The Songs of the Pombadas.

The following song is sung when the bride is bedecked with flowers and new clothes, before presentation to the bridegroom.

1. Text.

Hari Nārayana, Hari Nārayana Swāmi, padr yeňde yeďde.
Tudāra yedde, tudāra yedde Kudipu devere.
Tudāra Bali yeďde, Bali yeďde Kadro devere Bali.
Ballanda ballanda pattere Swāmi sarpoda bila.
Vonāsusyeďde vonāsusyeďde Polela devera sthalatā.
Padayedde padayedde Rama Swāmi smarane yeďde smarane.
Hari Nārayana, Hari Nārayana Swāmi, pada yeďde yeďde.

Translation.
The song of Hari Nārayana is excellent.
Illumination in the temple of Kudipu is excellent.
The Bali in Kadri temple is excellent.
The Lord held the tail of a snake, mistaking it for a rope.
Dimmers are excellent in the temple of Polali.
That song in which the name of Lord Rāma has to be recited is excellent.
The song of Hari Nārayana is excellent.

The following is a funeral song sung by the Pombadas.

2. Text.

Angāre Orodāni tarenira sankaťa koltunde marana pattada phondeyā.
Kutumbastora notompare, guddampere, maraṇa pattada phondeyā.
Gandāda kūto kutādera, punān vonja mīpatera, pirano kondodū shingāra maltere.
Kannadā porlutunaga, pulyakāloda bolleye.
Moṇedā porlutunagā, punnemedā devere.
Gindyaṭnira pattere, tolashida gaddi pādere.
Kutumbastera sorgoda niru budiye.
Dumbutu aggi pattādere,
Pira votu punānu tumbadere.
Mūgi suttu bali battere.
Pedambugu tu diyere,
Pottutu suṇu sukkāri phondere,
Marāṇa pattada pondeyā. Marāṇa pattada pondeyā.

Translation.

“Alas! the man is dead and gone! On Tuesday he died of dropsy in the head. Those near and dear to him beat themselves on their foreheads and breasts. A funeral pyre was made of sandal-wood. The body of the deceased was washed and taken to the back of the house to be decorated. If we looked at his eyes, they spread light like that of the dawn; if we looked at the face, it shone like a full moon. They then brought water in a bell-metal vessel,
and put tulasi leaves in it. Then a member of his family poured the sacred water into his mouth. After this the firepot was taken in advance, followed by the dead body. The body was taken round the pyre three times, fire was applied to it at its left side, and it was reduced to ashes. Alas! The man is dead and gone!"

The following song is sung by the Pombas of Mangalore during a marriage ceremony:

3. Text.

デン ダデナ デンデナデ （Chorus）.
Adikanchige melkanchige kancheigađagenda aramane.
Āra Yekanandā Sālera bontu bovorgu phovodundu phanpere (Chorus).
Nāyidā Mallāḍikare bontu bovorgu phovere,
Mannu paıkudeṇḍā maleka phovodu phanpere (Chorus).
Derēnākuduru dereṇa vachanāgundu vochedu
Bontu bovorgu Sāde maltadera āra Yekkānalere.

Translation.

"That Yekkana Sala, who has built a two-storeyed palace known as the palace of seats, gave orders for going on a hunting party. The Mallāḍikara, who has the charge of dogs, will go for hunting. They say that we should go to the forest called Manna paikude or Hill of Mud, a forest never as yet entered by man for hunting. They say that we should go to those depths for spreading our nets, where never before man fished. They have made a way for the hunting party to go. Yekkana Sale is the man who does all this."

(The above song is sung when the bridegroom comes to the hut before he takes his seat with his bride.)

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.


A very interesting pamphlet on the fresh evidence as to this Apostle called by Dr. Farquhar, taking up certain points. The first is that Gondophares, Guda and the Apostle were all contemporaries in the middle of the first century A.D., a fact leading "to the belief that St. Thomas was the Apostle of North West India," which was under Gondophares. The second point is the examination of a weak link in the chain of the argument. All modern scholars are agreed that the Syriac work, The Frakais of Judas Thomas, c. A.D. 200, on which the argument depends, is not an entirely faithful record. The third and fourth points are that while the St. Thomas-Gondophares synchronism is certainly a fact, the question arises: can the connection of the two be so regarded? Mr. Joseph thinks that very probably it can. The direct answer may be recorded in a genuine Acts of St. Thomas extensively circulated about A.D. 200, if it could be found. As regards this point Mr. Joseph adduces some remarks of Dr. Farquhar in his Apostle Thomas in Northern India regarding "circumstantial evidence that there was in the Edessa Church a letter of St. Thomas sent to it from India."
The sixth point deals with a statement by Origen (c. 185-254) that St. Thomas was sent to Parthia, which Dr. Farquhar shows was a mistake, based on the fact that Gondophares of North India was a Parthian by race. The seventh, eighth and ninth points are all concerned with the fact that while Gondophares must be regarded as a North Indian king, all Malabar and Coromandel traditions place him in South India; just as, by the way, all Burmese traditions place the holy land of the Buddhists in Burma and Siamese traditions allot it to Siam. There is a controversy still in progress in Malayalam as to this consideration. All this makes one hope to see Dr. Farquhar and Mr. Joseph produce something further of equal value in collaboration as to the South Indian legend.

R. C. Temple.


In this important paper Mr. Entenhoven has descended on Sir James Campbell's well-known theory, on which he expended so much research, and after all never completed. I had the privilege of being well acquainted with him, and it was owing to that acquaintance that he was induced, after a long talk over the matter with me during a flying visit to Bombay, to start on his voluminous printed, but not published, Notes in this Journal. He insisted
on re-editing them, and so the publication was slow, and long before he could complete it he died. After his death those in charge of his MSS. thought it best to leave them where they were, to the great loss of scholarship in India and indeed in the world. Since then his former Assistant, Mr. Enthoven, has done something to retrieve his researches from oblivion, and has again attacked the subject in the paper under discussion, "actuated mainly by the hope that some member of the Folk-lore Society may be moved to undertake the task of revising and issuing the Notes in a form adapted to the use of those interested in primitive religion." It is in the further hope that some reader of the Indian Antiquary will be fired to do as Mr. Enthoven desires that attention is now drawn to this remark.

As to the manner in which this should be done Mr. Enthoven writes: "I am of the opinion that, if use is to be made of Campbell's Notes, it would be an advantage to concentrate on the references to India and omit the rest," and he gives his reasons. Then he observes that Campbell "never really developed in a comprehensive statement his conclusions on the meaning of the immense volume of primitive practice which he has recorded for us in his Gazetteers and Notes. The raw material for the student, however, exists. It seems to me of great importance that it should be made more accessible."

On this I would remark that the publication of Campbell's Notes would thus become "evidence," for an anthropologist to work up into a "judgment," and from that point of view all the evidence available is of value. As regards value, old evidence is as good as that which is newer, and it would be a misfortune if the judge—as I presume our assumed anthropological researcher would constitute himself—is to be deprived of any part of it.

R. C. TEMPLE.


The six voyages of Tavernier, first printed in 1676, have indeed been presented in an edition worthy of his invaluable work. The very names of the editors are a guarantee of the excellence of the work put into the two volumes under discussion. We have, besides, first of all Dr. Ball's preface and his introduction, which is really a life of Tavernier after Prof. Charles Joret's French life of the great traveller, and a bibliography of the various editions of Tavernier's Travels. Then we have an introduction by Dr. Crooke, characteristically short and full of information, and in addition a large number of notes, involving immense research, on Tavernier's history and geography by Mr. Rose. So that before he gets to Tavernier's text, the modern student will find much food for his mind and very much that his predecessors missed. In this part of the book, however, there are some misprints which might have been avoided.

Tavernier's Travels are so well known and he travelled so far and observed so very much that it is inadvisable, and indeed impossible, to go into the story of his wonderful journeys in a review. Suffice it to say that the notes on, and the illustrations of, the text are wonderfully full and illuminating, as three scholars have put all the wealth of their learning into them, and when one of them was the late Dr. Crooke one knows how great and wide that learning has been, and how thoroughly—though not quite exhaustively after all—modern books on the subject have been searched.

Not content with the notes before the text commences, the annotators of Tavernier have added a series of valuable appendices on diamonds and precious stones. The first is on "the Great Mogul's Diamond and the true History of the Koh-i-Nur," containing a large amount of useful information, culled from many sources; followed by the story of the Grand Duke of Tuscany's Diamond and on the weights of other diamonds. Appendix II contains an extraordinarily valuable list of all the diamond mines in India, followed by Appendices III, IV, and V on Diamond Mines in Bengal and Burma, the Ruby Mines in Burma and the Sapphire Washings in Ceylon. Finally there is an abstract of an extremely rare work, Chapuzeau's Histoire des Joyaux.

Altogether we have now a work on Tavernier's Travels, creditable to all concerned therewith.

R. C. TEMPLE.


There are many points of interest in this Report, which gives an account of good work done in 1924. There are lists of 9 copper-plates examined in the year, of 256 stone inscriptions copied in 1923, and 453 in 1924, besides 94 photographs of antiquarian objects. Considering that all the inscriptions mentioned have been read and their contents and dates ascertained, the above is a good record of work done. But perhaps the most important list in this Report is that in Appendix E, giving the dates of the inscriptions read, where such dates occur, and from this list we see that they belong to the following Dynasties: Pallava, Chedi, Kakatiya, Pandya, Chola, Vijayanagara I, II, and III, Madura Nayaka and Pudukkottai Tondaman. There are besides a number of miscellaneous inscriptions with dates recorded. The volume thus contains a great mass of real historical information for the enquirer.

Part II of the Report contains special accounts of certain valuable inscriptions, including a Brāhmaṇa Inscription at Allūr in the Kistna District, a Ganga Inscription giving an important genealogy, a record of Rājādirāja II (Chola) producing evidence of the war of the Pandya succession, an
early Vijayanagara inscription of Haribara II, and
a notice of the coronation of Achyuta at Kālahasti
and of many of his officers. The inscriptions of the
Changi chiefs are of great interest and so is one of
Sarījī Mahārāja of the Marātha kings of Tanjore,
containing an account of a trial by ordeal. It
records an agreement that "if any one of the res-
pondents," in a temple dispute, "dipped his fingers
in boiling ghee in the temple unsealed," the
appellant would waive his rights. "This was agreed
to and one of the respondents did dip his fingers
in the boiling ghee and remained uninjured, and
the appellant then made over the said land to the
respondents as agreed." There is, moreover, an
enormously long inscription of the Bhole family,
giving a very valuable genealogy, and a remarkably
ornate Muslim inscription at Suruguppata trans-
lated by Mr. Yazdani "for the peculiar style and
high sentiments that it is clothed in." Finally an
account is given of those inscriptions that allude to
the ancient administration of criminal justice in
South India.

Altogether one must congratulate the Superin-
tendent of the Epigraphical Department on producing
a volume of real value to all searchers in South
Indian history.

R. C. Temple.

Journal of Francis Buchanan (afterwards
Hamilton) kept during the Survey of the Districts
of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12. Edited with
Notes and Introduction by V. H. Jackson,
Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and
Orissa, 1926.

This Journal, which is published for the first
time, forms a small portion of the manuscripts
relating to Buchanan's great Statistical Survey of
Bengal, carried out between 1807 and 1815. It
represents the official daily journal which he kept
during his tour of the Patna and Gaya districts,
and must be distinguished from the corresponding
official reports which he submitted as the outcome
of his survey. As Mr. Jackson, the present editor,
points out in an excellent Introduction, Bucha-
nan's Journals form a very useful supplement to
his published Reports, and they provide a detailed
description of the route which Buchanan followed
thus enabling the modern enquirer to identify some
of the hills, mines, quarries, caves etc., described in
the Reports. Buchanan was a most careful and
painless enquiring, and, as Mr. Jackson remarks,
seems to have adopted the principles of modern
scientific research, always testing the truth of any
statement made to him, whenever the opportunity
occurred. Considering that he had no works of re-
ference to aid him in identifying the antiquities of
Bihar and no reliable maps to guide his wanderings,
the general accuracy of his statements and conclu-
sions is remarkable. Mr. Jackson has added to
Buchanan's text some valuable appendices which
have already been published in the Journal of
the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. These, which
comprise notes on Old Rajagriha, the Barabar Hills
etc., are so interesting from an antiquarian stand-
point that one wishes the editor had found time to
annotate Buchanan's text more fully. Apparently
this was the original intention; but, as was the case
with so many other proposals, the War obliged
Mr. Jackson to forego his plans. Even as it is, this
edition of Buchanan's Journal is sure of a warm
welcome from students of the history and anti-
quities of Bihar.

S. M. Edwardes.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
No. 28. Bhāsa and the Authorship of the
Thirteen Trivandrum Plays. By Hirananda
Sāstrī. Calcutta, 1926.

The controversy regarding the authorship of the
thirteen plays discovered by Mr. Gaṇapati Sāstrī
of Trivandrum in 1912 and published by him in the
Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, bids fair to rival the
Shakespeare-Bacon controversy in England. The
discoverer himself ascribed the authorship to the
famous Bhāsa, and his view found favour with many
European and Indian pandits, including Dr. F. W.
Thomas. Opposed to them are Mr. Bhūṭjanātha
Śvāmī, Dr. L. D. Barnett, and Professor Sylvain
Lévi. A new combatant now enters the arena in
the person of Mr. Hirananda Sāstrī, who states
that he has been prompted to investigate the whole
question of authorship by the perusal of a drama of
Śāktihaddram named Ācharyachāḍhamāsī, which
bears close resemblance to the thirteen plays ascribed
to Bhāsa. After summarising and examining the
arguments put forward by what I may for the
moment call the "pro-Bhāsa" school, he investigates
various points of dramatical technique, which bear
directly on the question at issue, discusses the title
of the Śoppanatākam, and deals lucidly with the
structure of the plays, with the archaisms found in
them, with the relation of the Chārudatta to the
Mrīchchhakājīki, with the epithets of Bhāsa, and
with the evidence of anthologies. I must leave
those interested in the question to study the author's
detailed arguments themselves, and content myself
with recording his final conclusion that the Trivan-
drum plays cannot be the work of Bhāsa and that
the arguments in support of this opinion can all be
shown to be atiyodpta or wide of the mark.
Published as a record of the Archaeological Survey
of India and thus bearing the seal of official approval.
Mr. Hirananda Sāstrī's investigation is bound to
carry considerable weight among Orientalists, who,
even if they remain unconvinced, must pay a tribute
to the scholarly character of his thesis.

S. M. Edwardes.
On the 25th July 1720 the Cassandra, Indiaman, 380 tons, (Hardy, Register of ships), Captain James Macrae (afterwards Governor of Madras) coming into Johanna Bay with the Greenwich, Indiaman (Captain Richard Kirby), found 14 men belonging to the Indian Queen, a pirate ship of 250 tons, 28 guns and 90 men, commanded by a French man, Oliver de la Bouche (or Levasseur), which had been wrecked and whose crew were engaged in building a new vessel at Mayotta, some three leagues away. As the Company’s ships carried commissions to take pirates, Macrae proposed to Kirby to go to Mayotta to seize the freebooters there, but before they could start they saw the Fancy and Victory (Applebee’s Original Weekly Journal, 22nd April 1721, says the Victory mounted 40 guns and the Fancy 18) entering the Bay with black flags with the Death’s head at the maintopmast head, red flags at the foretopmast head and St. George’s colours at the ensign staff (Log of the Greenwich, 7th August 1720). Macrae and Kirby, who had been joined by an Ostender (of 22 guns, Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, 22nd April 1721, N.B. This Journal gives the pirate ships as carrying 34 and 30 guns respectively) resolved to fight. England and Taylor had just taken two (1 one) Jeddah ships with goods to the value of £200,000 on board, a booty well worth defending, and were equally determined on an engagement. The Fancy immediately attacked the Cassandra, whose unfavourable position in the Bay prevented her from getting out to join her consorts. Kirby very basely withdrew to a safe distance, an example of discretion which was followed by the Ostender, and ultimately made his way to Bombay, where he reported that he was not sure, when he last saw the Cassandra, whether she had been taken or not. Meanwhile, after a most gallant defence, Macrae was forced to run his ship ashore. The Fancy following, ran herself aground and lay in such a position that Macrae’s guns swept her decks and he could have taken her, had not her crew been reinforced from the Victory which, owing to the flight of Macrae’s consorts was now able to assist the Fancy. At last, no resource remaining, Macrae, himself wounded in the head, and such of his crew (he had 13 men killed and 24 wounded) as remained alive, got ashore under cover of the smoke from the guns and took refuge with the native Prince, who very loyally protected them, despite a reward of 10,000 dollars (the Weekly Journal says 40 guineas) which the pirates offered for the delivery of Macrae. To put them off, the Prince said that Macrae had died of his wounds. According to Downing (p. 45) the Cassandra had £75,000 on board. Applebee’s Original Weekly Journal says that she had £40,000 of foreign silver “but no part of the cargo was so much valued by the robbers as the Doctor’s chest, for they were all pock’d to a great degree.” After a few days, thinking that the contemplation of their booty would have cooled the pirates’ rage at their losses, which were estimated at between 90 and 100 men out of 300 whites and 80 blacks, Macrae opened up communications by means of a passenger, Mr. Cowan, and having been promised good treatment, had the temerity to go on board. Taylor and his party wished to break their safe-conduct, but England, like Macrae, an Irishman, and, it is said, his old schoolfellow, so befriended him that at last the pirates gave him the Fancy, which had been refloated, but was found to be very badly damaged, together with 129 bales of the Company’s cloth, for which they had no use. Downing (p. 44) says that Taylor resented this leniency most bitterly and vowed to be revenged on England for his generosity. On the 3rd September the pirates set sail. Macrae followed on the 8th and with great difficulty reached Bombay on the 26th October, where he sold the Fancy to a Bombay merchant named Wake, but ultimately she came to England where she was claimed by her original owners. On the full account of the affair becoming known, Kirby was so ashamed that he died soon after (Downing, p. 45; Post Boy, 22-25 April 1721; British Journal, 14th September 1723; Johnson, I. 119).

118 Formerly the Defiance, 26 guns and 70 men (Log of the Duke of York, Robert Hyde Commander, 19 Aug. 1720). Apparently she had been some time in the East, as a French ship had brought to Calcutta 2 men, who had run away from the Indian Queen when she was cleaning at Mayotta.
On their way to the Indian coast, England and Taylor took two small Moor ships carrying horses, but on the 21st October, when in sight of land, they saw a fleet in shore, whereupon some of the pirates proposed to sink the prizes with the crews and horses on board. Fortunately milder counsels prevailed and they were merely disabled. The fleet which they had sighted had been sent from Bombay to assist in an attack upon Gheria. The senior officer was Captain Upton, but the Admiral of the fleet and Commander-in-Chief of the whole force was a Mr. Walter Brown (Bomb. Gaz. XXVI, i. 151). Naturally a hybrid expedition of this kind had been unsuccessful and the fleet was now returning, towing with it a floating battery, called the Prahm (a Dutch name for a kind of flat-bottomed boat), which was armed with twelve 48-pounders (Downing, p. 39). England and Taylor overtook them in the night and, though he had a good notion of their character, Upton would not give the order to engage. Why he hesitated is not clear. He had sent Captain Harvey of the Antelope to reconnoitre, and Harvey reported that they had hoisted the bloody flag, whilst some of the pirates brought from Johanna in the Greenwich had recognised the ships. Possibly it was nervousness on the part of Mr. Brown, who had hoisted the Company's flag on the London (Upton's ship), and Downing (p. 49) says that Upton was afraid to attack without Mr. Brown's orders. Upton says in his Log that the other ships would not support him, but his preference for discretion may be judged from another entry in his Log (24th April 1721) showing how, on his voyage to Mocha, having sighted some Sangani pirates, he carefully let them alone. So far then from attacking the pirates, he ordered the Prahm to be cut adrift and went his way. Quickly realizing the character of the man they had to deal with, England and Taylor sailed through the Bombay fleet, firing right and left on the ships as they passed them. The report of this insult did not fail to excite the anger of Governor Boone, and he placed Captain Macrae, who was only too eager to avenge his losses, in command of operations in the room of Captain Upton (Johnson I. 127), without any civilian on board to hamper his proceedings; but in accordance with Boone's usual bad luck, Macrae never managed to come up with his old enemies. Meanwhile, the Victory being very leaky, the pirates after a short cruise on the Malabar coast, went to the Laccadive Islands, but finding no good anchorage, passed on to the Island of Melinda, where they treated the inhabitants, men and women, with the most fiendish brutality. Thence they returned to the Malabar Coast, and off Tellicherry took a small vessel belonging to the Governor of Bombay and commanded by one John Fawke. They made him drunk and he began to brag of the punishment they would meet with when Captain Macrae should catch them. As they considered Macrae was indebted to them for treating him so leniently, they were highly indignant that he should take any steps against them and swore not only to take vengeance upon him but to treat with the greatest severity all ship's officers who might fall into their hands. Their anger extended to Captain England, whom they looked upon as the cause of their present danger. However, coming to Cochin, they met with a very friendly reception from the Dutch, with whom they traded secretly, though more openly with the natives, for everything they wanted. The Dutch Governor even accepted presents of clocks and such like articles from their plunder. From Cochin, sailing northward, they suspected every sail they saw to be one of Macrae's vessels, but this did not prevent them from spending a riotous Christmas (1720) in which they wasted two-thirds of the provisions which they had just purchased. In February 1720 they arrived at Mauritius, whither they had been compelled to go by the leaky condition of the Victory—they would indeed have deserted her had she not carried most of their supply of arrack. On leaving this place, they refitted and resheathed the Victory and then, having marooned Captain England and some of his friends (Downing, p. 116 says 60 or 70), sailed for Mascarenhas under Captain Taylor. England managed to build a small boat in which he and his party made their way to Madagascar (Johnson, I. 124). As, of course, his share of the booty had been taken from him, he arrived in a state of great
poverty, being kept alive only by the charity of some pirates settled there. Soon after he
died, conscience stricken and penitent for his crimes (Downing, p. 135). Meanwhile Taylor
had been joined by Condent (of the Flying Dragon, Johnson, I. 137), who, having captured
a big Jeddah ship, had taken her to St. Mary's and there sunk her. She is said to have had
thirteen laths of treasure on board, beside an immense quantity of drugs and spices. Ignor-
ant of their value or not knowing how to dispose of them, the pirates left them, with the
guns and a large quantity of cloth which had formed part of the cargo, to lie and rot upon
the shore (Downing, pp. 46, 94, 112)117. Taylor and Condent arrived at Maccarenhas on the
8th April. In the port there was lying a large Portuguese vessel, the Nostra Senhora da
Cabo, which had been damaged in a storm and forced to throw overboard all but 21 of her
70 guns. Thinking that the newcomers were English, the Conde de Receira,
Viceroy of Goa, who was one of the passengers, together with some of his companions, went
to their ship to receive them, but the pirates, running alongside, crowded on board, and the
ship was captured without any possibility of resistance. The booty thus taken was estimated
at three million dollars in jewels and precious stones, and 500,000 crowns in cash. An Osten-
der (the Ostend Galley formerly the Greyhound of London), was lying on the other side of
the island and this was also taken (Lazenby's Narrative, Misc. Letters Recd., XIII, Nos. 97-99).
On the 21st April 1725 it was reported from Lisbon that the King of Portugal had sent a
present to the King of China in return for one sent by him about three years previously in a
ship which had been taken by pirates (London Gazette, 20-24 April 1725). Possibly this was
the Nostra Senhora da Cabo, but it may have been a Moor's ship coming from China, which
Downing says (pp. 51, 413) Taylor took in 1722. A French account (Bernardin de St. Pierre,
Voyage à l'Isle de France, Let. XIX.) says that the pirate captain in a fit of generosity released
the Viceroy without ransom. Lazenby says that some of the pirates wished to carry him off
to Mozambique and make him pay a heavy ransom, but others said that, as most of his for-
tune was on board the captured vessel, it was not possible to get much more out of him, and
so it was resolved to release him for the comparatively small ransom of 2000
dollars. Even this concession must have been a relief and, no doubt, the Viceroy must have
been grateful to the particular captain to whom it was due. It is hardly possible that Taylor
could have shown generosity to anyone. Colonel Biddulph (p. 158) says it was La Bouche, ex-
Captain of the Indian Queen, who, on the deposition of England had been elected Captain of
the Victory. Condent, according to Lazenby, settled on the Island118 and, according to Johnson
(II. 143) obtained a pardon from the Governor, Monsieur Desforges,119 married his sister-in
law and subsequently retired to St. Malo, where he established himself as a merchant. St.
Pierre, on the other hand, says that the generous pirate, owing to some informality in his
pardon, was subsequently hanged by a judge whose cupidity was excited by his wealth.
St. Pierre also tells us that shortly before his visit in 1770 there died in the Island the last of
the pirates who came ashore on this occasion, a man named Adam, at the ripe age of 104.
An officer of the British Navy visiting Bourbon in 1763, says that many of the pirates

117 The impression created by these pirates may be judged by the fact that two English vessels, the
Mary and the Cardonna († Cardonel) reported at the Cape on the 5th April 1721 that the pirates had
14 first class vessels at sea, the smallest of 30 guns, and that they intended to form a settlement at
Mauritius (Leibbrandt, Précis, p. 283).
118 On the 15th April 1723 the Bombay Council wrote home that they had heard from Mauritius that
several pirates had come there to take advantage of a general pardon to all pirates granted by the King
of France (Bombay Letters Received).
119 Mr. Charles Grant (History of Mauritius, p. 147) says that M. de Beauvilliers was Governor of
Bourbon from 1715 to 1721, and that M. Desforges Boucher became Governor in 1722.
brought by Avery, England, Condon and Pattison were then alive and that their descendants were numerous (Grant, p. 164.)

557. Leaving behind them the old Victory with all the prisoners and useless hands, Taylor carried off the Portuguese ship, now renamed the Victory, with 200 Mozambique negroes on board, to St. Mary's, taking, says Downing (p. 51), a rich Moors ship from China on the way. Here the Ostend Galley having been sent down the coast for a new mast, when all the pirates but two happened to be ashore, the Dutchmen and Portuguese on board escaped with the ship. Nevertheless, with the help of Captain Macrae's carpenter, whom they had forced to stay with them, the pirates refitted the new Victory (now with 64 guns and 100 men) and the Cassandra (now with 40 guns and 100 men). At St. Mary's it is said that eighty of the pirates had died before the ships sailed. Going to the west coast of Madagascar in Tullaray Bay, they took and burned a French ship of 200 tons. Then they went to St. Augustine's, where they arrived soon after Commodore Matthews had left (See para. 558 below) and finding his letters, they wrote with charcoal an impudent message on Captain Carpenter's tomb (on Moreslas Island in Carpenter Bay), saying that on the 28th February (1722) they were leaving for Port Dauphin (Downing, pp. 48, 62, 91), but went to St. John's (east coast of Cape Colony), Delagoa Bay, Mozambique, and so to Massalege (north-west coast of Madagascar ? Majanga). Here in December 1722 they separated. The Victory (with 220 men) and a small sloop of 20 guns went to St. Mary's and, according to Johnson (I. 136), was burnt by her crew. The rest of the pirates sailed with Taylor in the Cassandra for the West Indies via the Cape, St. Helena, Ascension, Fernando Po, the Island of Aruba and at last to San Blas Keys (? in Mexico, Deposition of John Freeman, March 1723, Ind. Off., Misc. Letters Recd., XIV. No. 162). Then Taylor went to Portobello (on the coast of Panama) and after a, perhaps, pretended attempt to procure a pardon through Captain Laws of H. M. S. Mermaid, he accepted a pardon from the King of Spain and was allowed to sell his booty at Portobello, subject only to the King's duty of 20 per cent. The pirates boasted that they could divide to each man £1200 in gold and silver, besides diamonds and rich goods (Ind. Off., Misc. Letters Recd., vol. XIV, p. 205 et seq.). Johnson (I. 140) says that Taylor obtained a commission in the Spanish service and commanded the man-of-war which in 1723 attacked the English logwood cutters in the Bay of Honduras. If Johnson refers to the Spanish ship which on the 10th March 1723 took nine out of eleven English vessels in the Bay of Honduras and murdered all the crews, it is satisfactory to know that the pirate Edward Low, coming in immediately after this massacre, retook the captured ships and put all the Spaniards to the sword (British Journal, 11th May 1723). According to Downing (pp. 65, 107-8), the surgeon, through whom Taylor communicated with Captain Laws, was one William Moore of the Prosperous of London (Captain James), who had been forcibly detained by England and Taylor throughout their whole cruise in the Eastern Waters. He escaped from Taylor and was taken by Captain Laws to Jamaica and there, his old captain speaking in his favour, he was cleared of the charge of piracy and came to England in the Mermaid. If he is the Chief Surgeon mentioned by Lazenby in his Narrative as having shown him a very doubtful friendship when Lazenby was forcibly detained by England and Taylor, it was fortunate for him that Lazenby was not at Jamaica when his case was enquired into.

558. Mention has been made in the last paragraph of the expected arrival in Madagascar of Commodore Thomas Matthews. That officer with a small squadron composed of the Lion (Captain Readish), the Salisbury (Captain John Cockburn), the Exeter (Captain Robert Johnson) and the Shoreham (Captain Covell Maine) left England

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130 This is probably Captain Padison of the St. George who according to a Portuguese complaint (Home Miscellanea, LXX, pp. 31-33) on the 14th July 1713, after burning several ships, belonging to the native prince of Cabinda and Louga, seized a Portuguese vessel (Our Lady Pereus and St. Anthony), put her crew ashore and carried her off to Cong in the Persian Gulf.
in February 1720-1 for Madagascar with the object (in compliance with the requests of the East India Company) of destroying the piratical nests in that island. When he arrived at St. Augustine’s, June 1721 (Downing, p. 80), his ships having lost company, he left letters for the Salisbury with the natives and went on to Bombay, where he arrived in September, 1721. The letters remained untouched at St. Augustine’s (or at Moreslas Island, Downing, p. 62) until the arrival, at the end of the year, of Taylor, to whom the natives were forced to deliver them. Taylor, according to pirate custom, read them to his crew and, in bravado, left the message above mentioned. Matthews was detained at Bombay for a short time, but in February 1722 he started to cruise round Madagascar. At St. Augustine’s he found Taylor’s message. At Charnock (? Charrack) Point, three leagues from St. Mary’s, 18th April 1722 (Downing, p. 92), he found the cargo of the Moor ship taken by Condent lying on the shore, and salved the guns. Here they met with John Plantain121 (or James or William, see Downing, p. 63 and Dessent’s Deposition, H. C. A. 1-18), a native of Jamaica and an old pirate, who had come out with England (he told Downing, p. 117, that he belonged to the Cassandra) and had settled at Ranter’s Bay ten or twelve miles from St. Mary’s, as a King amongst the natives (Downing, pp. 63-114). According to Downing, he established himself in supremacy over all the other Kings, but later on betook himself to India and entered the service of Angria who made him one of his principal sea officers (Authentic Hist. of Tulajee Angria, p. 52).122 Matthews allowed his men to trade with Plantain, but when Plantain had left on the shore, under a very slender guard, the arrack and goods which he had purchased, the officers of the fleet sent boats at night and carried them off. This story is corroborated by the depositions of two sailors, Charles Larrat of the Lion and Dessent of the Salisbury (High Court of Admiralty, 1-18). At St. Mary’s the squadron made friends with the native Prince, confirming the alliance by swearing by the sea and drinking a glass of sea-water mixed with gunpowder, a ceremony which the pirates had taught the natives (Downing, pp. 93, 123). Apparently satisfied that he could do nothing more, Matthews returned to India. After Lawson’s fight with Angrians (See para. 561 below), Matthews sailed for England, where he arrived in July 1724.

559. So bad a reputation had attached itself to Madagascar before Matthews’ visit, and so little was the palpable result of that visit, that the Company’s ships did not dare to go there singly. As every ship’s course was strictly prescribed before she left England, the reasons for any deviation had to be certified in the most formal manner by the officers and petty officers, the Captain’s opinion not being considered sufficient by itself.123 On the 13th November 1722 the following document, dated 23rd June 1722, Lat. 36°00’ 3’ from Cape Lagulas [Agulhas], was presented to the Council of Bombay:

"Whereas the ships Prince Frederick [Captain Edward Martin] and the Hanover, both bound for the East Indies, did as by order keep company together from the Downs to the Latitude of 35°S. and about 400 leagues west from Cape Bona Esperanza, where we met with a very hard gale of wind and a prodigious great sea with very thick weather, the which continued several days, the wind varying [sic] all round the compass, which produced very thick fogs, by which reason we lost company and notwithstanding all our endeavours have not seen her since, and being now in the latitude of 36°S. and about 40 leagues to the Eastward of the said Cape and knowing of the number of

121 Downing (p. 116) mentions two allies of Plantain’s, viz. James Adair, a Scotchman, and Hans Burgen, a Dane.

122 The author of this pamphlet was probably Downing, who is the only writer, so far discovered, who renders the Indian word Kaffa ‘scaffold’.

123 Such Councils were the last vestige of the old Consultations prescribed by the Laws of Oleron (ascribed to Richard I) to be held by captains with their crews on all critical occasions,
Pyrates that frequent Madagascar and the Main, and more especially in the month of August, which would be the time, should we proceed that passage, of our being near the Island of Johanna, where they took the Cassandra in that month, it being the chief place of their rendezvous till the Monsoons are over in India. Therefore we, John Bond and officers of the ship Hanover whose names are hereunder written, do protest against the said Pyrates and do declare that it is not for any private views or interest of our own, but for the safety of the ship and cargoe, do unanimously agree, conclude and resolve, to proceed the outward passage for the Island Zelone [Ceylon] or the first place in India, where we may get intelligence for our better security, we being now a single ship and not capable of defending ourselves against so great a number of enemies, whose force by all accounts is much superior to ours" (Ind. Off., Log of Hanover). This document is signed by John Quick [Caulker], James Oliver [Carpenter], Griffith Thomas [Boatswain], Christopher Boulter [Gunner], Frankland Lucas, Adam Robarts, Robert Killets [? Midshipmen], John Browne [2nd Mate], George Court [Chief Mate] and John Bond [Commander]. The order in which the signatures were made seems to approximate to the custom of the most junior officer expressing his opinion first in a Council of War, but how far freedom was allowed to sign or not to sign I cannot express any opinion.

560. Though Commodore Matthews appears to have achieved nothing by his visit to Madagascar, it marks the end of the use of that Island as a base for the Anglo-American pirates. Even those who had settled there died out or sank into absolute insignificance, though it continued to be a halting place for merchantmen for many years longer. In regard to the allegation that Commodore Matthews so far neglected his duty as to behave in a friendly way towards the pirates, Captain Thornhill, Chief Mate in command, tells us, under date 12th August 1723, that at Mozambique a Portuguese official asserted that the Commodore, instead of suppressing the pirates, had traded with them and sold them all manner of naval stores, and that he had on board articles which had been taken out of the Portuguese ship (Nostra Senhora da Cabo) but, says Thornhill, the Commodore had visited Mascarenhas. "From this it may be supposed that our men-of-war bought their commodities of the French Governor and at a very cheap rate, which I think any body would do and not slip so good an opportunity." On the other hand, when one of Thornhill's midshipmen recognized on board the Portuguese man-of-war in Mozambique harbour a man who had served with the pirate Hornygold in the West Indies, the Portuguese refused to surrender him (Log of the Duke of York). There does not seem much to choose between the English, French, Dutch and Portuguese in their moral ideas about piracy.

Malabarese.

561. It has been mentioned that Commodore Matthews arrived at Bombay in September 1721. Downing says (pp. 55-59) that he assisted the Bombay Government in an attack on Angria's fort at Alibag, about 40 miles south of Bombay, which was defeated owing to the treachery of their Portuguese allies. This, if Downing has not confused it with the attack on Gheria in 1720, was the last of Governor Boone's many unsuccessful attempts to reduce the Angrian pirates. He left for England in January 1721-2. On his return from Madagascar in 1722, Matthews again offered his assistance to the Bombay Government. Towards the end of the year, Captain Lawson, with men from the fleet, engaged Angria's grabs off Bombay, capturing one, the first of Angria's fighting vessels to surrender to the English. It was commanded by a Dutchman, who was killed in the fight "or 'tis thought he would sooner have blown up the ship than have been taken" (Downing, pp. 67, 152). Another fight took place somewhat earlier, the Victoria Grab and the Revenge (Company's cruisers) taking one of the Kempswunt's grabs and destroying another, whilst on the 26th February 1721-2, four of Angria's grabs and several gallivants met two other cruisers, viz. the Eagle Brigantine (Captain Martin) and the Hunter Galley (Captain Doggett) off Bassein. The
British were on the point of victory when the Hunter blew up with all on board. Downing (p. 50) says that the Eagle also blew up, but as a matter of fact she escaped with the Bombay Merchant and two gallivats which were under her convoy, after a running fight, to Serigon and thence to Mahim. Soon after, however, she was wrecked and became a total loss (Bombay Letters Received, I. 22nd March 1721-2). On the 5th November 1722 the Victoria and Revenge were sent against Angría’s fleet, and off Versivah (Vesava St. John’s) they captured his Admiral Galley, his Chief Subadar and 90 of his best people. The rest of the fleet escaped to Rajapole River, but this affair so discouraged Angría that for some time his ships did not dare to leave harbour (Bomb. Letters Recd. 15 April, paras. 7 and 15, May 1723, para. 19). According to Low (I. 101), during the course of this year, Bombay made an unsuccessful attack on Angría’s Fortress of Kolaba, a little south of Bombay. At the very time when the Bombay Council was so hard pressed in holding not only the Angrian but also the Sanganian pirates in check, Commodore Matthews chose to exercise his authority as a King’s officer by receiving deserters from the Company’s ships and by ordering the Company’s cruisers to leave the posts assigned to them for his own convenience (Bomb. Letters Recd., 3rd January 1723-4, para. 9).

Portuguese.

562. In November 1722 Captain Thomas Smith (Fort St. George Galley) took two pirates flying Portuguese colours. “The Declariants [Smith and his officers] hoisted English colours and hailed her from whence she came and to whom she belonged. Answer was made that their colours showed who they were, to which the Commander of the Bengal (Captain William Jordan) replied that he trusted no colours at sea, but if they were what they pretended, he demanded their sending their boat on board (Bomb. Cons., 11th November 1722).

Sanganians.

563. On the 8th November 1723 the Bombay Council informed the Court of Directors that they proposed to form a cruising fleet of the Victoria, three galleys and half a dozen gallivats, to hold the sea between Carwar and the Sanganian Coast, and hoped to take many of “the Sanganian boats which cruise about the high lands of St. John and intercept our trade in small craft.” The Victoria had recently taken one of these and made 36 prisoners: the boat itself was sold for 300 rupees, which, according to custom, was divided amongst the captors (Bomb. Letters Recd., 8th November 1723, para. 24).

564. On the 3rd May 1724 the Fort St. George Galley brought in a grab which carried no pass, but claimed to belong to the Raja of Porepatam, supposing her to be really a Sanganian. The Raja reclaimed her, saying that he had sent her as convoy to some of his ships sailing to Mocha, and proving that in her passage she had fought two Sanganians. One of these, a grab, had escaped, but the other, a large Surat ship which the Sanganians had taken a year earlier, had been burnt in the fight. Accordingly, the Bombay Council returned the Raja’s ship, but only after he had paid up 500 rupees for the tonnage which had sailed out of his port that season without passes, and with the warning that any ship of his found at sea after the 10th September without a pass would be confiscated (Bomb. Letters Recd., 14th Sept. 1724).

V. Suppression of Piratical Communities.

565. The disappearance of European pirates from the Eastern Waters allowed of the rudeness of indigenous piracy, but the increase of European commerce, especially British, made it necessary for the latter to take the matter seriously in hand. In earlier days the English (like other Europeans) had looked upon the native pirates chiefly as one means of keeping their rivals out of their way, but the impunity thus bestowed upon the pirates only taught them how to fight and whetted their appetites for the fine prey to be got from the English country trade and still more from the British Europe ships.

566. Amongst the native pirates themselves, the Sidis, who held the Mughal commission (See para. 305 above), were so weakened by the rise of the Marathas, especially by the
great defeat which the latter inflicted on them in 1732, when they lost most of their territory and seaports, that they were strongly inclined to seek friendship with the British and retire from piracy (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 161). In June 1758 the British occupied the Sidi capital of Rajapole, and in December of the same year acquired predominance in Surat, whilst in 1759 they were appointed Admirals of the Moghal, with the special duty of suppressing piracy (Anquetil du Perron, L'Inde, II. 30). The petty piratical States south of Mount Deli had been reduced to quiescence before 1750 (See para. 625 below). In 1756 the Angrians were suppressed by the capture of Gheria by Watson and Clive, only to be replaced by the Sivajis or Marathas, who however both indulged in piracy themselves and encouraged it as over-lords of Kolhapur (Malwan) and of the Sawunts (Vingurla), both of whom were reduced by the British in 1812. With the suppression of the Waghers of Gujarath in 1820 the Sanganians practically disappeared, and the lessons given by the British to the Joasmis in 1809 and 1820 culminated in the Permanent Peace of 1843 which put an end to organised piracy in the Persian Gulf.

567. In the Far East the occupation of Rio by the Dutch in October 1818 and of Singapore by the British, 6th February 1819, made piracy in the Malacca States a very hazardous occupation, whilst the introduction of steam vessels in 1837 sounded the death knell of piracy in the Malay Archipelago; but the Illanuns were not driven out of Borneo until 1846, and their last base in that island, namely Tungku, was not destroyed until 1852. Meanwhile the Suluans had received a shattering blow in the capture of the Island of Balanunn by the Spaniards in 1848, and were finally subdued in 1851. A little earlier, in 1849, Raja Brooke with the aid of British warships had taught the Borneo Malays and Dyaks a severe lesson. These acts of force would, if they had stood alone, have proved as temporary in their results as the previous punishments inflicted by the Dutch, for to destroy towns which could be rebuilt in a few days, to burn prahus which could be easily replaced, to put to flight bodies of pirates, the bulk of whom escaped into jungles into which they could not be followed, could not have had any permanent effect unless supported by more convincing measures. What really put an end to Malay piracy was the use of steam vessels which could run down the swift war-prahu of the Malays, and the restoration of commerce and security which made peaceful trade more profitable than piracy. The first steam-vessel used against the pirates was the English East India Company's Diana in 1836. The man who first showed that a peaceful life was practicable and profitable for the Malays was Raja Brooke of Sarawak.

568. In China piracy was so mixed up with patriotic rebellion and with smuggling that it is difficult often to distinguish between these different forms of illegal activity, but piracy seems to have come to an end as a profession in China with the ordinances of Governor Macdonell In 1867. From this date Hongkong ceased to be a source of intelligence and reprovisionment for the piratical organisations which from time immemorial had been closely connected with the islands lying in the mouth of the Canton River.

569. Sporadic outbreaks of piracy have since occurred in all parts of the Eastern Waters, but none of such importance as seriously to threaten the security of commerce.

Malabarese.

570. In 1724 the Dutch made an unsuccessful attack on Angria's fortress at Vijaydurg. In 1727 he took an English ship, and it was reported that the Bombay Government was forced to expend £50,000 annually for protection against the country pirates, of whom he was the most troublesome. In 1728 he retook the grab which Lawson had taken in 1722 (See para. 661 above). In 1729 Angria took the Company's Galley King William, and treated very cruelly Captain McNeale and other prisoners, whom however he released for the paltry ransom of five hundred rupees (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 87; Bomb. Quarterly Review, IV. 72; Low. I. 104).
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LAND'S ANECDOTA SYRIACA ON THE SYRIANS OF MALABAR.

Translated from the Latin by the Revd. H. Hosten, S.J.

(Continued from page 46.)

Observations by the Revd. H. Hosten, S.J.

These summary historical notes by the Priest Matthew are full of inaccuracies and exaggerations. It is not our object to discuss or refute them at any length. We shall refer the student to the Travancore Manual, II. 135—223, where G. T. Mackenzie has compiled a very elaborate history of Christianity in Travancore and Malabar generally. The chief interest of Matthew's paper to me personally is that it mentions Manikka Väšakar, Thomas Cana, Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh.

1. The year 52 A.D. Further study should disclose how the year 52 was arrived at. In Thomas Rambam's poem of 1601 the date of St. Thomas' arrival in Malabar is December 50. Nowadays the year 52 has acquired a certain fixity in books on St. Thomas published in Malabar.

2. Mylapore. The priest Matthew already deviates from the usual accounts which bring St. Thomas first to Malabar.

3. Malankara. This is the name used exclusively by the Syriacs for Malabar. Trav. Man., I. 3. "This is Malankara, a small island in the lagoon S. E. from Kodungalur." (J. Burgess, Ind. Ant., IX (1880), p. 313 n. 2.)

4. Kutkašel. Is not this Köchtakkëyl, or Parur Kottakavu, near Cranganore? J. Burgess (Ind. Ant., IX, 313) identifies it with Köchtakkëyl, de Couto also speaks of Calicut, but doubtless, as the place where St. Thomas first landed. In Dec. 12, I. 3, c. 4: Tom. S. Lisboa, 1788, p. 274, he says that St. Thomas first landed at Mogodover Patanae, where according to Abías, "he converted a son of the King of Malabar, who must be he of Paru, where he landed, and where there are still many Christians to-day. Or perhaps the first city where he landed was Calicut, where the Chaldean books say he converted the Christian Perim, the Emperor of the whole of Malabar." de Couto may have mistaken Kutkašel for Calicut. Does Lacrosse follow de Couto? Parur is considered to be one of St. Thomas' Seven Churches, and so is Kokamanganam and Nerannum, but not Tirupali and Tirubokut.

5. Tirupali. Edapalli or Rapolam is mentioned as having a Roma-Syrian Church, St. George's, and another of Sts. Peter and Paul; Verapoli is mentioned as having a Latin Church, St. Joseph's. Cf. Paulinus a S. Barth., India Or. Christ., Romae, 1794, pp. 267, 269. Whitehouse identifies Rapolam with Edapali (du Perron, 1788), Edapalli (Paulinus) and Eddapally. "Verapalli, near Eddapalli, N.E. from Cochin." (J. Burgess, Ind. Ant., IX, 313 n. 4.)

6. Menezes visited in order the churches of Carturte, Coroliga, and Ignhapco. This last, in the kingdom of the Eumante (or Pepper) Queen, had a church dedicated to the H. Ghost. Jornada, bk. 2, ch. 14. Whitehouse identifies Menezes' Nagpule or Ignhapco with Paulinus' Nagapule (1745), du Perron's Church of the H. Virgin of Nagapole, Paulinus' Nagapule, and Nagapare. (p. 297.) T. K. Joseph distinguishes Nagapalle (Mućchijira with its Church of the H. Ghost, Gouvea's Igniapari) from Nagapula.

7. Tirubokut. This must be Tiruvankoilu, or Travancore. In 1599, Christians, who were so in name only, at a distance of 25 leagues from Quilon, towards Cape Comorin, were worshipping a cobra. They had been more than 50 years without a priest: de Menezes sent them a Vicar. (Jornada, bk. 2, ch. 8, fol. 94 v. col. 1.)

8. After 92 years. On what is this period based? If St. Thomas died in A.D. 78, to account for the šālivāhāna era, this would bring us to A.D. 170. I do not think that Mylapore was ever without Christians until they were driven out from there some time between Nicolo de' Conti's visit (c. A.D. 1430) and A.D. 1500.

9. Manikšakar. This is Manikka Väšakar, whose connection with the Christians is still a hopeless tangle. We deal more fully with this incident in our book on Antiquities of St. Thomas and Mylapore, now in the press. A collection of Syrian texts and traditions on Manikka Väšakar is a great desideratum.

10. Renounced the orthodox faith. The occasion is often said to have been the machinations of Manikka Väšakar.

11. 96 families renounced the faith. We are still in the dark about the Manigrammakkar, the families which are said to have yielded. There are still representatives of this defection and of the Manigrammakkar in Malabar. It is not yet too late perhaps to study their traditions and what books and ritual they may have.

Matthew speaks of 110 families, of which 96 yielded and 4 remained steadfast; Mackenzie of 96 which yielded and 8 which remained faithful; Visscher says that for want of teachers the 160 families were reduced to 96 and then to 64.

12. The Catholicos of the East. Adrian Fortescue (The Lesser Eastern Churches, p. 357) refers to this passage without venturing to explain the title 'Catholicos of the East.' Why has another version, to be
found in Ittap's History (Malayalam), pp. 88-91, brought in the Catholicus of Jerusalem and Yustadlos of Antioch: Swanton mentions Eustathius of Antioch. Now Eustathius of Antioch was deposed in the Council of Antioch in A.D. 330, and died in exile at Trajanopolis in Thrace in A.D. 360. Cf. Bardenhewer, Patrology, 1908, pp. 246; 252. Ittap's Yustadlos appears to be Eustathius pronounced in English fashion, which does not improve the situation. Did he find the name in Swanton? How did Swanton obtain it? Have we merely a belated effort here to connect the primitive Church of Malabar with Antioch? A passage quoted from Buchanan in favour of a pre-Portuguese connection with Antioch (Trav. Man., II. 124) is unauthenticated.

16 Their bishops and merchants. Land misunderstood this passage. He speaks of conditions in India, instead of at Edessa.

17 Thomas of Jerusalem. Why is Thomas said to have been of Jerusalem? The Portuguese writers always call him Cananeo, without commenting on Canaan or Cana. At times they call him a merchant. They do not speak of the Bishop of Edessa and his vision, nor of a migration, which makes me suspicious about the later stories.

Is Thomas called 'of Jerusalem' because he had been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem?

I look with the greatest suspicion on the mention of Jerusalem and Antioch in this affair and at this date. If, as Fr. Monserrate says (1579), Thomas Cana came a first time to India via Ormuz (and by what other route do we suppose him to have come?), we do not expect him to have communicated with any one else than the Bishop of Edessa. All running to and fro between Edessa, Jerusalem and Antioch for the sake of the Bishop of Edessa's vision or dream must appear fanciful, or inspired by party-spirit. The same for the permission granted by Antioch to the Bishop of Edessa to visit India.

20 A.D. 345. The Brahman of Calicut calculated that the last Chérâmán Perumal, with whom the Christians connected their Thomas Cana, ceased to reign in A.D. 347, and Bishop Roz gives March 1, 346 as the date of his death. There is, therefore, some consensus here, which we should think is not accidental.

21 The Thomas Cana copper-plates still in Malabar. This is a sample of Matthew's inventions. To us who try to untangle the plates, Matthew's information is an intolerable hoax. The Christians of 1599 were already complaining that the Crucanore plates had been lost through the carelessness of the Portuguese factor of Cochin.

22 Kurumakkūr. This can be no other place than Crangamore, Curangulur, as Monserrate spelt it in 1579.

23 Sapor and Pirut in A.D. 823. Bishop Roz puts down their arrival as 100 years after the foundation of Quilon (therefore in A.D. 925). Cf. Cath. Encycl., New York, XV, 618b. Gouvea (Jornada, fol. 4v) says they came not many years after the foundation of Quilon, which he set down in A.D. 1602-780 or A.D. 822. We expect 777 instead of 780. In his Jornada, fol. 4v, col. 1, he says of Mar Xabro and Mar Proodh that they received favours from "the then King of Coulbo, seven hundred and thirty-three years ago." This makes A.D. 1602-733 or A.D. 869. Raulin's 879 (p. 434) is the result of a bad subtraction. Le Quién's "about 880" "should drop out on this account also. Assemanni's 922 would be based on Gouvea's 822 for the foundation of Quilon and Roz' '100 years later.' (Cf. Raulin, p. 5 n.) Scaggier gives 907 for the beginning of the Calicut era, not for the foundation of Quilon: the stranger is the mistake of du Perron, who gives 825 for the foundation of Calicut. Cf. Paulinus, Ind. Or. Chr., pp. 11-12. Paulinus has 825 for the arrival of Thomas Cana, and 925 for the arrival of Mar Sapor and his companion (ibid., XXII, 19-20). His 925 is founded on de Souza's Or. Conq., which is based in this matter on the very words of Bishop Roz. Roz' A.D. 825 + 100 = 925, is suspect because of a round figure. If the plates of the Quilon Tarias church are dated in A.D. 824, as was generally thought, it may well be that the era of Quilon is due to the Christians.

Zaleski (Les origines du Christianisme aux Indes, p. 438) says that the following wrong dates have been given for Thomas Cana: 745, 825, 855, 907. We have 800 for Thomas Cana in Assemanni and Raulin (Raulin, p. 434). We know what to think of 825 and 907; 855 is probably Paulinus's c. A.D. 850 for the arrival of Mar Xabro and Mar Proodh. Who is responsible for 745? Visscher, translating an account by Mar Gabriel. (Cf. Germann, p. 91, who rejects it).

26 Sebarjent. The Portuguese often speak of the two Arabian brothers, Bishops, or of Sapor and Proodh; but who is responsible for Saul and Ambrose? Muruván Sabír Lá (Sharyeshu) is mentioned in the Quilon Tarias copper-plates (of A.D. 824?). Is it established that he is different from Mar Sapor? As for Proodh, may he not be the Budh Pürkendus who under Patriarch Ezechiel, c. A.D. 570, had charge of the Christians of Persia and the neighbouring countries of the Indies, and who translated an Indian book, Callagh and Domnagh, into Syriac? Assem., B.O., III, Pt. I, 219.

The Romo-Syrian churches now dedicated to Sts. Cervarius and Protaus were before de Menezes dedicated to Mar Sapor and Proodh.

27 Sakhrītī. "In a Syriac extract, which is however modern, in Land's Anecdoton Syriaco (Latin, I. 125; Syriac, p. 27), it is stated that three Syrian Missionaries came to Kaulam in A.D. 823, and got leave
from King Shahkirlkiri to build a church and city at Kailam. It would seem that there is some connection between the date assigned to this event and the "Kollam era"; but what it is we cannot say. Shahkirlkiri is evidently a form of Chakravarti's Raja." Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Quilon.

364 Denha, Thomas, Jacob, and Jahabalah. "From the letter of the bishops of India in 1515 [sic for 1504] what is said of those three bishops, i.e., Mar-Dua or Dun, Thomas, Jonnan, appears to be wrong, because only two were then sent, viz., John and Thomas, i.e., in A.D. 1490. Thomas alone then returned to Mesopotamia and he then brought three other bishops with him to India, i.e., Denha, Jahabalah, and Jacob." Raulin, p. 9 n.b. See also Triv. Man., II, 148-149.


32 Burning of Syriac books. Most authors, not excluding our modern Romo-Syrians, cannot write dispassionately of this matter. Let them examine the Jornada and the decrees of the Council of Diamper for what was done. Cf. Raulin's Elogia for an extract from a letter of J. M. Campani, S.J., Nov. 28, 1599.

34 30,000 double gold pieces. I find no allusion to this in any other book at my disposal.

34a They submitted to the Frank bishops. The real story is in Triv. Man., II, 174-180.

35 Mar Ignatius. Even the Romo-Syrians still believe, as I had occasion to hear more than once while in Malabar (1924), that Mar Ignatius was drowned by the Portuguese before Cochin. But foul play was ascribed equally to the Portuguese, and each time rashly, in the case of several other Bishops and priests who died while out of Malabar, in territory belonging either to the Portuguese or to the French. Some Latin authors, for instance Raulin, p. 442 col. 2, say Mar Ignatius was burned by the Inquisition of Goa. Friar Paulinus says he died at Goa about A.D. 1554 (Ind. Or. Christ, p. 73). There is no reason why the ordinary historian should not accept MacKenzie's findings about his being deported to Portugal and dying at Paris on his way from Lisbon to Rome.

37 By means of the Syrian deacons. Menezes had deposed neither the bishops, because after Mar Abraham's death there was no Syrian bishop left, nor the priests. Land, finding only deacons mentioned here, jumps to the conclusion that Menezes had deposed bishops and priests. No attempt to verify a statement.


40 A bishop of the Franks. This cannot be Francisco Roz, who died in 1624 at Parur, where he is buried. It is not likely either that Bishop Francis Garcia be referred to. The allusion appears to be to the Carmelite bishops, the first of whom arrived at Parur on Feb. 22, 1637. Cf. Triv. Man., II, 186.

41 Catholicos of the East. The title seems to be used here in the sense of "the Jacobite Catholicus of Antioch."

42 Mar Gabriel. There is much divergence about the year of his arrival in Malabar: 1704 and 1709 (cf. Raulin, 446, col. 2) and 1708 (Triv. Man., II, 203-204). He did not die in 1716, as Assemanni asserts, but in 1731 (Triv. Man., II, 208).

44 Of the Franciscans? We should understand the Jesuits, chiefly those of Ambalakada. They were called Paulistas or Paulists all over India, from their College of S. Paolo de S. Fe at Goa.

46 The priest Matthew. The date of Matthew's letter does not appear. Land seems to confuse him with Mar Thomas IV, with whom Dr. Schaaf, Professor of Oriental Languages at the Leyden University, entered into correspondence after 1714. Mar Thomas IV mentions Schaaf in a letter to the Patriarch of Antioch, dated from Pharaor Patana (Parur) the 25th of Elul (Sept.) 1720. In the same letter he mentions a certain priest, Matthew Bettecleul, whom he trusted. Cf. Triv. Man., II, 204-205. As Mar Thomas IV died in 1728 and Mar Gabriel in 1731, it is possible that, as Mar Thomas IV is not mentioned by Matthew, our document was written after his death. We might therefore think that Matthew's letter is of about A.D. 1730.

Among the Oriental MSS. of the Leyden University, No. 1214 is entitled thus:—

Malayalattil olla suriyâni-kkârka bhavicitâ bhavitanikal, i.e., Events which occurred among the Syrian Christians.

"It begins with the arrival of 'Mar Thomma' in the year 82nd after the birth of Christ," wrote R. Rost, Professor of Dravidian languages at Cambridge (6 Nov. 1860). He took it to be 800 years old, but R. Collins, Principal of the Church Missionary College, Kottayam, wrote: "It is the commencement of one of the many histories, scattered amongst the people, relating to the Syrian Church. A reader in my employ has a MS. beginning much in the same way. The bit which Dr. Rost sends is certainly quite modern." Cf. Land, Anecdota Syriaca, I, pp. 7-8.
No. 1215 in the same library contains liturgical writings of the Syro-Malabar Church (post-Portuguese, Roman Catholic). Cf. ibid., pp. 8-12. At fol. 29r of the MS. there is a mention of "Dom Francisus Metropolita."

Land does not tell us how these MSS. reached Leyden. His Anecdota do not contain anything more for the purpose of our researches on St. Thomas and the St. Thomas Christians.

* * *


The following notes were received by me after I had sent my paper to the Indian Antiquary. They refer to Land's notes and mine and have been given the same numeral notation.—H.H.

4 *Moljokaret* is Mālyāṅkaram, a small island in the lagoon S.E. from "Cranganore," as Burgess says. It is quite different from Mālankara, Malabar. The names differ in meaning and in spelling. It is not Māvēllikaram. Mālyāṅkara is close to Parur, to the north of the latter.

5 *Kootakkyyal*, Parur; not Calicut. St. Thomas did not land at Calicut, but he is said to have established one of his seven churches at Pāḻūr or Pāḻiyur, which I suppose de Couto means by Calicut. Pāḻūr is far away from Calicut. [The only reason for bringing in Calicut seems to be that some (chiefly the Muhammadans ?) made of Calicut the capital of the Perumal.—H.H.]

6 *Irappi*: Iyappalli. St. Thomas did not found a church here. This is near Parur. It is neither Verappoli nor Ignapelli.

7 *Gukkanagaram* is not Mangalam.

9 *Tiruvakē* is Tiruvākkāte in S. Travancore. There are 'Tariās Christians ' even now in Tiruvākkāte. They are referred to in one of the Diaper Decrees and by Gouvea. This is the Tirumodo of Barboza. This name of the old capital of Vēqād is now applied to the whole State of Travancore. St. Thomas did not found a church here, but the Tariās Christians there say that they were brought to the place from Mypāpo by St. Thomas. [It is quite possible that, as our first missionaries often say, some people ran away from Mypāpo to Travancore. This may have been in the fifteenth century, before the arrival of the Portuguese, when Mypāpo was destroyed as a Christian settlement.—H.H.]

10 (Hosten.) *Sālivāhaṇa*. I have not seen the Sālivāhaṇa era used in any Christian records, old or new, in Malabar.

[The Rev. Matthew Theccanatt wrote to me from Sacred Heart Mount, Kottayam, 28. 8. 1924: “I have come across a manuscript copy of a book obtained from a priest of about sixty-four, who got it from a grand-uncle of his. The book must therefore have been written not later than a hundred years ago. The book opens thus: ‘Mar Thomman (St. Thomas) came to Mālāṅkara (Malabar) in the year 78 after the birth of the Messiah and visited the Perumal. He built a church in Mālāṅkara, came to Malabar, erected seven crosses and preached the Faith. 345 years after the birth of Maran Eso (the Messiah) Thomas of Cana landed in Cranganore, when the Yavanas (the Greeks?) were trading in the kingdoms of the Emperor of Cranganore and Calicut. Thomas visited these emperors and got from them 444 Multas (cents) of land. After this the author of the book mentions the privileges granted to Thomas of Cana by the Perumal.’ Whatever be the value of the date A.D. 78 for St. Thomas’ landing in Malabar, it is the first year of the Sālivāhaṇa era, and, if Sālivāhaṇa means the cross-borne or cross-bearer, it would follow that, as a Jesuit Missionary (Bishop Rux) wrote in 1604, the Indians calculated their era from the death of St. Thomas With Wilford I hold that Sālivāhaṇa is Christ or Thomas.—H.H.]

[But Prof. Rapson says that the first year of Kanishka’s reign was most probably 78 A.D. and that evidences make it “seem almost certain that Kanishka was the founder of the well-known era which began in 78 A.D.”—Cf. Cambridge History of India I, 1922, pp. 582, 583 and Preface, pp. viii-x.

While Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil said: “We shall therefore conclude that Kanishka is not the founder of the Saka era. “And “the most simple, the most natural and the most logical theory consists in saying: The Saka era of 78 was founded by Chashtana,” king of Ujjain.—Cf. Ancient History of the Deccan, Pondicherry, 1920, pp. 34, 36. —T. E. J.]

11 *Manikkōss* is Manikkavāchakar, who is said, in a Malayalam MS. history, to have come to Quilon in A.D. 315. See my Malabar Christian Copper Plates, pp. 49, 60.

12 100, 96, 64. These numbers differ in different versions.

13 *Families*: bāttagyō, in the original Syriac, is akin to ḏēth, in Bethlehem, Bethesda, etc., and means people in a house, household, family, not community, or church.

13 (Hosten.) There are Manigramakār even now in Quillon and Kayamkulam, but they are a low class of Śūdras. The high-class Śūdras call them contemptuously Karamkkavār, i.e., land-fishermen. The old generation of them admits, though not openly, that their ancestors were Christians.
13 Thomas of Jerusalem. St. Thomas, Mānikkavāchakar, Thomas Cana, and the Kādiṃa (Sapor and Prodh) are constant factors in all versions of Malabar Christian tradition.

21 Serkun is Chérakōn, which means King of Malabar.

22 Kuramakuttu: Crangamore; not Koṭamallār.

23 Syrian Fathers: Bishops or Patriarchs: not priests. Syrian priests are not called fathers, except recently in imitation of the Portuguese practice. The word in the original must be some form of ābūn, father. Cp. ‘Abba, father’ of the Bible. Ābūnā Jacob is Bishop Jacob, though literally ‘Father Jacob.’

24 Lord Sapor, Mar Sapor, Bishop. Mār (Syriac) = Lord, applied to laymen also as a term of respect, e.g., by servants to masters.

Serrājūsu is Sābūr Īsā of the two copper plates of the Quilon Church (c. 880 a.d.).

(Hosten.) The following dates can, I think, be taken as correct. Sābūr Īsā of the Quilon Church copper plates came a little before a.d. 825 and refounded Quilān in 825. Mar Sapor came in Sābūr Īsā’s ship, either with that merchant or after his refounding Quilān, i.e., c. a.d. 825. The Quilon Church plates are of c. 880 a.d. All these events are generally assigned, wrongly, to the same year.

Bishop Roz: “100 years after the foundation of Quilon” is the approximate date of the plates (c. 880). 1602–733=869 in Jornada is, I suppose, the actual date of the earlier of the two sets of Quilon Church plates.

Raulin’s 879, if it be correct at all, may apply to the second set of Quilon Church plates. Le Quen’s ‘about 880’ is the approximate date of the Quilon Church plates. [Raulin says at p. 434: “According to the Malabar tradition, Gouvea wrote that these two Bishops [Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh] were sent to those churches a little after the foundation of the town of Coulman, where they built the Church of St. Thomas, 733 years before the year when Gouvea wrote, that is 1002; hence we conclude that this happened in a.d. 879.” Raulin should have said a.d. 869.—H.H.]

‘The Calicut era.’ No such era is known. I think old writers called the Quilon era the Calicut era, because of a confusion between Quilon in Travancore and Quilon near Calicut. The former was called Kurakkēti Kollam (Quilon); the latter, Pantalāyini Kollam (Quilon). This latter has become Pandarami (Portuguese), Flandrina (Odorico), Fandreesh (an Arabic author), Fandarina (Ibn Batuta). Some accounts say that Vasco da Gama first landed here.

The plates of the Quilon Tarisa Church are not of 824, but of circa 880. Sābūr Īsā, re-founder of Quilon in Travancore, must have been about 80 years old when he got the plates.

Sābūr Īsā is Maruvān Sābūr Īsā of the Quilon Church plates. Maruvān is, I think, a variant of Mar, lord.

Sābūr Īsā (Persian or Syriac?) = patience of Jesus. Sābūr Īsā is not the same person as Mar Sapor.

27 Suktevriti. Chakkravarti (Skt.) emperor: not a proper name. Some old writings give his name as Šānakara Iravi Śri. The name of the contemporary emperor at Cranganore given in the Quilon copper plates (set No. 1) is Tāgu Iravi (Skt. Stānau Ravi), who ruled up to at least the last quarter of the 9th century (T.A.S., III, p. 162). Stānau is a synonym for Šānakara. Hence, I suppose, Stānau Ravi became Šānakara Iravi in some later MSS. But Stānau Ravi could not ever have been born in 825: besides, he was not king of Quilon, but Emperor of Malabar ruling from Cranganore.

(Hosten.) Lord Abraham; Mar Abraham; Bishop, not layman.

(Hosten.) The tradition of the Malabar Syrians and their belief are that Menæzes burnt many more books than are mentioned in Gouvea, the Diomper Deecres, etc. [J. M. Campori, S.J., wrote after the Diomper council from the Seminary of Vaiopicota, near Parur, on Nov. 28, 1599: “Father Francisco Roz and I are busy examining their books. We delete, cut out, and throw into the fire entire books. All considered this work not as a marvel. Formerly they were so attached to their books that they would not even allow them to be opened by us. Now they were not annoyed to see us erase, truncate and burn entire books, as we pleased.” Cf. Raulin, in the Elogia.—H.H.]

33 Ququin: Cochin.

34 Mutumseri: Matṭāsēṭhi.

40 bisa is from the Portuguese, not from the Skt. It is found in old Malayalam writings of the Portuguese period, and is sometimes even now used by the Roman Catholics in Malabar.

44 The Jesuits were known in Malayalam as Paulistakkār (Paulists), Sampaḷappāṭirimmā (San Paolo Padress), and Yeśuvattāmmā (Jesuits).

J. C. Visscher’s Version of Matthew’s Letter.

I considered myself fortunate when, in February 1926, while at Calcutta, I found in Major Heber Drury’s translation of Letters from Malabar by Jacob Canter Visscher (Madras, 1862, pp. 105–109) a somewhat different version of Land’s document. It comes in the 16th letter of the Dutch domine. Now, as his letters 18 and 19 are of 1723, we can bring down the date of Matthew’s document from 1730 (cf. my note 46a above) to 1723. At any rate Matthew used a document existing in 1723, and this gives us a further reason to identify him with the priest Matthew Beticule. The end in Visscher is later than 1765.
Visscher writes:—

"It will not be useless, nor will you take it amiss, if I include in this letter a somewhat remarkable account of the origin and spread of Christianity in Malabar, which has been sent me by Bishop Mar Gabriel, written in the Syriac language. The title runs as follows:—

"The antiquity of the Syrian Christians, and Historical events relating to them."

"Fifty-two years after the birth of the Messiah, the holy Apostle Thomas arrived at Maliapore on the coast of Coromandel, preaching the Gospel and founding Churches there. Passing from thence to Malabar, the holy man landed on the island of Maliankarre, (situated between Cranganore and Paroe), preached and taught, and built churches in that island, and likewise at Cottacak, Repolym, Gokkomangalam, Pernett, and Tirouesgotta, and having finished his work in these parts and ordained two priests, returned to the land of the Pandies (as the natives of Coromandel are called) (Page 106) to teach the people there. But whilst he was thus occupied, the Apostle was pierced by the Heathens with spears, and thus ended his life. In the course of a few years all the priests in Hindostan and Malabar died; and many years afterwards, a Toveanor, called Mamukawasser, an enemy to the Christian faith, arrived at Maliapore, performing many miracles to hinder its progress. And many of the principal Christians giving heed to him, forsook Christianity and followed this false teacher Mamukawasser. In those days certain persons came from Hindowry or Hindostan, who were not disposed to abandon the people of Malabar, and who allied themselves with the believers, that is, the Christians, who had remained constant, in number about 160 families, or tribes. These men taught for many years in Malabar, but there were few among them who had knowledge, because they were destitute of pastors; and therefore most of them ended in becoming heathens, and had all things in common with the other heathens. This caused a second apostasy; so that out of the 160 families, 96 adopted the heathen superstitions, 64 only adhering to the true faith. Now in those days there appeared a vision to an Archbishop, at Oerghai, in consequence whereof certain merchants were sent from Jerusalem by command of the Catholic authorities in the East, to see whether there were here any Nazarenes or Christians. These persons having arrived here with ships, joined all the Christians from Maliankarre, as far as Tierowangotta, treated them as brothers and strengthened them in the faith; and having taken leave of the 64 families, set sail and returned to Jerusalem and related to the Catholics in that place their adventures in Malabar. After this, several priests, students, and Christian women and children came hither from Bagdad, Nineveh and Jerusalem, by order of the Catholic Archbishop at Oerghai, arriving in the year of the Messiah 745, in company with the merchant Thomas; and having made acquaintance with the 64 families, they became united and lived in concord one with another. At this time the famous Emperor Cheram Peroumal was reigning over the whole of Malabar, to him the newcomers went, and when they informed him of the cause of their arrival, the King was well pleased, and gave them pieces of ground in the territory of Cranganore to build Churches and shops upon, that they might pursue their trades; at the same time he granted the Christians royal marks of honour, and permission to carry on their trade throughout the whole (Page 107) country, so long as the sun and moon should shine, as may be seen to this day in their documents written upon copper plates. In consequence of this, the Christians possess in the territory of Cranganore East, West, North and South, several churches, besides 472 shops and dwelling houses built round them; and they lived in peace and unity for several years. In this period, by order of the Catholic Patriarch of the East, many great teachers arrived in Malabar, from Bagdad, Nineveh, Jerusalem, and several other places, who assumed authority over the Christians of the country. This state of things lasted until a separation took place among the Christians of Cranganore, in the year of our Lord 823, and then Mar Saboor, Mar Botoo, and Seboor Iasso came to Quilon as teachers. They went to visit the King Sjak Rawiosti, with presents, and built Churches and shops at Quilon.
In these and similar ways, the chief pastors came, teaching and instructing the people of Malabar. In the year 1500, when the Portuguese first appeared in Malabar, where they afterwards obtained a footing, there came, by order of the Catholic Patriarch, four teachers, by name Mardina,16 Mar Jacob, Mar Thoma, and Jene Alay,17 who governed the Christians and built many churches. After the death of these four teachers, another, called Mar Abraham came to Malabar, about the year 1550,18 whereupon the Portuguese passed a decree that henceforth no Catholic teachers should come thither, and placed guards everywhere to seize and put to death all who should attempt it. Mar Abraham was captured, but escaped through God’s mercy, and continued to teach for many years, and built several churches: after which, he went the way of all flesh. After that time the road was closed to the Syrian priests, and the Christians experienced a want of pastors; which the Portuguese perceiving, a Viceregent and Bishop, called Alexio,19 came to the city of Cochin in the name of, and with authority from, the Pope of Rome. This Bishop took a great deal of trouble to bring the Syrian Christians into subjection, and seeing no chance of effecting his object, the Portuguese gave to the King of Cochin 30,000 ducats, and with the help of His Highness persecuted the Christians who dwelt in his dominions, for three whole years. The Christians then, unable to endure the persecution longer, submitted to the Bishop, and thus became reconciled with the Portuguese. Shortly afterwards, the Syrian manners and customs underwent a change: the priests were forbidden to marry; and for about 55 years the Syrians followed the same customs as the Portuguese. In the meantime a priest called Mar Matti20 came to Malapore sent by the Catholic Patriarch. The Portuguese apprehended him and brought him into the city and afterwards dragged him to the harbour and cast him into the water.21 On hearing this, the Christians of Malabar assembled in the church of Mar Tancheri,22 took counsel together, bound themselves by oath, and thus threw off the Portuguese yoke from their necks; having first written and signed a letter that from that time forward and for ever, they would have nothing more to do, for good or evil, with the Portuguese. Meanwhile the Portuguese Bishop went to Cranganore, wrote secretly to the Cassanarios23 and Christians, and sent messengers, with presents consisting of fine silk stuffs, gold ornaments and jewels; and those who were allured by these things and also by fair words and promises, went over secretly to that Bishop. The Portuguese and those who belonged to that party, filled the hands of the Prince, in whose country the Syrian Christians dwelt, with gifts and materially injured the latter by sundry vexations, confiscations and deeds of violence. And in the days of this persecution, the upright, God-fearing, Justice-loving, and peaceable Dutch were sent to Malabar by the inspiration of Almighty God and by order of the East India Company, under the command of the noble Lord Admiral Ryklo24 van Goens, and like as the heathen were driven out of the land of Isso Biranon Kaimn [Canaan]25 so have they driven the worse than heathen Portuguese out of Cochin and other cities and fortresses of Malabar: and through Divine Providence the Syrian Christians have been from that time forward protected and defended from them, and their pastors have again visited this country without let or hindrance. In the beginning of the year 1700, the Bishop Mar Symons, sent by the Catholic Patriarch of the East, arrived in India, being appointed to Malabar. This man gave notice of his intended arrival by letters to the Syrian Christians, which happening to fall into the hands of the Carmelites and Jesuits, they accordingly placed sentinels everywhere, captured the Bishop, and led him prisoner to Pondicherry, where they kept him in irons.26 After him, in the year 1705, the chief teacher, Mar Gabriel, came to this land; and since that time most of the Syrians have adopted the Church customs of the Portuguese, subjecting themselves to several ceremonies, and condemning the marriage of the Priest; and that out of the 54 churches, twenty have remained on the side of the Carmelites, and 44 on that of the Syrians: but as we enjoy the favour of the Lord Commandant, we hope that all this will be restored to the old footing, and this is what we
now humbly pray of his Excellency and his Council, trusting that they will not turn away their face from us. And therefore we pray God to spare them in good health and all welfare, and to give them blessing and prosperity."

The notes in square brackets, bearing the initials T.K.J. are by Mr. T. K. Joseph, Trivandrum.

1 The reason why St. Thomas is brought first to Mylapore seems to be that, somehow, in Malabar it was thought that Mylapore was the capital of Gondophares and that therefore Habban, Gondophares' merchant, would have taken St. Thomas first to Gondophares. But this goes against the Acta and the Malabar tradition that St. Thomas assisted first at the marriage feast at Sandaruk, which would be no other than Cranganore.

2 Parur.

3 Here we get near enough to Koṭṭakāya or Parur.

4 Clearly Matthew's Irupelii.

5 Perunna ought to correspond to Land's Neranam. [Perunna ought to be read Nerunna, locative of Neranam—T.K.J.]

6 Tiruvungotta is, no doubt, Vischer's later Tierowangotta (Tiruvānköṭe). [Tiruvānęköṭe is another form of Tiruvānköṭe—T.K.J.]

7 Instead of Matthew's 92 years.

8 This is a Dutch word, left untranslated by Drury, and meaning 'magician.'

9 Manikka Vāsakar. [Spelt Māṇikkavāschakar and pronounced as such in Malayalam, but as Māṇik-

kaväsagar in Tamil.—T. K. J.] A few years ago a German scholar published a work on this personage. I have not seen it. Perhaps some of our readers will draw to it the attention of our Malabar Christian scholars.

10 This important passage is slurred over by Matthew, with the result that the defection of 96 families is attributed to Manikka Vāsakar, whereas, as we are told here, it was a second apostasy. Where were those other Christians in India who came to the help of the Christians in Malabar? And at what time did this second apostasy take place? What was the exact cause of it? Further study will have to elucidate this statement of Bishop Gabriel.

11 This is Urfa, or Edessa; but it is quite possible that the meaning of the name was not known any more to Bishop Gabriel and others before him, as I have found to be the case in Malabar documents of a later period. Why should merchants from Jerusalem have been sent to India by the Archbishop of Edessa? After their visit to India these merchants should have gone to report to the Archbishop (Catholicos of the East ?) at Edessa. Colonists came, indeed, from Bagdad, and Nineveh, as we hear. The addition of Jerusalem to the places whence the colonists came is suspect.

12 Thomas Cana. [For the dates 345 and 745 see pp. 245 and 246 for Thomas Cana see my Malabar Xitian Copper Plates, Preface, ii, and p. 89.—T.K.J.]

13 Important passage omitted by Matthew. The nature and occasion of this separation ought to be examined. Has it anything to do with the division into Northists and Southists? Did it not give rise to two eras, the new era of Quilon for one party, and an older era maintained for a time by the other party, i.e., the Śālivāhana era, or even the Vikrama era, which I take with Wilford to have been the era of Augustus and to have been started from Cranganore. [But see Camb. Hist. of India, I, ch. XXXI for Prof. Rapson’s conclusion—T.K.J.]

14 Pheroz Prodh. Budh Periodates?

15 Matthew’s Sakirbārī: Yule’s Chakravartii.

16 Mar Denha. 16 A bad spelling for Jakaballa.

17 1580 in Matthew.

18 D. Aleixo de Meneses, Archbishop of Goa, who also governed as 19th Governor of India from 3-5-1666 to 28-5-1669.

19 Mar Ignatius in Matthew.

20 This is supposed in Matthew to have happened at Cochin. At Mylapore Mar Ignatius was the guest of the Jesuits.

21 Mattānēchēri (Cochin).

22 [Cassamarios: priests—T.K.J.]

23 Bracketed by Vischer or Drury.

24 So for Ryklof.

25 I do not believe this statement about Mar Simon, Bishop of Adana, who at Pondicherry lived in communion with Rome, a friend of the Capuchins and Jesuits. He was not a prisoner there. He left his property or part of it to the Jesuit seminary, near Pondicherry. Paulinus (India Or. Christ., Rome, 1797, p. 259) says that in the Angamale conventicle of 1787 it was said he had been driven out of Malabar and had been killed by the Carmelites and Jesuits at Pondicherry. (I do not know of Carmelites then at Pondicherry.) Mar Simon died of an accident on 16-8-1730 at Pondicherry: he fell into a well while washing in the early morning and was drowned. Cf. also True. Manual, II, 190-191.
THE INTERPRETATION OF THE UPANIŚADS.

BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L.

Gough and Deussen led the way, and it is now a fashion in philosophical circles to speak of a Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, as distinguished from the Vedānta of the Vedānta-Sūtras. Gough's interpretation of the Upaniṣads has not been accepted as very sensible; but Deussen has been followed as the founder of a school. And just as in earlier times, there arose in India different schools of interpretation of the Vedānta-Sūtras, so, in modern times, the same drama is being re-enacted, with regard to the Upaniṣads; and we are well-nigh on the verge of having different schools of interpretation of the Upaniṣads over again. For instance, Prof. Radhakrishnan does not accept Deussen's interpretation of the doctrine of Māyā in the Upaniṣads. (Radhakrishnan, Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, pp. 65-67.) He further contends (The Mind, April, 1926), that his "interpretation of the Upaniṣads is not an unreasonable one, though it may seem to differ from this or that tradition in this or that point." Obviously, he claims the liberty to put his own interpretation upon the texts; and, as a necessary corollary, he cannot deny the same liberty to others. We are not suggesting intellectual stagnation; but there is some slight danger of intellectual anarchy, if you sever the short and cryptic utterances of the Upaniṣads from the old block of which they are but chips, and from the literature and traditions that went before and after them.

But the idea seems to have gained ground that the Upaniṣads can be interpreted as an independent philosophy—although as a system its elements cohere very much more loosely than elsewhere; and that this system of Upaniṣadic philosophy is distinguishable from the Vedānta system, though this is professedly the system of the interpretation of the Vedāntas or the Upaniṣads.

The most important reason for such an attitude is that the system of the Vedānta-Sūtras is either the system of Śaṅkara or of Rāmānuja or of some other system-builder; and therefore, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads had better be studied in its original sources, viz., the texts of the Upaniṣads. But dazzled by the differences of the diverse systems of interpretation of the Vedānta-Sūtras, we overlook the very important fact that there is a common substratum underlying all these systems and that their affinities are immensely greater than their differences. Besides, it is not impossible to decipher these common elements.

Before, however, we consider this, we might recollect the brief history of modern attempts to discover a philosophy of the Upaniṣads, as distinguished from the Vedānta-system. We shall find that there it is not the same materials always that have been used. Gough, for instance, constructed his philosophy of the Upaniṣads out of 13 Upaniṣads only, though he knew that more were in existence, "Treatises bearing the name of Upaniṣads," says he, "are numerous. Those in highest esteem have always been the Chāndogya, Brihadāranyaka, Īśā, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Aitareya, Taittirīya, Śvetāsvatara, Maitrāyaṇi, Kauśākī.

Deussen, who is more generally recognised to have been the sponsor, if not the father, of this idea, does not appear to have known more than 60 Upaniṣads, though he knew the list of 108 Upaniṣads given in the Muktikā Upaniṣad (vide his Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, Eng. tr. pp. 33 et seq.); and his Philosophy of the Upaniṣads is built on a much smaller number (op. cit. Index ii).

Hume constructs a philosophy based mainly on thirteen principal Upaniṣads, which he translates. And Radhakrishnan is still more limited in his scope. "The main Upaniṣads for our purposes are," says he, "the Chāndogya and the Brihadāranyaka, the Taittirīya and the Aitareya, the Kauśākī and the Kena; the Īśā and the Māṇḍūkya come next." (Philos. of the Upaniṣads, p. 19.)

But the Upaniṣadic literature is much more extensive than has been comprehended in Deussen's or any other interpretation. (Cf. The Nirmaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, Edition of the Upaniṣadic Texts; also, Catalogue of MSS. in the Adyar Library, Madras). It is no doubt true that there are chronological and doctrinal differences among these books, which cannot escape notice: some are more Upaniṣadic in character, while others are more
sectarian. And many of them cannot be regarded as books on *Brāhma-vidyā* at all, except by a great stretch of imagination (e.g., the *Devī-Upaniṣad*, the *Yoga-kundalinī-Upaniṣad*, etc.).

Yet in constructing his Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, Deussen brought together such books as the *Brhadāraṇyaka*, the *Chāndogya* and the *Īśā* on the one hand, and the *Kurukṛta* and the *Nādabindu* on the other. These are books which have not much in common but a good deal of divergence. It is not suggested that there is nothing in common; but their differences are perhaps more important than their similarities. And if we are permitted to attempt a philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* by thus grouping together a few of them, it is difficult to see why we should take only eight of them with Radhakrishnan, or thirteen with Gough and Hume, or thirty even with Deussen. Should we not rather take the whole host of them and find out, if we can, what is common and essential to them all?

The difficulties in that case would be immense. We have already suggested that the common elements in all the *Upaniṣads* will not be numerous; and if only the elements common to all the extant *Upaniṣads* are to be united into a system, that system would be very different from what we have obtained from Deussen or Radhakrishnan—if indeed it would be a system at all. Perhaps we should not be afraid of such a contingency; but it would be an intellectual feat of no mean order, if indeed we could combine into a system such diverse books as the *Kalisatāraṇa-Upaniṣad* and the *Īśā*, the *Kṣṇa-Upaniṣad* and the *Brhadāraṇyaka*, and so on.

The other extreme alternative would be to take each thinker of the *Upaniṣads* by himself and to spin a philosophy out of the loose threads of thought found in the teachings ascribed to him. That might give us embryonic systems of philosophy, such as Dr. Barua has traced in the sayings of Satyakāma Jābālā, Jaivali, etc., in his *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy* (Calcutta University publication).

We may note here in passing that Dr. Barua seems to proceed a little too far when he discusses the philosophy of the Vedic Ṛṣis and speaks of Prajāpāti Paramesṭhi, for instance, as a human philosopher and seriously compares him with Thales (op. cit., p. 12). He commits a similar blunder when he speaks of the philosophy of 'Anila' (op. cit., p. 24), as if he too were a real, historical person. Dr. Barua’s conception of a Vedic Ṛṣi is erroneous. If he had looked into the names of a few other Ṛsis in the very same *Māṇḍala* of the *Ṛg-Veda* where he has discovered the Indian parallel of Thales, he would have found that the Vedic Ṛsis are not necessarily human and historical persons. Among the list of Ṛsis occur names varying from those of gods down to those of a pigeon and an insect. And sometimes the deity and the Ṛsi of a mantra are identical, placing it absolutely beyond doubt that the Ṛsi was not necessarily conceived as a human person. For example, in X, 177, the Ṛsi is *patanga* or insect, whom Sāyana calls ‘son of Prajāpāti’ (*prajāpati-putra*). But every creature is, in a sense, son of Prajāpāti; and it is doubtful if a real human being is meant here. In X, 165, the Ṛsi is *kapota* or pigeon; no doubt, it also may be understood as the name of a man, but there is no indication that it was an historical man. In X, 123 and 151, the deity and the Ṛsi are identical. In X, 130, *gajīta* or sacrifice is personified as the Ṛsi. In X, 119, Indra the god, assumes a form and becomes a Ṛsi. In X, 129, in the language of Sāyana, *Agnir hūṣį śivānām devatārūpāṇam astaut*—Agni became a Ṛsi and praised himself as god. In X, 121, the Ṛsi is *hiranyagarbha*, never understood as a human being.

In many verses, Indra the god is himself the Ṛsi; and in several verses again (X, 18-17), the sons of Yama are the Ṛsis. Of X, 53, a number of gods are the Ṛsis. In X, 85, the daughter of the sun (*savitṛ-sūtu śūryaṇa*) is the Ṛsi. Now, can we seriously regard them all as historical personages? Some undoubtedly were real men and women; and it is not impossible to discriminate who were real men and who were not: the names themselves are often a sufficient index of the true nature of a Ṛsi; the incidents described are another index. At any rate, the confusion between a god and a man can be easily avoided.
So, on the strength of Sāyana's statement that Paramesṭhi is the Rṣi of Rk., X, 129, and Anila that of Rk., X, 168, to regard them as historical persons and to compare them seriously with Thales or some one else, is a parody of historical research. The Anila in question is described by Sāyana as 'belonging to the family of Air' (vāka-gotrasya). Does it look like a human genealogy? It cannot be unknown to Dr. Barua that Paramesṭhi is a deified name and that Anila is the ordinary as well as deified name of air itself. Dr. Barua could certainly utilise the teachings contained in the Rk.: verses in question without being guilty of the extravagant notion that every Vedic Rṣi can be looked upon as a real person.

When, however, Dr. Barua speaks of the philosophies of Satyakāma Jābāla, Jaivali, Gārgyāyaṇa, or Uddālaka, i.e. of people whose names occur in the Upaniṣads, as distinguished from the Rṣis of the Vedas, he is within more reasonable limits. And if we give up the practice of lumping a few Upaniṣads together and constructing a philosophy out of them, the ultimate logical conclusion of our procedure would be nothing short of a numerous list of more or less incomplete systems obtained from the teachings of individuals whose identity has been preserved in the Upaniṣads.

These would not be systems in the strict sense of the term; they would not give us more than the stray sayings of the ancient Greek thinkers. Besides, all the names in the Upaniṣads also are not names of teachers, properly so called; and a discrimination would be necessary. For instance, Prof. Radhakrishnan in his Philosophy of the Upaniṣads (p. 19), gives a brief list of names which will stand out "when the history of the great thinkers of the Upaniṣadic period with their distinctive contributions comes to be written." But this list contains the names of Gārgi and Maitreyi also. These are no doubt very important names in Upaniṣadic literature; they were certainly earnest enquirers whose questionings evoked the profoundest philosophy; but it is difficult to place them on the pedestal of teachers properly so called. They cannot be credited with laying the foundation of a philosophy in the same sense as Uddālaka or Yājñavalkya.

To resume: The extreme step of taking each individual thinker of the Upaniṣads by himself and weaving a philosophy out of the stray sayings ascribed to him, would introduce a needless disorder, where order and system have already been established. As a third alternative, however, we might take each book of the Upaniṣads by itself and construct a philosophy out of it. We would then have a philosophy of the Pṛṣṭha, and of Kāthā, and of Chāndogya, and so on. Dr. Das Gupta has suggested this procedure as the best: "It will be better," he says, "that a modern interpreter should not agree to the claims of the ancients that all the Upaniṣads represent a connected system, but take the texts independently and separately and determine their meanings, though keeping an attentive eye on the contexts in which they appear." (History of Indian Philosophy, p. 42.) Dr. Das Gupta speaks of the texts of the Upaniṣads and not their teachers; and presumably he means that each of the dissertations should be taken by itself and interpreted independently of the idea that it is part of a system of which the other texts also are parts.

But it is doubtful if even this procedure would meet the requirements of a scientific basis for a philosophy of the Upaniṣads. What philosophy, not to speak of a comprehensive system, can be evolved out of the twelve sentences of the Māṇḍūkya? And how much philosophy can the 18 verses of the Ādā really yield? The Bṛhadāraṇyaka or the Chāndogya, no doubt, could be tapped for more, and a system built upon either of them, which would be more comprehensive than a mere philosophy of Yājñavalkya or Jaivali or Uddālaka; but it is open to question if even that would be comprehensive enough to deserve the name of a system.

It seems inevitable, therefore, that we should take more than one Upaniṣad together in order that a system of thought may be attempted. Shall we then take them according to

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1 Cf. Mahābhārata, 1, 66, especially for Anila.
their doctrinal affinities and construct several philosophies of the Upaniṣads? The groups in which they are usually taken are more or less arbitrary; individual thinkers or individual books of the Upaniṣads cannot be expected to yield much philosophy; the whole literature is too extensive and too diversified to yield any common system. What, then, can we do but think of some other grouping?

Deussen himself in his Sixty Upaniṣads and also in his Philosophy of the Upaniṣads (p. 9), has suggested a classification of the Upaniṣads, which refers mainly to the minor Upaniṣads of the Atharvaveda, but may be extended to cover the other Upaniṣads also. This classification has been accepted by Schrader also (vide his edition of the Minor Upaniṣads, publication of the Adyar Library, Madras, vol. I, Intro. p. ii). It has, therefore, the sanction of authority and includes the following classes: (a) Vedānta-Upaniṣads; (b) Yoga-Upaniṣads; (c) Sannyāsa-Upaniṣads; (d) Śiva-Upaniṣads; (e) Viṣṇu-Upaniṣads. Using this as a classification of the entire range of Upaniṣadic literature, it seems that we may expect as many as five systems of Upaniṣadic philosophy.

As the names imply, a large number of the Upaniṣads are sectarian in character. We may note here in passing that sect-cults were advanced in India by a threefold literature, viz., sect-Purāṇas, sect-Gītās and sect-Upaniṣads; sometimes, though not so frequently, a sect attempted to develop a philosophy also of its own (cf. Mādhava, Sarva-darśana-sangraha). Some of these sect-Gītās are found embedded in the corresponding Purāṇas, some exist independently (vide my paper on Gītā-literature in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Oct. 1920). All the religious sects did not possess Purāṇas nor did all have Gītās: but some on the other hand had both, e.g., the Ganesa cult had a Purāṇa which included also a Gītā; and some had only one of the three. In any case, some of the sect-cults came to possess a Upaniṣad; and we have Upaniṣads belonging to the Śiva or Viṣṇu cult. It is needless to say that all the Upaniṣads are not sectarian, but quite a large number of them are.

Now, if we are to use a classification of the Upaniṣads as the above, what would be the consequences? Shall we still have the same philosophy of the Upaniṣads as now, or shall we have several philosophies? A Vedānta philosophy based upon some of the Upaniṣads will still be available; but it will be only one out of several philosophies. And a large number of these will be sect-philosophies, every one of which will ally itself more easily with the other branches of the corresponding sect-literature rather than with the philosophy of the Upaniṣads of any other group.

Curiously enough, though this classification of the Upaniṣads has been recognised as valid, no corresponding philosophies of the various groups of the Upaniṣads have ever been attempted. And why? For the obvious reason that these would hardly be a philosophy worthy of the name, though some of them would be excellent elucidation of sect-cults.

We seem to be on the horns of a dilemma, then: if the Upaniṣads are not arranged and classified in some way or other, they form a chaos; if they are classified, they tend to yield not one but several philosophies. We see, therefore, that though since Gough's time and following Deussen's lead, a philosophy of the Upaniṣads is always spoken of, it involves an anomaly and is not altogether free from patch-work. Such a philosophy is bound to contain elements all of which cannot be found in books of the same group or of the same period of time. We have to pick up materials and knit them together into a system; but the materials are often gathered from books which are widely separated by chronological and doctrinal differences. Deussen's own book is not free from this somewhat arbitrary selection and combination of materials. For one part of his philosophy, he quotes more or less exclusively from one set of books and for another from another. Thus, for his theory of Brahma and the universe (op. cit., pp. 157-179), he quotes almost exclusively from the Brhadāraṇyaka, Muṇḍaka, Chāndogya, Katha, Aitareya and Kaushitaki: whereas, for his doctrine of Āśrama, specially of Sannyāsa and Yoga, his quotations are mainly from the Kaṇthaśrutī, Jābala, Kārutila, Sannyāsa—a later and a different group of Upaniṣads (cf. Das Gupta, Hist. of Ind. Ph., p. 39n.).

(To be continued.)
THE MEANING AND ETYMOLOGY OF PUJA.
BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA. 1

THE Rigveda tells us about the religion of the Aryans who had invaded India. By this statement we do not mean to suggest that only purely Aryan religious ideas are met with in the Rigveda; but on the whole they give a fairly true picture of the religion of those Aryan Brahmans amongst whom the composition of hymns and sacrificial science were already hereditary occupations, and also of that of their patrons, the Kshatriyas, who had by then got possession of vast lands conquered from the original inhabitants of the country. On the other hand, it cannot be strongly enough emphasized that the Rigveda is an Indian collection of hymns, the production of a truly Indian spirit, and that consequently it contains elements that did not originate in the Indo-Iranian period. 2

This religion is that of the upper classes of society, and can never have been that of the great masses, because its ideas are too complicated, its rituals too expensive. In the midst of its pantheon are found the darlings of the Brahmans, Agni, the divine Fire, and Soma, the deified ceremonial beverage. Both of them were well-known also to the Iranians, although they called the Fire, by another name (Åtar), which perhaps tallies with its different position within the Iranian cults. Further, we find gods of wholly uncertain origin, like Varuna and Mitra, undoubtedly identical with the Iranian Ahura Mazda and Mithra, though developed along quite different lines. Varuna, owing to his high moral qualities, seems a stranger amongst gods who are generally not immoral but amoral; but nothing can be said for certain concerning his pretended Semitic origin. 3 There are still further gods like Indra and the Aśvins, 4 who were perhaps at one time living chieftains of the old Indo-Iranians. And, finally, we meet there with Vishnu, the deified spirit of the sacrifice, 5 and Rudra, an old demon who has taken on giant proportions. 6 Both these last were destined very soon after the period of the Rigveda to rise high above their fellow gods and to become the greatest gods of the Indian tribes.

All these gods are males. Female deities—with the sole exception of Ushas, the goddess of dawn—play no part amongst the Vedic gods except as wives of their husbands, i.e., the  


2 It is an ingenious though unconvincing idea of Professor Hillebrandt that parts of the Rigveda were composed outside India. This idea is now repeated on a greater scale by Professor Hertel, but is none the less quite unconvincing. The geography of the Rigveda points to the Punjāb (in spite of the suggestions of Professor Keith and others) and purely Indian habits are alluded to in the hymns. To quote only one instance, it must be proved that ghrīta means something else in the Rigveda than in the whole rest of Indian literature; for ghee is an Indian invention which was totally unknown to the Aryans outside India.

3 Recent literature on Varuna is found, e.g., in Johansson, Über die altindoische Göttin Dīśāna und Verwandte (Uppsala 1912, extensively reviewed by Oldenberg, Gött. gel. Anzeiger, 1919, pp. 347-364); Güntert, Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland (Leipzig 1923); Heymann, Festgabe Jacobi (1926), p. 201 sqq.; Hillebrandt, Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik, vol. IV, p. 207 sqq. But in spite of all this nothing certain has been ascertained concerning the nature of this mysterious god. His presence amongst the gods mentioned at Bogaz-Kale (cf. Konow, The Aryan Gods of the Mitanni, Christiania 1921) does not imply that these gods are Indian; in the present writer's opinion they are all of Iranian origin.


5 Concerning this god I quite share the opinion of Dr. Barnett whose short but brilliant book Hindu Gods and Heroes (1922) seems to me to contain the best information that has hitherto been written on Indian religion in general. Concerning Vishnu already Johansson in his book Solfageln i Indien (Upsala 1910) was on the right track. The present writer avows that his opinions on Vedic religion and mythology have nowhere been influenced by Professor Keith's extensive new work on that subject which does not, in general, mark any progress (cf. my extensive review in Bulletin of the School of Or. Stud., vol. IV, p. 537 sqq.)

part played by the wife of the Yajamāna. And further: these gods are not immoral, though with a few exceptions they lack knowledge of any higher morality; thus, tricks of all sorts, even mean ones, and infinite amorous adventures are ascribed to Indra, the most popular one of them all. But in spite of this these gods are not evil nor are they in general dangerous to their adorers; though they wreak their vengeance upon the Kikātas, the Paṇis and all the classes who do not bring them sacrifices. For the appetite of these gods is insatiable; the slayer of Vīra craves for roast bullocks and slakes his thirst with lakes of Soma. Still, he is not blood-thirsty—the raw meat and the dark-red blood do not stimulate his appetite. In spite of his obvious clownishness he is far too civilized for that.

These gods had no images, no temples. The description which Herodotus (I, 132) has given of the sacrifice of the Persian Magi has already been frequently quoted and need not be repeated here. With a few alterations—of which perhaps the most important would be the exclusion of the words oṁ avaḥ kāraṇa—with this description would also fit the sacrifice of the Vedic Aryans. They sacrificed to their gods under the open sky, and the cut-up meat and the other sacrificial gifts were spread out on bundles of sacred grass (Skt. baktis, Avesta barasman), which would also provide seats for the gods approaching their meal. The officiating priests recited the hymns and liturgies, and in the middle of the sacrificial enclosure flamed the sacred fires, inherited from the older cult of the Indo-Iranians. For, it seems obvious that the Iranians had introduced an alteration in abolishing the sacrificial fire; and what Herodotus describes to us is obviously the cult of the Magi with certain Zoroastrian additions, and not some sort of pre-Zoroastrian cult.

The Aryans, however, were nothing more than an upper class of society, a minority of foreign invaders and conquerors, living amongst a compact mass of elements belonging to another race, speaking another language, of different colour, stature and facial features, and adoring absolutely different deities. To a great extent these aborigines were probably agriculturists, and their material culture was perhaps scarcely inferior to that of the invaders. But, on the other hand, the Aryans were decidedly superior in warfare by their possession of

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7 Cf. Rigveda III, 33, 14.
8 The last general discussion on idols in Vedic times is found in Arimba, Rudra, p. 82 sq., one of the weakest parts of an otherwise very good book. The verse Rigveda, IV, 24, 10 (in imaṁ dadabhi mamendraṁ kriyāṁ dhenubhirḥ) yaṁ evaṁ jñayahad athinām me punar dadaḥ) which was quoted in this connection already by Bollensken ZDMG., XXII, 587 sq., proves nothing (cf. Sieg, Saenensste des Rigveda, I, p. 90 sq.); and some passages from the Sūtras are either late or wrongly interpreted. Thus there remains, as the oldest passage in the literature speaking of idols, the well-known sūtra V, 3, 99: jīvīkāthe cāpaya ; but as this sūtra alludes to a mode of expression that was already established it proves that the use of idols was at that time of long standing. Now the present writer has tried to prove (Cf. Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik, II, p. 147 sq.) that Pāṇini lived already before 500 B.C., and later researches have only steadied this opinion: A refutation cannot be found in the word yavantānī prescribed in IV, 1, 49. First of all we only know that Kātyāyana, who lived in the South and perhaps centuries after Pāṇini, took it to mean “Greek writing” while, according to the sūtra, it should much rather mean “Greek woman.” But even if we admit that to Pāṇini the word meant yavantānī bīṣṭ this would not be especially marvellous. For, Yavana must have gone to the Far East very early on the orders of the Great King (e.g., Skylax of Karyanda) and might have brought their writing with them. But it is far more probable that the Yavantānī bīṣṭ meant to Pāṇini the Aramaic script introduced by the officials of the Persian Chancellery (cf. Cowley, JRAS., 1915, p. 346; Raupen, CHL, I, p. 62) and its further development, the Kharaṣṭhī. Now, if Pāṇini was acquainted with idols he must have lived in the period of older Hinduism when Aryan religion was already inseparably mixed up with aboriginal cults. That Pāṇini was acquainted with the religion we call Hinduism is also proved by the prescription (IV, 3, 98) concerning the adorers of Vāsudeva (cf. Jacob, Streitberg-Festgabe, 1924, p. 120 sq.) and Arjuna (cf. Barnett, Hindu Gods and Heroes, p. 87 sq.).

9 I especially underline this because of the extravagant hypothesis recently advanced by Professor Hertel in Die Zeit Zoroaster (Leipzig 1924). Cf. the criticisms by Professors Clemen, Zeitsschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Missionskunde, vol. XL, p. 45 sq., Keith, Indian Hist. Quarterly, I, p. 4 sq., and by the present writer, Bull. S.O.S., vol. III, p. 747 sq. Professor Hertel’s reply (Die Methode der arischen Forschung, Leipzig 1926) is, unfortunately, couched in terms which make it less savoury reading.
weapons and tools of copper, and of horses which they brought with them from Bactria and Transoxiana, old homesteads of horse-breeding. It must also be kept in mind that the same differences may have prevailed between the Aryan invaders and the aborigines as in later times between Muhammadan invaders of Turkish or Iranian origin and the Hindus. The former were physically far superior, because of their diet and the climatic conditions in which they lived.

Which were the different populations of India at the time of the Aryan invasion is not known nor will it perhaps ever be. Perhaps we may hope the most from archeological investigations, but linguistic research will possibly also not be without result. But we may suggest, with a fair amount of safety, that at the time of the invasion, the Ganges-Jumna-Doabh, the Ganges valley, Orissa and the Eastern Vindhyas—and perhaps also other parts of the North and East—were inhabited by Munda-speaking tribes, while the Southern part of the West (Sindh), the Dakhan and the extreme South were populated by Dravidians. Of their entry into India it seems dangerous to speak at a time when the new discoveries at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, etc., are not yet sufficiently known. But in view of the existence of the Brâhui language in Balûchistân it seems highly probable that the Dravidians entered India from the West and first of all occupied Sindh, whence they spread through the South of Râjputâna, through Gûjarât and Mâlwâ to the Dakhan and the extreme South. If this was the case, and if the ruins at Mohenjo Daro, etc., are of Dravidian origin, they would probably have entered Sindh before 3000 B.C. Unfortunately, nothing is known, so far, concerning the linguistic affinity of the Dravidian languages; that any connection could be established with the Sumerian seems quite improbable.

Very little seems to be known concerning the religion of the Munda tribes proper, as they were at an early time either Dravidianized or drawn under the ban of Brahmanism. But there is no reason to think that it did not consist in a crude form of animism. We may indeed well suggest that these aborigines lived in an eternal awe of hideous and blood-thirsty demons and ghosts, whom they tried to satisfy by frequent libations of blood and also by not unfrequent human sacrifices. The Khonds of Sambalpur, whose horrible Meriâh-sacrifice is so well known from the descriptions of Campbell and Maepherson, are, no doubt, Dravidianized Mundas. At this sacrifice the Khonds cut the living human scapegoat into slices which they buried in the fields from which they expected an abundant harvest. This is apparently a very old type of sacrifice and is, no doubt, originally connected with the myth of the Purujsôkta (Rigveda, X, 90), according to which a primordial being is cut up, and out of its remnants is produced the whole creation. For, in my opinion, a myth of that description presupposes a similar rite.

10 Ayas in Rigveda seems to mean only "copper"—bronzeclearly seems to have existed in India (cf. CHI., I, p. 614)—and has only more lately come to mean "iron," which was earlier called āydravan āya. There is no doubt that the Indo-Eur. word underlying Skt. āyas, Avestan āyāh, Latin aes and Gothic ask, also meant only "copper." Whether it was originally a loan-word from some Mediterranean language (cf. Ipsen, Indogermanische Forschungen, vol. XII. p. 173) is undecided and irrelevant.


12 Of these discoveries the present writer knows only through articles in the Times, The Illustrated London News (September-October 1924), February-March 1926), and the article of Mr. S. K. Chatterji in Modern Review, 1924, p. 665 sq. (cf. Professor S. Levi, J.A. 1925, p. 375 sq.) To try, with Professor Konow (Postkobe Jacob, p. 250 sq.), to connect these discoveries with the chronology of the Aryan invasion, is apparently impossible.

13 Dr. F. O. Schrader in Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik, vol. III, p. 81 sq., tries to connect the Dravidian with Finno-Ugrian languages; but this seems fanciful.


15 That the author of the Purujsôkta thought of a real sacrifice, and not a symbolic one, is clear from verse 15: deedad... abadhan purasam padam and other passages. Cf. the present writer's work Indien (Stockholm 1922), p. 588 sq.
But it is also a well established fact that the Khonds performed the Meriāh-sacrifice in order to alleviate the wickedness and dangerousness of the Earth goddess. The idea of her being of a malign nature originates in the habit of the Indian aborigines of burying their dead in the earth, which thus became the abode of the malignant ghosts. Sacrificial fire as well as the fire of cremation are both Aryan innovations in India.

No old documents are preserved concerning the religion of the Dravidians proper. The descriptions that we possess all date from the three last centuries. But they give us the picture of a religion so very primitive that we cannot well doubt that it must have been mainly the same for thousands of years. Brahman influences which can be traced at certain points can easily be eliminated.

This religion is awe-inspiring and terrifying, a religion of eternal and illimitied fright, like those known from certain parts of Africa. Man is always surrounded by a countless crowd of evil and nearly always female demons and ghosts, the wicked dangerous spirits of the dead buried in the earth. These malignant beings prove their existence by plagues and epidemics amongst men and cattle, by famines and all sorts of harassings; and it is only a continuous pouring out, drinking and smearing with blood that can avert their horrible assaults.

The gods of the Dravidians are, above all, the female grāmadevātās, the she-devils of small-pox, plague, etc. The greatest amongst them is Kāli, the black, blood-smeared, corpse-devouring goddess, who has long ago been adopted by Brahmanism as the wife of Śiva. These deities are adored either in the shape of rude logs or stones, or in that of rather crude idols that are put up in the open air or in the shelter of small and unpretending looking temples. Some of these deities seem always to have been theriomorphic, and among these Hanumān, Ganesa and some of the avatāras of Vishnu were, even at an early date, adopted by Hinduism and turned into great gods.

A modern student of Dravidian religion points out that male ghosts generally do not develop into grāmadevātās, and that the Dravidians worship only the dead, never the living—above all, of course, the spirits of those who during life-time have given proof of an evil character. The great prominence of the female element in Dravidian religion must stand in psychological connection with the domineering position of woman in South Indian genealogy and family organisation. And we can even find instances of women playing the part of priests in Dravidian religious ceremonies.

Bishop Whitehead and Elmore tell us of the great sacrifices which are at times celebrated in various parts of the Madras Presidency, and at which hundreds of buffaloes and thousands

\[16\] Cf. Crooke, *Folklore*, XXX, 294.
\[17\] Therefore the habit of Suttee (satī) cannot be attributed to the Dravidians, but belongs to the Northern races.
\[18\] By "Dravidians" must here be understood the inhabitants of Southern India. That they are racially original Dravidians cannot be proved.
\[19\] The oldest sources are relations of Jesuit Fathers, nearly all unedited. Important enough are the works of the missionary Ziegenbalg of which the largest has just been edited by Professor Caland (1925), and the Halle missionary reports. The recent works of Elmore and Bishop Whitehead contain much valuable material though the authors' own conclusions are mostly open to doubt.
\[20\] Elmore *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism*, p. 149, quite correctly remarks that Dravidian religion is not yet "ancestor-worship" but only a "cult of the malignant dead." Cf. *l.c.*, pp. 61, 62 sq., 79, 146 sq.
\[21\] Cf. Elmore, *l.c.*, pp. 69, 149.
\[22\] Priests are acting masked in female dress (Elmore, *l.c.*, pp. 25, 35, 42); *cf.* also the peculiar functions of the so-called Mākaṅgi (ibid., p. 29 sq.) Cf. also Crooke, *Folklore*, XXX, 301. That the matriarchate was unknown to the Aryans is correctly pointed out by Rose, *I.A.*, L, 31 sq.
of sheep and fowls are butchery; the blood is to be seen flowing in streams. But quite apart from these holocausts bloody sacrifices are quite common, and in the centre of the Dravidian cult stands the buffalo sacrifice which is performed in disgusting forms. Traditionally it is connected with the slaughter of Mahiśāsura, but it has far less abstract connections with a human sacrifice that was previously performed according to the same ritual. 23 Still more horrid is the slaughter of sacrificial animals by impaling them on sharp stakes, which is practised on certain occasions (cf. Elmore, l.c., p. 25). 24 Another sort of animal sacrifice is the burying up to its neck of a pig, after which cattle are driven over its head until it is trodden to death; and it is well testified that the Lambādis formerly used to perform human sacrifices in this horrible way. 25

The Dravidian sacrifices generally are characterized by the fact that the sacrificers use the blood in one way or other, smear their idols or themselves with it, or pour it on boiled rice, which is then used for a common meal. On the smearing with blood something more will be said later on. The common partaking of the sacrificial blood has generally, and not unnaturally, been looked upon as a sort of sacramental meal; but in the opinion of the present writer such a view cannot be upheld. Sacramental meals, as far as I can see, are quite unknown to Dravidian religious ideas. On the other hand it seems obvious that the partaking of the blood, the use of the entrails as a sort of garland and other seemingly senseless rites all tend to the common goal of that religion: to protect oneself from the ghosts, to obtain renewed powers in the eternal strife with the devilish foes by partaking of the strengthening blood.

Let us now compare the religion of the Aryans as we know it from the Rigveda and that of the aboriginal tribes as we have tried to reconstruct it here. We shall see then that all the leading ideas are totally opposed to each other, and also that, through the conditions created by the Aryan invasion and conquest, the two religions came to stand against each other as the religions of the upper and lower classes of society. But, as always, the lower classes were by far the more numerous. It was apparently impossible to convert them all to the Aryan religion, which, by the way, in wholly new surroundings soon lost some of its most characteristic features; and for that reason the Aryan Brahmanism 26 already at an early date began to compromise, and thus created the most heterogeneous religion in the world, which, for want of a better term, we call Hinduism. As the Brahmins then got more and more people to adopt the caste-system and declared numerous local godlings to be apparitions of Višnū or Śiva or the originally foreign Kāli, Hinduism spread over even wider areas. We can still observe it spreading amongst primitive tribes, e.g., in the Central Provinces.

23 Cf. Elmore, l.c., p. 129. Connected with human sacrifices is also the brutal ceremony called "hook-swinging." It is frequently mentioned by older authorities, and is still practised at times according to Powell, Folklore, XXV, 147 sq.

24 Impalement was a common punishment in the indigenous Indian penal law, which was often characterised by a most horrid brutality. The well-known stories about the impaling of thousands of Jain monks by a Pāṇḍya king in the seventh century A.D. are undoubtedly historical. Many authorities have made it clear that on a primitive stage human sacrifice and capital punishment are not strictly separated, and thus we may conclude that human sacrifice has also been performed by means of impalement.


26 The extravagant idea of Slater, The Dravidian Element in Hindu Culture, p. 53 sq., according to which Brahmanism should be an especially Dravidian institution, has been excellently refuted by Dr. Barnett, J.R.A.S., 1924, p. 486. In Indian religions Brahmanism is what can, with the greatest certainty, be taken as an Aryan institution.
Hinduism has taken over temples and idols from the non-Aryan religions. Also several of its now popular deities as, e.g., Ganeśa and his "brother" Skanda or Subrahmanya certainly have their origin in very modest surroundings. The popular Hinduism has also abolished the old fire ritual, the Vedic sacrifices and the preparation of the sacred beverage (Soma), and introduced quite new cults. The idols, inside and outside the temples, are adored by a certain series of ceremonies which are comprised under the name pūjā. This word occupies a central position within the dictionary of Hinduism, and it may be well worth the while to try to throw some light on its origin and original meaning.

II.

Few scholars seem to have been tempted to find out the etymology of pūjā; and this seems rather fortunate considering the way in which research in Sanskrit etymology is carried on by many comparative philologists. To them the two St. Petersburg dictionaries seem wholly adequate means for dealing with Sanskrit etymology, and every word that is found in those books is uncritically taken into account as being a "Sanskrit" one. A method like that is scarcely apt to achieve many lasting results; but it is greatly in favour with a certain set of philologists, who either will not or cannot take the trouble of learning what "Sanskrit" and Indian philology really mean.

The word pūjā stands quite alone within the Sanskrit dictionary; the verbal root puj- (pūjayati) is with every probability secondary in comparison with the noun. Both words are used many times already by Yāska and Pāṇini and consequently belonged to the common dictionary of the devāyas in the sixth century B.C.

The late Professor Bartholomaus tried to establish a connection between pūjā and an Old Iranian baṭṣāja which would be the origin of Persian bāḥṣadān "to be gracious, to forgive." Again Horn, Neupersische Etymologie, p. 74 sq., tried to connect it with Persian pōzi "repentance." Neither of these suggestions is very attractive; and we need not further discuss them here, as it will presently be seen that we do not claim for pūjā an Indo-Iranian or Aryan origin.

Already long ago Gundert ZDMG., vol. XXIII, p. 528, and Kittel Kannada-English Dictionary, p. xli, derived the word pūjā from a Dravidian verbal root which occurs in Tamil as pūru-, in Kanarese as pusu. This root means "to smear, to put on sticky substances, to daub, to paint" and is, according to the abovementioned authors, the source also of Sanskrit pustakā. This explanation is correct as far as pusta- "model, cast" is concerned, a word that the lexicographers often explain by lepya "clay figure, whitewash." Clay figures of gods which are prepared for certain occasions and then again destroyed are quite common in Dravidian cults. Again the Sanskrit word pustaka- "manuscript, book" has been evidently shown by the late Gauthiot to be of Iranian origin.

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27 The humorous-looking, pot-bellied god was originally not a propitious, but a disagreeable and dangerous being, whose anger had to be constantly averted, just as that of other non-Aryan demons. It is curious that we do not find it emphasized that he is adored not because he averts evil but because, if he got no adoration, he would stir up evil. This is quite correctly remarked by Jacquet, Religion des Malabares p. 15; cf. also Stevenson, The Rites of the Twice-born, pp. 21, 233. In the latter work (p. 292 sq.) we are told about idols of Ganeśa with trunk turned rightwards as being very dangerous and being adored only by ritually very pure Brahmins. The stakes of the Meriāh sacrifices generally consisted of a crudely cut elephant’s head.

28 Cf. Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, I : i, p. 81; ZDMG., vol. L, p. 701 (I owe this communication to Professor Zachariaeus of Halle).

29 Cf. on this word Horn, Neupersische Etymologie, p. 43 sq.; Höbschmann, Persische Studien, p. 121.

30 Later on the Sanskrit pūjā has been reborrowed in Tamil in the form pūṣai.

31 Sūtrās, 1, 29, 9, speaking of anatomical casts, calls them pustamaya.

Correct as seems to be the etymology given by Gundert and Kittel, they have not taken the trouble to give any detailed explanation of it. As the present writer feels convinced of the correctness of their derivation and wholly appreciates the importance of the word pūjā for the history of Hinduism, he will try presently to show how the word has come to its present meaning.

III.

In the Hindu temple service of our days the idols are treated like earthly monarchs and dignitaries. In the morning one wakes them with the sounding of bells, instruments and hymns, just as in the Sanskrit literature the king is wakened up by the maidālikas with song and instrumental music. Then they are bathed, smeared with sandal-powder, ointments, etc., dressed, fed and adored with incense, perfumes, betel, etc.; at times they are taken for an outing, or to visit their neighbours in other temples, and in the evening lamps are swung in front of them, and the deśadāsā perform their dances before the idol ere it is again brought to rest.

In this daily life of the idols the series of rites called pūjā occupies the central part. Its separate parts are said by the good old Abbé Dubois to be fifteen, while Mrs. Stevenson, in her excellent book, enumerates and extensively describes sixteen of them. This very detailed pūjā is, however, a characteristic of the present Hinduism, which has long been regulated by the Brahmins, and is highly artificial, though primitive elements can be observed within it. So we must try to find out which of these many rites can be considered to be the primitive and original pūjā.

The different sacrificial meals, which are offered to the gods as naivedyā and after that generally eaten by the worshippers as prasadā, can be left wholly out of consideration. That one offers meals to the gods and idols is a common habit all over the earth, and nothing would lead us to believe that this is the chief constituent of the pūjā. But the influence of Brahmanism has made these meals vegetarian, which they certainly were not during earlier times. We may also dispense ourselves from considering certain other elements in the present pūjā. What is, however, its most characteristic part is undoubtedly the washing of the idol (or the sprinkling of the liṅga) with water or with honey, curds, sugared water, etc., and the smearing or daubing it with certain ointments, powders or oily substances, which are generally of a brilliant red or yellow colour.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.


Of the making of books dealing with the age of the Mauryas and the Asokan inscriptions there is no end. The present volume, which is likely to be the most authoritative edition of the Edicts yet published, was in process of being printed when the outbreak of war in 1914 put a stop to all such work. Preparations for publication were resumed in 1923 and have culminated in the appearance of this fine volume, which does credit to the author and his collaborators. The volume consists of an exhaustive introduction, describing fully each of the Asokan inscriptions, and chapters on Asoka himself, his empire, his conversion, his dharma, and the grammar of the various groups of inscriptions. Then follow the texts and translations, accompanied by excellent collotype reproductions of negatives made from etchamunctype, which are as perfect as human ingenuity can make them. In the case of the Shāhbaqzgarī and Mānṣhārā Edicts they are the first ever made which admit of photographic reproduction.

Space forbids me discussing the details of Dr. Hultsch's work, but I notice on page xxxviii of the Introduction that while deciding definitely that the

32 In Tamil the temple is, consequently, called Kōrī "royal house."
35 Hindu Manners, p. 147 sq.
36 Rites of the Twice-born, p. 366 sq.
Pitnikas or Pitenikas cannot be identified with the inhabitants of Pratishṭāna or Paithān on the Godavari, he yet regards them as a distinct tribe or people. Presumably, therefore, he does not accept Dr. Bhandarkar's ingenious suggestion that this word, used in conjunction with Raṭhikas and Bhōjyas, is an adjective signifying 'hereditary.' The volume and the plates are excellently printed.

S. M. Edwardes.

Journal of Indian History, vol. IV, part II.
Serial No. 11. Edited by Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras, 1923.

The September (1925) issue of the Journal of Indian History contains some notable articles. Mr. Radha Kurnud Mookerji, in a thoughtful communication entitled Later Gupta History and Chronology, touches on the same question as that raised by Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan in his The Khokri, the Maukharis and the Sangam, dealing with the days of Harsha, and the two aspects thereof may well be read together.

In the next article, Pulakesi and Khusru II, by Prof. R. C. Majumdar, we have one of those reversals of old ideas which are so trying to old scholars in relation to Indian history, but to which they cannot object, as it is in this way that true ancient history is hammered out. We are now asked to believe that it was not Pulakesin II the Chalukya that received the well known embassy from the Sasanian Khusru II of Persia, but his contemporary and enemy Harsha of Kanauj. Prof. R. C. Majumdar produces much cogent evidence in support of the new view, which of course upsets the well-known interpretation of a famous picture at Ajanta.

Then, in a remarkable paper by Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swaminathan Pillai there are produced seven new facts concerning Indian Astrology such as only he could bring forward. Here we have a paper that all students of Indian chronology should study.

There are other useful papers in this issue, but the mere mention of those above alluded to shows that the editor of this Journal is keeping it up to a high mark.

R. C. Temple.


These three Memoirs exemplify the wide scope of the work performed by the Archæological Survey of India. The first, No. 15, by Dr. E. H. Hankin, M.A., deals with "The Drawing of Geometric Patterns in Sasanian Art," and explains with the help of excellent diagrams the plan and constructional method, not only of the patterns formed on hexagonal and octagonal bases, which are comparatively easy to draw, but also of the important type of patterns in Sasanian art which the author styles "geometrical arabesque." Dr. Hankin explains that the method of constructing these latter patterns has long been forgotten, but that by a lucky chance he discovered in a small Turkish bath attached to Jodh Bai's palace in Fathpur Sikri the faint remains of the polygons which form the actual construction lines of this class of pattern. Evidently the original artist, when he had completed his decoration of the dome, carelessly forgot to obliterate his construction lines, which thus after a lapse of three and a half centuries offer the only clue hitherto obtained to the ingenuities and often beautiful decorations which distinguish Muslim architecture. Dr. Hankin's memoir has been edited by Mr. Blakiston, who has included among the illustrations two photographs of the Club at Agra, showing the designs which Dr. Hankin furnished for its interior decoration, as the result of his investigations into this by-path of Sasanian art.

The second Memoir, No. 20, embodies an inquiry into "The Origin and Cult of Tara" by Mr. Hiranyaksha Shastri, who reviews her position and characteristics in Brahmanical mythology, in inscriptional records, in Tantric literature, in Jainas works, in Buddhism, and in sculpture, and then deduces the conclusion that this goddess is of Buddhist origin and was first introduced into India from Tibet via Nepal, and that originally she was a goddess of navigation, invoked to grant a safe crossing of rivers and also protection from floods. Her worship commenced about the fifth century A.D. and had become very popular by the seventh century, when she was introduced as a minor deity into the Hindu pantheon. Thereafter she gradually rose to the position of the second Mahavidya—the chief deity for the salvation of men from the troubles of this mundane existence. The Memoir contains several good illustrations of images of the goddess.

The third Memoir, No. 27, by Mr. Charles Duroiez-le, contains reproductions, one coloured and the rest in black and white, of the pictures in a Burmese "parabok" or folding-book, depicting "The Pageant of King Mindon, leaving his Palace on a visit to the Kyauktawgyi Buddha image at Mandalay (1865)." The author explains that the document, from which the plates are reproduced, is a rare one, and is 'one of the few extant specimens, well and carefully executed, of pure Burmese Art, before that art became sensibly influenced by Western models and technique a few decades afterwards.' The pictures present a display of the Burmese standing army at Mandalay in full dress, together with princes, princesses, ministers, and elephants, horses, war-chariots and so forth—and each picture is accompanied by an explanatory commentary. In brief, the Memoir provides a most interesting sidelight on the pomp and circumstances of the Court of Mandalay in the nineteenth century.

S. M. Edwardes.
571. On the 12th January 1729-30 Phond Sawunt of Sawunt Wari, Chief of Vingurla, which State had hitherto been in collusion, if not actual alliance, with the Angria Family, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the English. By the 3rd article of the treaty it was provided that the cargoes of English ships wrecked on his coast were not to be confiscated. This was the first instance of an Indian Prince giving up a right which had been claimed in all parts of the East at least since the time of Marco Polo (See para. 45 above; Memoir of the Sawunt Waree State, Bomb. Sel., X. 171).

572. On the 20th June 1729124 (Danvers, II. 400) died Kanhoji Angria, leaving two legitimate sons. The elder Sukhoji, who took Kolaba as his share of the State, was at first friendly to the English, but the younger Sambhaji, who resided at Severndurg, pursued his father's policy. His ships were in constant conflict with the British. Captain Beresford notes on the 26th November 1730 that the Bombay Galley had just come in badly damaged and with many soldiers as well as sailors killed and wounded, whilst the Bengal Galley125 had been taken. Captain Beresford was thereupon ordered with his own ship, the Victoria Frigate and the Fort St. George Galley to cruise down the coast. He looked into Gheria, on the 6th December, where they saw the King William (See para. 270 above) but could do nothing to recapture her. They saw nothing further of the enemy (Log of Prince William, 480 tons, 96 men, 30 guns).

573. On the 4th March 1730-1 Captain Pelly, off Barcolore "saw 12 boats standing after us, which we are informed belong to a Roger [Raja] ashore [probably one of Angria's chiefs] and are looking out for Moors' ships" (Log of the Middlesex, 450 tons, 86 men, 30 guns).

574. On the 2nd May 1731 Captain Robert Bootle of the London (490 tons, 98 men and 34 guns) writes from Surat: "This morning... by order of the Chief here, I sent my pinnace and yawl both well manned and armed up the river to take two gallivats belonging to Angria, which we are informed are in the river. At midnight they fell in with them and took them both with 30 men on board, out of which three were killed in endeavouring to make their escape. Mr. Lowther, the Chief, has taken them into his charge and sent them to Bombay under guard of four Europeans and a great many Peons in order to be condemned. They were betrayed by the Seede's Sebandar Shabbandar in whom they confided and do still believe him to be their friend. This is a sign that the Seede is not well pleased with so troublesome a neighbour. Mr. Lowther has promised Mr. Shepperd who had command of the pinnace and Mr. Binstone in the yawl that they shall have a just account of the prizes and the share due in such cases according to order of the Company" (See para. 595 below).

575. On the 13th December 1731 the timely appearance of the Streatham (470 tons, 94 men, 30 guns, George Wescott Commander), saved a Portuguese ship from capture by four grabs and four gallivats of Angria's (Log of the Streatham).

576. On the 6th and 7th January 1731-2 the Ockham (480 tons, 96 men and 30 guns, William Jobson Commander) fought a Kolaba squadron of five grabs and three gallivats (seven more gallivats of the pirate fleet having withdrawn into harbour with a prize which they had just taken), and beat them off with heavy loss (70 men killed and 30 wounded), but could not take any of them as they were much better sailors. Captain Jobson says that at this time Angria had two squadrons, one stationed at Kolaba of five grabs and the other at Gheria of six, beside gallivats. They were all strongly manned and were accustomed to attack at night in the calm which generally prevailed between the Land and Sea breezes. Their mode of attack was in line abreast, coming up astern and keeping the masts of the enemy just sufficiently out of line to afford a good target for the powerful guns, 9 or 12

124 Daff (I. 620) says in 1728, Grose says 1731.
125 On the 12th March 1731 the Bombay Government granted pensions of Rs. 2 per mensam to widows without children, and Rs. 3 to widows with children, of the men who had been killed in this Galley (Bomb. Gaz. XXVI. i. 159).
pounders, which they carried projecting over the prow through portholes cut in the bulkhead of the forecastle (See para. 625 below; Orme, History, I. 408). Captain Jobson says:—“His late success in taking the Bengal Galley and other prizes had encouraged him to take an oath upon a Cow’s head (which is their manner of swearing) to attack us and promised his people every man a gold Manilien (which is a ring they wear about their wrists) if they brought us in, but we happily disappointed them and I hope it was a very timely stroke to put a stop to their bold attempts, they being so flushed with success that they attack but [sic] everything they meet and begin to make the Trading on that coast very hazardous.” The crew of the Ockham received two months pay from the President of Bombay and the same amount from the Directors as a reward for their good conduct (Log of the Ockham; Downing, p. 68).

577. In 1732 the English at Tellicherry despatched two successful expeditions against the local pirates, in one of which a pirate vessel of 15 guns was taken. In the other, Ensign Lewis Mendoza having captured off the mouth of the Valarpattanum River a Canarese vessel which had attacked his party, was in turn attacked by one belonging to “Cutti Coileen,” carrying 200 men. A lucky shot fell in the magazine of the pirate and she blew up, not a man of her crew escaping (Logan, Malabar, I. 365).

Anglo-Americans.

578. On the 1st November 1725 private letters were received at Onore (Honavar) from Madras advising that the crew of a South Sea ship had murdered their captain and turned pirates and intended for the Malabar Coast (Log of the Devonshire, 470 tons, 9/4 men, 30 guns, Lawrence Prince, Commander). Either the news was false or the pirate went elsewhere.

Portuguese or Turks.

579. The Morice (Christopher Wilson Commander) arrived in Mocha Road on the 21st June 1725. On the 11th July a Portuguese Captain sent in certain demands to the Governor, who put the Portuguese officer and his boat crew in prison and stopped all business. On the 12th the Portuguese warped nearer the shore and hoisted the red flag at the main topmast head. He is now within gunshot of the town and threatens to fire upon it, for which reason the Europe flags are hoisted on the shoar at all the Factories at the Portuguese request” (Log of the Morice).

Malays.

580. In 1726 the Constable, Clars van Cleef, was attacked by six pirate boats from Macassar and forced to flee (Parl. Papers, 1851, LVI. i. p. 65). The Nakhoda Muda (Memoirs of a Malayan Family, p. 2) mentions an attack upon Karimata by Bugis from Celebes under Panglimah Tunasah about this time or a little later.

English and Dutch.

581. The establishment of the Ostend Company in 1722 was part of a German world maritime policy. Its early profits were great and in 1726 it paid a dividend of 33½ per cent. It established settlements on the Madras coast at Coivelong and in the Hugli at Bankibazar. The jealousy of the Dutch and English was quickly aroused, and their Agents did not hesitate to take drastic measures to spoil its trade. In the Log of the London, under date 19th May 1727, Captain Robert Bootle complains that men were deserting from his ship owing to offers of double pay made by “the Emperor’s people” and in the Log of the Mary under date 11th July 1730 Captain Thomas Holden mentions the presence of a number of English and Dutch ships in the Hugli, engaged in holding up the Ostenders, examining Moor and other ships to see if they carried their money or property, seizing the sloops sent down from Bankibazar with men and ammunition and insulting the Ostenders so as to trap them into commencing hosilities (Logs of the London 490 tons, 98 men, 34 guns, and the Bridgewater 400 tons, 80 men, 28 guns, 25th September 1730).

582. Captain Henry Watts, under date 14th November 1744, mentions that English ships and soldiers were sent down from Calcutta to force the Ostenders at Culpee (Kalpi on
the Hugli, apparently a temporary halting place) to surrender deserters from English ships and from the garrison at Calcutta. The Ostenders declared that they would repel force by force, and the English withdrew (Log of the Lopwing). In 1745 M. Schonamille, Chief of the Ostend Company, determined to leave Bengal, and with 300 Europeans—"a mixture of the worst of all nations, likely to take to evil courses"—establish himself in Pegu, but was cut off, with 100 of his men, by the Arakanese, whilst 50 more were taken prisoners, the rest escaping to Malacca or Batavia. Apparently previous to this disaster he had carried off from Mergui the French ship Charles, belonging to Dupleix, and renamed her the Restoration. It was recovered by Captain [i.e. Admiral Thomas] Griffin, who found 24 Englishmen amongst its crew (Despatches from Madras 15th February and 24th September 1745 and 7th February 1746).

Malabar ese.

583. In December 1732 the Bombay fleet, consisting of the Victory Grab (Captain Parrott) the King George Galley (Captain Harris) the Princess Caroline (Captain Preast) with five gallivats, blockaded Angria's squadron in Cole Abbey [i.e. Kolaba] but without any decisive result. Meanwhile his southern squadron was at liberty, and on the 30th January 1732-3 a Dutch Europe ship reported that she and another Dutch vessel (each of 30 guns and 100 men), in company with two English ships, the Shal lum (24 guns and 90 men) and the Charming Patty (16 guns and 40 men) had been attacked off Gheira by eight grabs and six gallivates belonging to Angria, but had beaten them off after a stiff fight of two hours in which both sides suffered severely. The Dutch ships were badly damaged, but the Shal lum lost most heavily in men (Log of the Marlborough, Thomas Hunt Commander, 28th December 1732 and 30th January 1732-3).

584. Sakhooji Angria died in 1733 (or 1734) and was succeeded by his brother Sambhaji who sent his half brother Manaji to Kolaba as his Deputy, but Manaji speedily made himself independent (Bomb. Gaz., XI. 150).

585. Shalikhi, a notorious pirate, is mentioned as having in 1733 assisted the Marathas against his master the Sidi, in whose confidence he was. Shalikhi (or Yacoob Khan) was of origin a Hindu and a descendant of the Koolee Rajas of the Konkan, but having been taken prisoner as a child by the Sidi, he had been made a Muhammadan, a fact which, as was the case with many other Hindu forced converts to Islam, did not destroy his instinctive attraction towards his own people (Duff, I. 522; Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 82).

586. In 1733 the British occupied the Island of Undheri (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 170).

Dutch, Javanese, Arabians.

587. Early in 1733 a Dutch ship, the Windhondt, carried the suite of the Persian ambassador to Gombroon. When she had landed them the crew mutinied and set off to cruise as pirates in the Red Sea. Shortly after they met two Dutch ships and beat them off after a hard fight, during which the Commander, boatswain, gunner and two men, who had been held prisoners, managed to make their escape, by swimming, to their friends. Soon after, the mutineers quarrelling among themselves, some of their leaders deserted for various reasons, and the Surgeon, taking his opportunity when most of the malcontents were ashore on a desert island getting in water, persuaded the remainder to run off with the ship. It was stated that amongst the most resolute and dangerous of the mutineers were 25 Javanese (Surat Diary 8th April and 8th June 1733 and Letter from Gombroon 24th May 1733) Low (I. 115) says that before she was recaptured the Windhondt took two merchantmen. Roggeveen (Kerr, XI. 159) calls her the Hare and says that she took many Arab pirates in the Red Sea.

Arabians.

588. Between 1730 and 1735 the Persians were driven out of Muscat by Ahmed bin Saeed who became Imam. After this the Muscatees, who had been the first to practise piracy in the Persian Gulf, abandoned it until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when they
came under Wahabi influence (Bomb. Sel., XXIV. 57, 122, 170. See, however, what Grose says, para. 632 below).

English and French.

589. At this time both English and French did a lively trade in slaves in Madagascar. Captain George Bagwell notes that when he was at Crab Island on the west coast of Madagascar he heard that two French ships had lately been there and taken away, one five hundred the other three hundred slaves. These slaves were prisoners taken by the native chiefs in their wars. The prices were "for a man one buckaneer and one trading gun and two measures of powder each, and 30 flints and 30 balls; for a woman two trading guns, a quart of powder, 30 flints and 30 balls; for a boy a buckaneer gun, a pint of powder, 30 balls and 30 flints; a girl equal to a boy and to be allowed for according to their size" (Log of the Hartford 460 tons, 92 men, 30 guns, 14th February 1733-4). Captain Bagwell collected 180 slaves in six weeks in Youngowle Bay, and the people expressed much disappointment that Captain James Saunders had not come on the same business. During the visit of the latter, a Dieppe ship, La Subtil, Monsieur du Casse Commander (150 tons, 12 guns and 30 men), with a pass from the Governor of Bourbon and belonging to the French East India Company, was also there for slaves (Log of the King William, 19th August 1734).

590. About this time the English required that all country ships should carry passes (Duff, 146 n.). This had now become necessary, for if the native Governments wished to hold Europeans responsible for piracy, it was necessary for the Company's cruisers to be able to distinguish between ships carrying arms for defence and those carrying them for piratical purposes.

591. On the 13th May 1736 the Harrington (Robert Jenkins, Commander) arrived at Fort Dauphin to trade for slaves. The King professed to be glad to see the English, but said that he had been informed by the French that the English did not dare to come there without French permission. However, a French merchant-man coming in to the harbour, Captain Jenkins compelled her to send a boat aboard him before he would allow her to trade. The native princes were very eager to receive a salute of guns, but so timid were they that they either kept astern in their boats or, if they came on board, ran down below deck until the salute had been fired (Log of the Harrington).

Sanganians.

592. In 1734 the Koolee rovers of Gujarat gave much trouble, but were checked for the time by a squadron under Captain Radford Nunn, which attacked Sultanpur in the south of Kathiawar (Low, I. 116; Bomb. Gaz., XIII. 521 n; XXVI. i. 266). Very soon afterwards the Koolies took the Antelope, a Bombay Marine gallivat which was escorting a rich convoy to Cambay, by the treachery of the Pilot who, acting in collusion with the Kooles, ran her ashore (Low, I. 117. See para. 45 above).

Malays.

593. According to Stavorinus (II. 219), about 1735 the Dutch in the Celebes were greatly harassed by pirates:—"Aroe Seenkang, a discontented Wadjoree prince, had for some time, together with his Captain . . . . been committing piracies. He had taken Passir and Coety [in Borneo, in 1726. See ibid., II. 247] and had even attacked the vessels of the [Dutch] Company. These freebooters therefore in the years 1735 and 1736, carrying their depredations to a great excess in the neighbourhood of Mandhar and Cajelic, were encountered by the cruising vessels of the Company, but to no purpose, and in the beginning of the year they landed at Fort Rotterdam on the adjacent islands, belonging to the Company, where they plundered the inhabitants and burned their houses." When attacked by Dutch ships from Macassar they got away "without any material damage (Pinkerton, XI. 224). It is clear that the Malays were getting over their fear of European ships. The swiftness of their
vessels, propelled by oars as well as sails, gave them the same advantage over the Dutch as the Malabaress and Sanganis had over English and French ships on the west coast of India.

Malabaress.

594. On the 26th December 1735, beside two other English ships which he had previously taken, Sambhaji himself with four gallivats and five grabbing the Derby Indiaman (480 tons, 96 men, and 32 guns, Captain Abraham Anselm). On the Derby seven men were killed and many more were badly wounded. 115 prisoners including many ladies, were carried into Severndre (Read's Weekly Journal, 10th July and 6th November 1736). The unsuccessful defence of the Derby, said to be due to shortness of ammunition, "made a great stir through the whole of India and many Bengal merchants showed a disposition to place their goods on our [i.e. French] ships rather than to trust them to rivals so unfortunate or so ill-prepared to defend themselves" (Martineau, Dupleix et l'Inde Française, p. 211), and in 1736-7 Dupleix, to ensure the safety of the navigation between Surat and Calicut, constantly menaced by the Angrians, applied to the French Company to have placed at his disposition a Europe ship which was trading between Chander ammonia and Surat, saying that "the English who had suffered much more from the Angrians than we had, had only themselves to thank for their misfortunes, since they used to sell them arms and allow them to dispose of their piratical booty even in Bombay" (Martineau, p. 523). Angria's successes so encouraged him that he attacked, though unsuccessfully, the Vigilant of 65 guns and the Ruby of 50 under the command of Commodore Lisle and also many other vessels. Sambhaji sent two of the prisoners taken on the Derby to Bombay to treat of a peace, but nothing final was concluded (Read's Weekly Journal, 10th July and 6th November 1736).

595. On the 24th December 1736 the Company's cruisers brought into Bombay one of Angria's grabbing ships, having belonged to a company of Muhammad Ali, a merchant of Surat, which had been taken by the grab and which they had recovered. In conformity with a resolution of the 19th November 1731, the value of the grab, stores and ammunition, was divided amongst the captors. Two Subadars taken on the grab were ordered to be confined without irons and with a full allowance of food, but the rest were put in irons, employed upon the works and given only such food as might be necessary (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 174).

596. At the end of 1736 or beginning of 1737 Sambhaji captured the Severn (Captain Parker). He made slaves of the whole crew, setting them to work on his fortifications (Old Whig, 28th April 1737). On the 2nd March 1737 the Halifax (John Aston Commander) sailing from Tella-cherry towards Goa, came in sight of a vessel under jurisdiction, flying a white flag with a red cross and accompanied by two gallivats. Supposing her to be a prize, Captain Aston determined to retake her, but on coming up found her to be commanded by an Irishman. She was a Moor vessel which had been taken by Angria and sold to the Portuguese. The gallivats were under her convoy, one being Angrian and one Portuguese. The Captain reported that at Gheria Angria had "six grabs ready to put to sea and three more will be ready in two or three days, in all which he has put 18 pounders for prow guns and manned with 200 men each, and [is] fitting all the gallivats he can to fill with men to supply his grabs, and that resenting the affair in the discharge of the English prisoners [i.e. on the Derby, See para. 594 n. above] he pretends to attack the Bombay fleet, and for that purpose has given orders to his men to stand the first fire and then to board." As the Halifax was

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126 All "the English that were prisoners with Angria, except those who entered his service" were released by the management of Captain James Inchbald and arrived at Bombay the 23rd November 1736 (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 170).

127 At this time reloading big guns was a matter of time, so that after the first fire an active enemy could always attack with a good chance of success. The introduction of Quick-firing guns restored the advantage to the side using big guns.
ready and cleared for action, there was no chance of the Angrians taking her, but as she was alone and, if she lost her masts in the action, she might miss her voyage, whilst she had no chance of taking such swift sailers as the Angrians. Captain Aston and his officers decided to stand off to sea and avoid an action (Log of the Halifax).

597. On the 2nd January 1737-8 the Heathcote (Captain Jonathan Cape) met the Company's Galleys cruising for Angria's fleet. The latter consisted of the Britannia (Captain Lewis), the Prince of Wales (Captain Atkins), the Neptune's Prize (Captain Nunn) and the Rose (Captain Benson) (Log of the Heathcote).

Sanganians.

598. In August 1737 the Robert and the Success were sent by the Bombay Council to make reprisals upon the Sanganians and other northern pirates, that month being the season for the return of their vessels from Mocha (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 269).

Malabarese.

599. In 1738 Angrian pirates attacked the Dutch ship Noordswolfsbergen and the yachts Zeelands Welvaren and Magdalena, and after a three days' fight took the two yachts (Ind. Off., Dutch Records, XIII. 168).

600. On the 18th November 1738 the Nassau (William Hutchinson Commander) off Vingurla "met the Kempson's fleet which is at peace with us and likewise acquainted me that Angria's fleet had made a push out of there port [i.e. Gheria] and had got 5 grabs and 12 gallivats, but that our fleet had kept in the rest. I called a consultation with my officers, who judged it proper to stand thirty or forty leagues out to sea till we got to the northward of Bombay." On the 6th December, off Bombay, the Nassau saw Manaji Angria's gallivats towing into Cole Abbey (Kolaba) two grabs, which Captain Hutchinson supposed to be Portuguese and to have been taken the previous night when gunfire had been heard (Log of the Nassau).

601. On the 22nd December 1738 Commodore George Bagwell chased Sambhaji's fleet of 9 grabs and 13 gallivats into Rajapore, but was unable to follow them up, through ignorance of the river (Low, I. 107). On the 10th January 1738-9 he repulsed an attack by Angria's fleet off Goa with the loss of only one man, a midshipman, killed. Angria's Admiral was killed in the fight (Daily Post, 19th October 1739; Bombay Quarterly Review, IV. 75). Sambhaji now proposed peace to Bombay on condition that English ships should carry his passes and that the English should pay him annually 2,000,000 rupees for the free navigation of the seas, an impudent proposition which was promptly rejected (Low, I. 108).

602. On the 15th January 1738-9 Commodore Bagwell with the King George and the Carolina Galley came up off Barcelore with the Kempshew's fleet which, about four or five days earlier, "had taken a Portuguese ship and grab and killed most of their people." The Khem Sawunt being at peace with the English, the Commodore ransomed all the European Portuguese amongst the prisoners and put them ashore at Mangalore (Log of the Nassau). In March Captain Inchbirt with a small fleet took eight of Manaji Angria's fighting gallivats and thirteen fishing boats, but in November Manaji took the island of Elephanta and, after some vacillation, finally threw in his lot with Sambhaji. In 1740 he surrendered Elephanta without resistance to the Marathas (Low, I. 109; Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 227-233).

603. On the 29th March 1738-9 the Harrington (Robert Jenkins Commander) near Tellicherry met the Dutch fleet (under Major Scirisma, Ind. Off. Dutch Records, XIII. 168) returning from a fruitless expedition against Gheria. Captain Jenkins saluted the Dutch Admiral with 17 guns, manned his ship and gave three cheers (Log of the Harrington).

604. Amongst other instructions issued to the Commanders of the Company's vessels on the 28th August 1739 occur the following:—

"3rd. You are to take, sink or otherwise destroy all Savajes or other pirates infesting the coast, as Angria, Ramrous of Antigerate, commonly cruising to the southward, as well
as the Sanganians, Cooleys or other Rovers harbouring to the northward and commonly cruising on that coast and sometimes as far as the Gulf of Mocho and Persia, that you may meet with, bringing such people, vessels and goods that you take belonging to them in hither [i.e. Bombay] for their condemnation."

"5th. Kempaunt, who has a port between Vingorly and Goa, is at peace with us and at war with Angria. When you meet his fleet they will send a gallivant with green (See para. 235 above) colours to speak with you and you are to treat them as friends, and should they offer to join you and go against Angria, you are to permit them, but always under your command."

N.B.—It was characteristic of the English in the East that they never placed their forces under the command of their native allies.

"7th. That at any time you meet with any vessel of war under red colours [i.e. Moor colours], though they may pretend to belong to the Seeede or Basjeron [i.e. Marathas], if you have reason to suspect that they are not what they pretend, but enemies, you are to bring them in here" (Forrest, Bombay Records, I. 173).

605. On the 9th October 1739 a reward of 2,000 rupees was offered by the Bombay Government for every fighting grab taken by the Company’s cruisers. Towards this the President subscribed 600 rupees and two other gentlemen 200 rupees each (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI. i. 271.)

606. On the 9th January 1739-40 Sambhaji with fifteen ships actually ventured to attack, off Goa, four of the Company’s ships when sailing in company, viz. the Harrington, Pulleney, Ceres and Halifax. The brunt of the attack fell upon the Harrington which was at some distance from her consorts. The enemy were beaten off after a gallant defence of five hours (Forrest, Bombay Records, II, 74; Low, I, 108). The Commander of the Harrington was Captain Robert Jenkins, who had been in command of the Rebecca when she was taken, in 1731, in the West Indies, by a Spanish Guardacosta. On that occasion he was brutally ill-treated and one of his ears was cut off by a Spanish officer. This ear he carefully preserved, and when in 1738 the complaints of the English merchants against the cruelty of the Spaniards in the West Indies could no longer be ignored, he was called to the bar of the House of Commons to tell his story and produced this grim evidence to the truth of his tale (Southey, II. 265). The Directors were so well pleased with his conduct in this fight against the Marathas that they presented him with 300 guineas. As the fight was renewed next day, it lasted in all nineteen hours, and the Angrians are said to have lost 150 men in killed alone (Gentlemen’s Magazine, 1740, p. 621).

607. On the 10th December 1741 news was received at Tellicherry that a few days previously Sambhaji Angria, with seven grabs and thirteen gallivants, had surrounded and taken, off Onore, after an eleven hours’ fight, the Jupiter, a ship despatched by Labourdonnais to Goa for provisions. She had on board 200 European soldiers and marines as well as between three and four hundred slaves purchased at Goa and intended for the French Islands (Tellicherry Cons. 10th December 1741). On the 24th January 1741-2 the Halifax (John Blake Commander) in company with the Onslow (John Balchen Commander and Commodore) and the Queen (Charles Birkhead Commander) met an Angrian fleet off Severndurg, but did not come to an engagement. Captain Blake tells us that to prepare for action he “took down the bulkhead of the great cabin and made a very clear ship fore and aft” and slung his yards. From this it would appear that the old method of fighting at close quarters when attacked by superior numbers was going out. To encourage the men, he ordered them to give three cheers and the Band to play ‘Britons strike home.’ The Angrians approached, according to custom, in line abreast, the grabs towing those of their vessels that were slower sailors. One of the Angrians spread top gallant and studding sails, which was new with these pirates. On the 30th January 1741-2 in Mangalore Road, two of Angria’s grabs took a rice boat which was
coming on board the Onslow and were prevented from taking one of her own boats, which was going ashore, only by the fire of her guns (Logs of the Halifax and Onslow).

608. So much had the success of the Angrians encouraged the pirates, that all along the coast acts of piracy became common. Kuli Rovers from Gujarat swarmed near Surat (Ind. Off., Dutch Records, XIII. 69). The Malwans (This name was now applied to the subjects of the Khem Sawunt and the Raja of Kolhapur as well as to the Sivajees or Marathas of Malwan itself, Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 88) are said to have plundered to the extent of ten or eleven thousand rupees annually (ibid.). On the 30th January 1741-2 the Khem Sawunt ofVingurla landed a force which plundered the coast of Cannanore and began to show utter disregard for his treaty with the English. On the 15th March 1741-2 Kunhi Ahamad, nephew of the pirate Chief of Kottakal, generally known as Cota Marcar, having been made prisoner by the English, took opium and ran amok. He killed a sergeant with a knife, and was shot dead. As he and his party were not engaged in actual piracy when captured, this excited an outburst of fanaticism, and the Angrians took a number of vessels, so that the Company’s cruiser Tiger was kept very busy in the attempt to protect commerce (Logan, p. 382). This is, I believe, the last mention of the Marakkar family, which now lapsed into obscurity (Malabar Gazetteer, 433).

609. In 1743, when it ought to have been strengthened, the Bombay Marine was reduced, and the Tiger herself, whilst disabled by a waterspout, was overpowered by the subjects of the Sidi of Muffafaarabad (?), who however restored her at the order of his superior, the Sidi of Janjira (Low, I. 118).

610. The subjects of the Zamorin joined in the lucrative trade. Ships were plundered even in Calicut Road, and the Zamorin secretly accepted presents from the Muhammadan pirates who occupied Cottica, the northern portion of his territory (Ind. Off., Dutch Records, XIII. 17. 66).

611. Captain Jenkins tells us that on the 23rd February of this year (1742-3) he picked up and took into Bombay an English country ship, still in a semi-disabled condition, having no mainmast and being full of shot holes, which had been taken some years before by Angria. He was immediately sent out by the Council to find and assist another, the Lancaster, which was reported to have been driven ashore by the Angrians, but she had been refloated and reached port unaided (Log of the Harrington).

612. Manaji, always vacillating, rescued the English Ketch Salamander, when captured by Sambhaaji off Kolaba, but on the 22nd November 1743 fifteen of his vessels (7 of them topsail vessels) attacked the Montague (Fielder Freeman Commander) and the Warwick (Robert Misener Commander), and carried off a Portuguese Ketch and two or three schooners, or native merchant vessels, which were under their convoy (Logs of the Montague and Warwick). The Log of the Montague says that the pirate fleet belonged to Tulaji Angria. At any rate five days later Tulaji, with a fleet of eight grabs and forty or fifty gallivats, landed at, and plundered, Mangalore. In 1745 he succeeded Sambhaaji as head of the house of Angria (Bomb. Gaz., I. ii. 88). According to the Authentic History (pp. 60-61) Tulaji had an army of 30,000 Coffreés, Sepoys, Topasses and Marathas, a large train of artillery and twelve elephants. His gunners and sea-officers were mostly renegade Europeans. His naval force consisted of 15 grabs, 5 ketches, 2 ships of forty guns, 40 gallivats and many small craft.

613. To add to the trouble, the Declaration of War by France on the 31st of March 1744 brought French privateers to the Malabar Coast.

128 Malvan, though first organised as a piratical port by Sivaji, is in Kolhapur territory. The fort on the island was named Sindhu-durg. (Grant Duff, II. 84). Vingurla, the fort of Khem Sawunt is also in Kolhapur territory.
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Djawa, March 1927.

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SUPPLEMENT:

NOTES ON PIRACY IN EASTERN WATERS, by the late S. Charles Hill, pages 103 to 172

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MOSLEM EPIGRAPHY IN THE GWALIOR STATE.

BY RAMSINGH SAKSENA.

(Continued from vol. LV, page 5.)

II.—A Persian Inscription from Narwar Fort.

I.

This inscription, being one of the epigraphical finds of the Gwalior Government, is now preserved in the Archeological Museum at Gwalior, and is edited from a photographic reproduction. It was picked up lying about loose in the compound of the shrine of Shāh Madār on the hill fortress of Narwar.

II.

Narwar, or classically Nalpur is traditionally supposed to be the home of Rāja Nala of Nisadha whose romantic love for Damayanti as related in the Mahābhārata, is familiar to every Hindu. It lies 25° 39' north and 77° 56' east and though once a flourishing place on the route between Delhi and the Deccan, it decayed rapidly since the construction of new roads and railways which have carried the traffic elsewhere. It is now reached from Shivapuri, the summer-resort of the Gwalior Government by a main road of twenty-five miles in length which passes through the delightful valley of the Sindh river amidst charming jungle.

The inscription is engraved on a piece of white sandstone not available locally, and measures 2 ft. 2 in. x 1 ft. 5 1/2 in. There are 10½ lines written horizontally, and 2 vertically on the margin on the right and read from top to bottom. The first six lines and those on the margin are in Arabic prose written in Naskh character and are quotations only from the holy texts. The last four lines are in Persian poetry written in Nastaliq characters and constitute the record proper. These contain seven verses covering 3½ lines, and refer to the construction of a mosque by Dilāwar Khān in the reign of Muhammad Shāh 'Adil in 960 A.H., and the remaining half of the fourth line gives the names of the composer and the writer. The half line near the bottom contains the values of the letters employed in the chronogram according to the Abjad system, as well as the year in words—a practice not commonly resorted to.

Of the persons named, the king is Muhammad Shāh 'Adil, who ruled from 1552 to 1554 A.D. and has been styled 'Aqili by Firishta. He was the third king of the Sūr dynasty of the early Sultans of Delhi. Dilāwar Khān, by whose order the mosque had been built, is mentioned as (NāÎb) viceroy, presumably of Narwar. Sayyid Ahmad and Nazir Shattārī are the composer and the writer respectively of the record, and need hardly be looked for in History. Suffice it to say that they came from a Muhammadan sect of the Shattāris, to which belonged the famous Saint Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior, and may have lived at Narwar as religious teachers.

1 See ante, vol. LV, pp. 4-5.
2 Shrines of Shāh Madār are met with everywhere, probably in commemoration of a visit by that well-known saint of Makiapore—Ain-i-Akbār I, 1307.
3 For detailed description of Narwar, see CASR., vol. II, p. 307, and ante, vol. XII, 80.
At the end of the marginal line appears another name Khān-i-Jahān, who styles himself 'Amil and seems in all probability to be the engraver of the epigraph. The date, as given both in words and in the chronogram Hukm-i-Dilāwar Khān is 960 A.H. (= A.D. 1552).

I read the inscription as under:

Text.

1. اللّه لله الرحیم الرحیم إنّما يعمر مساجد اللّه من آسی بالله واليوم الآخر وان

المسجد لله فلا تدعوا مع اللّه

2. احذِّرُونا لمستجدّد الشمس على التقوی، بن أول يوم أحق أن تقوم فيه في رجل من أهیائه

ِأن يتطهروا بالله ينفع المتربّین

3. قَال رَسُول اللّه صلى‌اله عليه وسلم مِن بَيْنِي بيني الله بُني الله الله يُشَأ في النَّجَّة مِن

ِيَقِوت اللّه

4. اللّه لا إله إلا هو النبي الذي نقوم لاتأخذه سنة ولا نقوم له ما في السماوات وما في الأرض من

ِهِذَا ذَلِك يشع

5. عِنْدِهِ لا يُبَيِّن مَا بيني أيديهم وما خلقهم ولا يُحْتَيْطون بشيء من علمه إلا بماشأ

ِوُسِعُ كُرْسِی

6. السماوات والأرض وليوده جنفاً ما وهو على العظیم صدق الله العظیم وصدق

ِرَسُول اللّه الكریم

Margin.

سِبیلاً للذی اسیری به راکه لیل من المسجد الاعظم إلى المسجد الاصطیل الذی بارکن

حوله لفیض من آبیتآ إنّه هو السمعی الصیمی عامل فنیر خان جهان ابن (مغور)
Plate I.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.
7. شکرالله که بپان باغچه رضوان است
از محمد شده عاونال که شده دویان است
غالباً فلت فلک لشکر اوفت ملك
ظارباً بانگ جان رفته و بل رضوان است
8. نائین خاص شاه ولور خان ساخت
مستحکم خاص که مقوایی بد خاصان است
کفر مغلوب شرد اسلام ازو غالم گشت
پت نگون گشت و پتغزان ازو ویران است
9. پینخ پنگانز ز پنیار پراناهن است
مسجد و صومعید از رولان نابلان است
سید احمد بدرست برفین خال کواه
کد بلطف و کرم از خاص سبعان است
سال تاریخ ز من ابل نظر پرسردند
پاتتی گفت بگو حکم ولور خان است
قاکید سید احمد بن دلی صمیمی خلیفه
کتاب الفقر ناظری شتاری خلیفه غوست
عالم شیخ محمد غوست
10. 
11. 
لا = سی - الف = پیکی - و = شش
ر = ۴ - دویست خ = ششصد - ۱ = پیکی
ن = پنجمه
نیصد و شصت (نیصد و شصت)

"دویست" (Two hundred). This expression is not employed rarely.
Translation.

The Arabic portion needs hardly any translation as the quotations, besides being very well-known, have no bearing on the main record, and I content myself by giving the reference to these quotations:—

1. Usual invocation from the Qur‘ān, Sîpāra X, Ruq‘at 3.
3. The Mishkât Sharîf, an Hadis.
4, 5, and part of 6. Sîpāra III, Ruq‘at 1 or Ait-ul-kursi.
Lines on the margin. Sîpāra XV, Ruq‘at, 1.

At the end of the lines on the margin. ‘Amil (engraver) Khânjahân son of (Munavvar?).

7, verse 1. God be thanked, for the world is like the garden of Rizwán (Eden) on account of Muhammad Shâh‘Adil who is the Lord of the age.

7, verse 2. Probably the empyreal firmament is his throne and the angels, his army. In appearance, the garden of the world is Paradise and he its Rizwán.

8, verse 3. Dilâwar Khân, the chief among the king’s viceroy, caused this mosque to be built, which is like a place of shelter for the favourites (of God).

8, verse 4. Infidelity has been subdued and Islâm has triumphed because of him. The idols have bowed (to him) and the temples have been laid waste on account of him.

9, verse 5. The temples have been razed to the ground along with their foundations and the mosques and worship-houses are flowing with his riches.

9, verse 6. Sayyid Ahmad bears a testimony, by God, that in point of kindness and generosity, he (king) is the chief among God’s favourites.

10, verse 1. The sages inquired of me the date of the construction. The divine inspirator inspired me to say, “It is the injunction of Dilâwar Khân” (حکم دلوار خان).

Remainder of 10. Composed by Sayyid Ahmad, son of Vali Husain Khalifa. Writer of record Nazir Shattari (a successor to, or descendant of) defender of universe Sheik Muhammad Ghaus.

11. حکم دلوار خان = 8, ٩ = 20, ١٠ = 40. ١١ + 20 + 40 = 68. دلوار خان = ١٣ = 4, ١٤ = 30, ١٥ = 1, ١٦ = ٦, ١٧ = 200. ١٨ + ١٣ + ١ + ٦ + ٢٠٠ = ٢٤٦. خاش خاش = ٥٠٠, ٥١ = ٥٠, ٥٢ = ٤٥٠ + ١ + ٥٠ = ٤٦١. حکم دلوار خان = ٦٨ + ٢٤٦ + ٦٥١ = ٩٦٥: ٩٦٥ ه.ص. = ١٥٥٢ ه.م.

III.

As remarked above, the inscription has not been picked up in situ, yet the absence of any other Muhammadan centre in the near vicinity safely assigns it to Narwar. Taking it to belong to Narwar, it points to a new fact, viz., the presence of a Muhammadan governor at Narwar—a fact which has not hitherto been found in any of the records. All agree that except for an insignificant loss of possession during the invasion of ambitious Mulsâman emperors, the Hindus held Narwar independently or as federates of Delhi up to the 19th century A.D. when it passed to Sindia. Sikandar Lodi, who personally occupied Narwar nearly half a century before the writing of this epigraph, gave the fort to Râja Gaja Singh,5 a Kachwâhâ, thus restoring the fortress to the original owners. The Kachwâhâs held and ruled over Narwar peacefully up to the 19th century without even being disturbed by an attack from outside. How the governorship descended upon Dilâwar Khân, as mentioned in the inscription, baffles all explanation and necessitates further research.

(To be continued.)

VEDIC STUDIES.

By A. VENKATASUBBAIAH, M.A., Ph.D.

(Continued from page 66.)

3. Svasara.

The attempts so far made at the elucidation of the meaning of this word are not satisfactory. The author of the Vedic Nighantu has mentioned this word three times—once (1, 9) as a synonym of āhas, day, once (3, 4) as a synonym of gṛha, dwelling, and once (4, 2) without mentioning any meaning. The deficiency in this last instance is made good by Yāska who has interpreted it as āhas. This meaning āhas is repeated by Uvāta and Mahīdhara in their commentary on VS. 26, 11 and by Devarāja in his commentary on the Nighantu. Sāyaṇa, on the other hand, has, in his RV. commentary, made use not only of the meanings āhas and gṛha (with suitable modifications, as for instance, ṣoḍāha 9, 94, 2; kulāya 2, 19, 2; gosṛiha 2, 2, 2, etc.) but has in addition interpreted the word as āditya in 5, 62, 2, as mārga in 6, 68, 10, and as ārīra in 1, 34, 7; see Geldner, Ved. Studien, 3, 111.

Roth has assigned to this word the meanings (1) Hürde, Stall ; (2) Gewohneter Ort, Wohnplatz, Wohnung, Nistplatz der Vögel ; that is to say, he has confined himself to the meaning gṛha and rejected the meaning āhas. This meaning, however, hardly yields good sense in many of the passages where the word occurs ; and Geldner has, therefore, in his article on this word (Ved. Studien, 3, 110 ff.), investigated anew its meaning, and starting with the assumption that it means both a place and a time of day (as declared by the author of the Nighantu), has come to the conclusion that svasara means (1) Frühtrieb, Morgenweide ; the time before sāngava when the cows graze freely on the pasture ; (2) Frühansflug aus dem Nest, die Morgenanzetzung with regard to birds ; and (3) die Frühmesse, Frühlibation, and, upalakṣaṇena, all the three Svaśām or libations. This interpretation is approved of by Macdonnell (see his Vedic Index, s.v. ahas, go, svasara) and apparently by Oldenberg also who translates (RV. Noten 1, 260) 3, 60, 66 as 'Diese Weiden bieten sich dir dar.' Hillebrandt, on the other hand, translates (Lieder des RV., p. 80) 5, 62, 2c as 'Ihr macht alle Milchströme des (himmlischen) Stalles streiten' and seems therefore still to follow Roth in his interpretation of the word.

It seems to me that the translations given above of 3, 60, 6 and 5, 62, 2 by Oldenberg and Hillebrandt are hardly satisfactory. Nor are Geldner's translations (given in his RV. Übersetzung) of 1, 34, 7cd ('Drei Entfernungen kommt ihr Wagenlenker Aśvin her zu Frühmesse wie der Windhauch zur Frühweide'), 2, 19, 2cd ('dass die Labsale der Flüsse fortellten wie Vögel zu den Futterplätzen') and 3, 60, 6cd ('Dir stehen diese [Soma-] weiden zur Verfügung auf Geheiß der Götter und nach den Satzungen des Menschen') any better : they indicate that the meanings proposed by Geldner for the word svasara are not correct and that they need to be revised.

The reason for such incorrectness, too, is not far to seek. Geldner has begun his exposition (Ved. Studien, 3, 111) with the observations (1) that the verses 2, 34, 8: dhenur na śvaśāsreṣu pāvate; 2, 2, 2: abhi tvā nākār uśhas vāvāśe 'gne vāsām na śvaśāsreṇa dhenavaḥ; 2, 8, 1: abhi vāsām na śvaśāsreṇa dhenava indrānām gīrhir navāśame; 9, 94, 2: dhiyaḥ pāvāṇāḥ svasāra na gāva niḥayaṃti abhi vāsāra āradam show that the cows ooze with milk and low for their calves at the time or place of svasara, and (2) that the verses 1, 186, 5: śīnma na pīpyushāna vēti śiṅdhaḥ and 2, 16, 8: dhenur na vāsām yavasāṣya pīpyushā show that the milk-cow longs for and returns to her calf when she is pīpyushī or yavasāṣya pīpyushi.

8 In his RV. Glossar, Geldner gives two meanings only. 'Frühweide, Frühzeitung, fig. für die Morgenlibation 1, 3, 8; 2, 34, 5; 8, 90, 1' for this word. It is uncertain whether he has given up the other meanings or merely abstained from reproducing them here as being (in his opinion) inappropriate in the verses referred to.
These observations are unexceptionable; and when taken into consideration along with the statement in Tait. Br. 1, 4, 9, 2: (tasmiit tir ahnaah paśavah preret | prāṭāh sangave sāyam) that the cows went out to graze thrice a day, prāṭāh, sangave and sāyam, they point to the conclusion that the cows returned home from the pasture thrice a day oozing with milk and longing and longing for their calves. Similarly, Geldner's further observation (p. 113) that svasara denotes the time when the cows roam about and freely graze on the pastures (sva-sara), suggesting that it is correct, points, when taken in conjunction with the above statement of the Tait. Br., to the conclusion that there are three periods of time in each day which can be denoted by the word svasara, and not one period only, that preceding the sangave time, as stated by Geldner.

Now, what are the three times of the day when the cows were driven out to graze? It has been remarked, in this connection, by Macdonell (Vedic Index, s. v. go, note 4) that the exact sense of the above-mentioned passage of the Tait. Br. (1, 4, 9, 2) is obscure and that 'strictly speaking, the cows were driven out from the cattleshed in the morning, spent the heat of the day in the Sangavini, were then driven out during the evening to graze and finally came or were driven home.' That is to say, the cows were, according to him, driven out to graze twice only in the day—in the morning before sangava, and in the afternoon after sangava, and not thrice. This view seems to me to be untenable, and I am disposed to think that the statement of the Tait. Br. is correct and that the cows were driven out to graze thrice a day—in the morning (prāṭāh), in the sangave time (sangave), and in the evening (sāyam), that is to say, in the latter part of the night (pascimārātra) before the morning-milking, in the late morning after the morning-milking, and in the afternoon some time after the sangave-milking, and that they returned or were driven home from the pasture before the morning-milking, before the sangave-milking, and before the evening-milking respectively. Compare also Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara's comment (p. 235) tasmād aham trih prerate paśavāḥ caraṇārthāḥ pratikṣhitante prāṭāh sangave sāyam ca on this passage.

The return home of the milk-cows has been described frequently by the later Sanskrit classical writers from whose writings I reproduce here some passages on this subject:

1. upāratāḥ pascimārātrigocarāḥ aprāyaṇantāḥ patitum javana gām || lam uṣūkā cakrur avēkhasathōtakaṃ gavaṃ gāhāḥ prasnuvalījagāvahasaḥ ||

Kirāṭārjunīya 4, 10.

2. nirvātur vāsare astācala-kiṣṭa- kīriṣe nicula-mañji-bhāṇi tejuṇi multiūi viyān-mucī marici-mālinī divaśe-viḥī-prayāgātīṃ prasnu śāman śāman dhyāye dhaṣṭe dhēnī vargam udgata-kṛihaṃ kṣudhitā-taraka-vaṁte

Harshacarita (Nirṛayasāgara ed., p. 80).

3. anindyā Nandini nāma dhenuvā evargo vaṇāt ||

bhuvan koshēna kṣugudhih madhyenāvahāthād api | prasravēnaḥkharṣanti vatsalokapraśaṃtiḥ||

Raghuvaṃśa (1, 82-84).

4. sa naicikīḥ prayaham ālapante prayuktakahospī iha vatsanādoaḥ |

madhini vaśadhanvānīḥ prayacchan nīnāya bhūyo 'pi nivāsabhūmīm ||

Yādavābhīyundaya 4, 89.

* Except that, as regards the second observation, the word pippuṣṭi, in 2, 16, 8 has no connection with the word pascimiṣṭyṣṭa which precedes it and which is to be construed with the verb abhydūṣaṇaṃ. The cow moreover does not long for her calf when she is pippuṣṭi but becomes pippuṣṭi [i.e., oozing with milk] when she remembers and longs for her calf or sees it; compare Kirāṭārjunīya 4, 10: upāratāḥ pascimārātrigocarāḥ aprāyaṇantāḥ patitum javana gām || lam uṣūkā cakrur avēkhasathōtakaṃ gavaṃ gāhāḥ prasnuvalījagāvahasaḥ. The commentator's explanation utṣakā vatsalokapraśaṃtiḥ prasnuvalījagāvahasaḥ vatsamaraṇyād pravatiśyatiḥ. Raghuvāṃśa 1, 84: bhuvan koshēna kṣugudhī madhyenāvahāthād api | prasravēnaḥkharṣanti vatsalokapraśaṃtiḥ. Yasastilaka-campū, 2, 184: kacit vatsalokapraśaṃtiḥ gavaṃ gāhāḥ. prasnuvalījagāvahasaḥ vatsamaraṇyād pravatiśyatiḥ.
5. sāyam gato yāmâyamena Mādhavah ||
gācas tato gosātham upetya satvaram ||
ruśkāraḥ&sahīḥ pariḥṭaśaṃgaṭhān ||
svakān svakāṃ vatsalārṇaṃ apāyayaṃ mahur lihaṇṭyāḥ svravād ṣaṃhāṭaṃ payaḥ ||


6. vimucyāmāneshu sandhyopāsaṇājali-mukuleshu . . .
vyāhaṃāneshu cakra-vāṃśiśuneshu . . .
mukharbhavatā māthyāmāneshu arṣavaṇaṇāv
iva abhyarā-tarṇaka-sandhyakārāṇaṭhāne
henusvayāṃ dirgha-rambhādhyāva
evāṃ gopuravākhesu

Yaśastilaka-campū 2, p. 10.

The first of these passages describes the return home of the cows from the paścimarūtī
gocara, longing (usuka) for their calves and with their udders oozing milk. Paścimarūtī
gocara means the pasture in which the cows graze in the last part of the night; and hence
this verse describes the return home of the cows before the prāttaroda.10 The other passages
refer to the return home of the milch-cows in the evening and likewise represent these cows
as eager to rejoin their calves, lowing to them, and hastening to them (gosātham upetya
satvaṃ) with their udders oozing milk (prasmutastanam; prasravena; svravād svravātaṃ payaḥ).

This eagerness of the cows to join their calves, their lowing to them and their hasten-
ing to them with udders oozing milk are features that figure also in innumerable verses of
the RV. that contain comparisons. Compare for instance 10, 149, 4: vāśreva vatsānu
vanāna vāsānaḥ pātri iva jāyēm abhi no nyāv; 10, 75, 4: abhi tvā śiṅhaḥ āśicām in nā
māti vāśrā arshanta pāyaṇa vṛdhivah; 1, 38, 8: vāśreva viṛṣṇiṁ māṛṭiṁ vatsānu nā mātī
śishaktiḥ; 1, 32, 2: vāśrā iva dṛṣṭih vajrāḥ svyāmānāḥ aṇāḥ svardröm iva jāmura dāpah;
1, 164, 28: gaṅā atimēd iva vatsānu mithāntiḥ māṛṭāṁ hi nā akṛṣṇa māṭāvā
u | śrī krānān ghanām abhi vāśrāndi mātīṁ māyāṁ pāyate pāyābhīḥ; 9, 80, 2: ārthkhata
rāthyāsau yathā prī thakaḥ | dhenūr nā vatsānu pāyasabdhi vajrīṇam. In the same way, the lowing
of the calves for their mother-cows and the licking of the calves by the cows (see
Bhāgavata, 10, 13, 24 cited above) are likewise referred to in many RV. verses; compare,
in respect of the former, 1, 164, 9: atimēd vatsānu gāṁ āpasyaḥ; 9, 94, 4: tāṁ vāśrāndān
mātāyaḥ sacante; 10, 1, 2: prā māṭrābhṛyo udhi kāmikradad gāḥ and in respect of the latter, 3,
41, 5: riḥanti śāvasaḥ pātim | īdṛṣṇaḥ vatsānu nā māṭāraḥ; 3, 55, 13: anyādāy vatsānu riḥati
mādyā; 1, 186, 7: sīśuḥ nā gāvē saṝṇaṁ riḥanti; 3, 33, 3: vatsānu iva māṭrād saṃghṛhāṅe.

The passages cited above describe the return home of the milch-cows in the early morning
(before the prāttaroda) and in the evening (before the sāyam-doha) only. I do not know
of any which describes their return home at the saṅgava time11 (before the saṅgava milking)12;
but it can not be doubted that, at that time too, the milch-cows would be eager to rejoin

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10 The prāttaroda takes place in the morning and the cows are immediately after driven out again
to the pasture. This pasture can not be denoted by the word paścimarūtī-gocara which means the
pasture in which the cows graze in the last part of the night. [This is what is called Śīnu-vījś in Tamil.
See Tiruppodei translated in Ind. Ant., vol. LV, p. 163, stanza 8. It is there referred to as being peculiar
to buffaloes; but the custom seems to survive even in regard to cows in some places—S.K.]

11 That they did return home before the saṅgava time is clearly indicated by Taitt. Br. 1, 5, 3, 1:
mitraṃ saṅgavaḥ | tat paṇyaṃ tejasvo ahaḥ | tasmiṣṭi tarhi paṇauraḥ samāyanti and Bhaṭṭa-Bākhara's
comment digantesu karīṇāḥ evaṃ samāgacchanti theroṇ.

12 This is perhaps due to the fact that while the prāttaroda and sāyam-doha are universal, the
saṅgava-doha as well as the return home of the cows at that time, is not. Compare for instance the
passage in the Rāguvāmaḥ beginning with 2, 1: aha prajānaṁ odiṣṭaḥ prabhāte jāyaḥ pratigraśkha
ganamāyāyām | saṃyaḥ plāt-prabhodhakāḥ vatsānu yasodhāno dhenuḥ yas Hospital which states that
the king let loose the cow in order to go and graze in the forest at dawnbreak after the morning-milking, and
ending with 2, 10: sanvindraṭānāni digantaraṇāni kṛtāṁ dinānta nityāyaḥ pravatam | prasmeriṃ plātāvargādārāṇāṁ
pṛabhā pāṭhākāṃ munī ca dhenāḥ which says that the milch-cow turned her face home in the evening
after having roasted about all the day. It is obvious from this passage that Vasisthaḥ's homedenu did
not return home, and was not milked, at saṅgava time. Compare also the epithet divartā-viṣāṭi-praṣyā
gatam that is applied to dhenuvarṣam in the Harṣacarīta passage cited above.
their calves and would hasten to them, lowing and with their udders oozing milk. The oozing of milk from the cows' udders is thus not the characteristic of a place, but of a time—the time when the milch-cows return home from the pasture and are milked. This, as we have seen above, takes place three times a day—prātah, saṅgave and śāyam or roughly, in the three sandhyā or savana times. It is these three times of the day that are denoted by the word svasara.

Svasara is thus approximately equivalent to sandhyā, and in the plural, may be said to be a synonym of the word trisandhyā or trishāvakā. It is a kālaścaktāśabda or word denoting time; and as such, it can be used in sentences to denote the time "when" not only in the locative case, but in the accusative and genitive cases also; see Whitney, §§274c, 300a, and 302b. Compare also Gaedicke (p. 178): "Der Accusatív von Zeitbegriff besagt, dass der Vorgang während ihrer Dauer, der Genitiv, dass er während eines Theils derselben, der Locativ, dass er zwischen ihren Grenzen, der Instrumental, dass er mit ihrem Eintritt und Verlauf stattfindet. Daher kann die Frage 'wie lange' nur durch den Accusatív beantwortet werden, während das 'wann' durch alle vier Casus bestimmt werden kann'.

Like the word sandhyā which, though denoting the three sandhyā times, morning, noon and evening, is sometimes used in the sense of 'evening' only (see Apte), the word svasara too, seems frequently to be used in the sense of 'evening.' This seems to be the case in the verses which refer to the cows oozing milk for their calves or lowing to them. And likewise there seems to be no doubt that svasara means 'evening' in verses 2, 19, 2 and 2, 34, 5, where it is mentioned in connection with birds (vayah; hānādhi); for it is well-known that birds return to their nests in the evening and this fact is referred to in many passages in the later classical literature also. Compare for instance:

ākulāś cala-patāti-kulānām dravāra anuditaushasā-rāghah |
āyayāv aharidaśvā-vipaṅgus tulyātānu dina-mukhena dināntah ||

Subhāṣītaratnambhājāgara (1911, p. 308, v. 27)

paripatati payonidhan pataṅgah
sarasiśudhām udāresu maita-bhriguh
upavāna-taru-koṭare vihaṅgas
taruṇi-janesu śanaiśkanair anāṅgah ||

Ibid. (v. 45)

āvāsotsuka-pakṣīṇah kalaruṣam kāramanti vykhālayān
........................................................
dhatte cāruṣatān gato ravi rāvī astaṅgalaṁ cumbati |

Ibid. (p. 309, v. 68)

aparāḥṣa-sītalatarena śaṅair anilena lolita-latāṅgulaye |
nilayāyā sākhina ivāhavyate dadur ākulāh khaga-kulāni girah ||

Māgha (9, 4)

vīhāya dharaṇītalam unmucya kamalini-vanāni śakunaya iva divisāvasāne tapovana-
taru-śikhareshu paregalgreshu ca ravi-kirāngah shītim akurvata

Kādambari (B.S.S. ed., p. 47)

lokāntaram upagatavaty anurāgāsēke jāte tejāsam adhūte . . . avatartas tridaśa-
vindāṇa-kāṣṭi-kuṇita iva śrīyāmāye śākhi-śikhara-kulāya-loyamāna-śakuni-kula-
kūjite |

Harahacarita (p. 170)

śubhētardalāy-samvaraṇa-pareṇa vistārāṇīnibaddha-kolāhalāni śakuni-kulāni tari-
kulāya-koṭaresu asīṣhū (so!) upavāna-rājih . . . krameṇa caēkiranē pradosh-
samaye . . .

Tilakamaṇījari (p. 160)
I have no doubt that it is this home-coming of the birds in the evening that is referred to by the above-mentioned RV., verses (2, 19, 2; and 2, 34, 5). And similarly, it is my belief that the word svasara denotes 'evening' in verses 1, 3, 8; 2, 2, 2; etc., where it is mentioned in connection with cows. It is true that (in the language of the poets) the cows return home with milk-oozing udders and low to their calves not only in the evening, but in the other two svasara times also, namely, in the morning and forenoon. But the paucity of references in the later classical literature to the home-coming of the cows in these two svasara times, combined with the many references to their home-coming in the evening, makes me think that the RV. poets too had this home-coming of the cows at evening in their mind when they used the word svasara in connection with cows in 1, 3, 8; 2, 2, 2; etc.\(^ {13} \)

I shall now show that the above-mentioned meaning, namely, sundhyā time or evening, fits into the context and yields good sense in all the passages where the word svasara occurs. I begin with

1, 3, 8: \[ viśve devaḥ so aptirah svatāṁ a' ganta tāırṇayah | uṣrā' iva svāsaṁdi || \]

"O ye All-Gods, come ye here, conquering the waters (in respect of rapid motion), quick, to the Soma juice, as cows in the evening." Svāsaṁdi=svasaraḥ. The comparison uṣrā' iva svāsaṁdi means yathā uṣrāḥ svasaraḥ vatsāṁ prati satvām gagch口感 tathā. This idea of swiftness is expressed, besides, by the epithets tāırṇayah and aptirah. The savana time that is proper to the Viśvedevāḥ is the third or evening savana: compare Ch. Up. 2, 24, 1: āḍityānāṁ ca viśveshām ca deviṁnāṁ śṛtiṣyaśvamam: and though this verse is, in the ritual, (Āṣ. Sr. Sūtra, 5, 10, 5) prescribed for recitation in connection with the Viśvedevagragha of the prātisavana, it is not improbable that it was originally recited in connection with the evening savana and that the word svāsaṁdi is to be construed with the verb āganta also.

1, 34, 7: \[ trir no aśvinā yajataṁ divē-divē | pārī tridhātu ṭṛthivē m akṣayatam | tisrī māsatya rathya parāvātā | ātmāva vā' tah svāsaṁdi gaçchatam || \]

"Thrice every day, O ye worshipful Aśvins, do ye come to the threefold earth, to us. O ye Aśvins that ride on chariots, ye go (i.e., pass) through the three distant places at the sundhyā times (as swiftly) as the swift-moving wind.\(^ {14} \)" With regard to the last pāda, compare 1, 79, 1: vā' ta iva dhṛjātmān; 1, 163, 11: tāva cilam iha vā' ta iha dhṛjātmān; 10, 95, 2: dhruvamān vā' ta ihaḥ asmi; 4, 38, 3: rathatūrām vā' tam iha dhṛjāntam; 7, 33, 8: vā' taṣyeta praśāvā naṁnyena; 10, 78, 3: vā' tāso na yē dhūnayo jīgamāvah; etc., all which contain comparisons referring to the swiftness of the wind.

2, 2, 2: \[ abhi tvā mākṣīr uṣhāsvavāśīre | 'gne vatsāṁ nā svāsaṁ botvaḥ | divā īcch aratīr mā' nushā yugā | kṣāyaṁ bhaśi pruriṇāra sangyātah || \]

"For thee, O Agni, did they low, in the nights and in the mornings, as milch-cows do for their calf in the sundhyā times. Being bright, thou shinest, as in day so in the nights, successively, throughout man's life, O thou that hast many desirable things.\(^ {15} \)

It is the opinion of Oldenberg (L.c.) that the words naktī and ushasah are in the nominative case and should be regarded as the subject of the verb svāsāśīre, the verse being translated as: 'dir haben Nächte und Morgenröten zugebrüllt.' This is the opinion of

13 I have, therefore, in what follows, translated svasara as 'evening' in these verses. It is, however, open to those who do not share my above-expressed belief to translate the word as 'sundhyā time.'
Bloomfield also (RV. Repetitions 1, 162) who refers to 9, 94, 2 (in which I find nothing bearing on this point) in this connection; and Sāyaṇa too has given this as an alternative explanation.

There is however no verse elsewhere in the RV. in which the Nights and Dawns are represented as crying after Agni. I prefer therefore to regard naktīḥ and uskhasah as being in the accusative case and used here in adverbial sense. This is the view of Sāyaṇa also in his first explanation and of Geldner. As subject of the verb vaśāśire we have to understand either the priests or the prayers; compare 10, 64, 15: grā'vā yātra madhushād ucyate brhād ādevaust̄a matibhir manvas̄hāh; and 1, 62, 3: sām uskhaḍhīr vaśāśanā nāraḥ where the priests are said to have lowered for the gods and for Indra; and also 8, 44, 25: āgne dhīṝ̥̄vartāya te samudrāvīyena sindharavah | giv evaśāsir sa irate; and 7, 5, 5: tev'īm āgna harito vaśāśinde girah saancate dhūnyaya ghrēcīh where the prayers (girah) are said to low after Agni and run to him. Compare also 9, 63, 21: maṭvā vīpyārāḥ sām asvaran where the priests are said to cry after Soma with prayers.

Regarding arati, see the Excursus.

2, 19, 2: asyaṁ mandānā mādhe vośarastō
'ḥim indro aroroy' tam evi vṛkṣat |
prā yād vāyo na svāsarāṇy acchā |
prāyāsī ā ca nad'īḥ ānāh cakramanta ||

"Exhilarated with this sweet juice, Indra, who carries the Vajra in his hand, cut off the dragon who had confined the waters, so that, like birds in the evening, the pleasing (i.e., refreshing) waters of the rivers, too, moved swiftly towards (the sea)."

The reference here is to Indra’s well-known exploit of the liberation of the Waters and Cows after slaying the dragon; and I therefore agree with Sāyaṇa in his opinion that the word samudrāṃ is to be supplied after acchā in the second half-verse. Compare the next verse: īndro ārṇo apā'ṃ praiyarad ahiḥ'cchā samudrāṁ; see also Geldner, Ved. Studien, 3, 115, who, in his RV. Übersetzung, however, construes acchā with the word svāsarāṇi and translates:

die Labsale der Flüssle fortelten wie Vögel zu den Futterplätzen."  

It is hard to explain why the word ca has been used in pāda 4. Its use implies that something else, besides the prāyāsī, moved swiftly; and what this something else is, it is difficult to determine; see Oldenberg, RV. Noten, 1, 203. Perhaps it is the arṇaḷi, torrents, referred to by the word arṇoṛṣṭəm in pāda b (compare also the words arṇo apāṃ in the next verse). This is the view of Geldner in Ved. Studien, 3, 52, though in this case, it is difficult to make a distinction between the arṇaḷi and prāyāsī. Or perhaps, it is the crows that Indra sets free with the waters or rivers (compare 1, 32, 12: ājaya gā' ājayaḥ sūra sēmam ācēraḥ sartva sapā śindhan and 2, 23, 18: lāva śīryē vy ājīkē pāvarto gārdgān gotrām uā arṇo yād aṅgirah | indraṇa yūd'ī tamād pāṛṛtəm be'haspate nir apā' m aubhō arṇāvan) and that are likewise mentioned in the next verse: īndro ārṇo apā'ṃ praiyarad ahiḥ'cchā samudrāṁ | ajanayat sī'ryam vidad gā' akūnt'āhān vayunāni sādhat. Compare also 1, 61, 10: īndraḥ | gā' na vṛīṅa' avāhin anumā' | Indra set free, like the crows, the rivers that were confined.

Here too, svāsarāṇi = svāsaraḥ. The point of comparison in the simile vāyo na svāsaraḥ ‘like birds in the evening,’ is swiftness which, though not mentioned, is to be understood here; compare in this respect the verse 1, 3, 8 (explained above) where too the svāmānya-dharma is not mentioned.

I have cited above many passages from classical Sanskrit writers which describe the return of birds to their nests in the evening. One only of these, namely, ādāsāsaçākapaksāhā kalarutāṁ kṛdāmanti vyākṣādāyān . . . . . . mentions that the birds are ‘eager,’ i.e., hurrying.

14 He has similarly construed accha with svasarani in Ved. Studien, 3, 52, also where he has translated: ‘wie Vögel zur Morgenstundt, (die Fluten) und der Wonnetrank der Flüsse davoneilten.’
to return to their nests: the other passages make no mention of this feature. To compensate for this, there are many RV. verses that make no mention of evening-time, but refer, expressly or implicitly, to the swift movement of the birds when returning to their nests. Compare, for instance, 6, 3, 5: citrāhrajatīr. arātīr. yātīr. rāj vīr nā drushadalō nhūpātma-janāh, 'of wonderful speed, shining at night, with swift-flying wings like a bird that is going to sit on a tree (i.e., that is going to its nest); compare particularly the words ñāva and vṛksadalā in the passage dvīsotukapalalīn na kalaratam . . . cited above'); 1, 25, 4: pārā hī me vinamanyag pātanī vāsāy-īshtaye | vāsāy nā vasatīr upā, 'like birds to their nests, my prayers fly swiftly, seeking good fortune'; 1, 30, 4: aṣāy u tē sām atasi kapātā i vra garbadhīm this (Soma juice) is for thee; thou flest to it as swiftly as a dove does to its nest'; 1, 33, 2: āpēd aham dhanadā m āspratām jūsthām nā yēnō vasatīn patāmī 'I fly swiftly to him, the giver of riches, the irresistible, as the falcon flies to its own dwelling-place'; 1, 183, 1: tām yuddhāh mānasṛ yē jāviyān trivandhurō yehādā yās trīkāraḥ | yēnopayādāh sukto dūroṇām trihā tłum patalha vrī nā pārtaḥ yoke, ye two bulls, that (chariot), which is swifter than thought, has three seats, three wheels and three parts, and on which ye come, ye fly swiftly, to the dwelling of the pious person like a bird that flies with its wings to its dwelling-place'; 10, 115, 3: tām vo vīm nā drushāham . . . māhīvatam nā sarajantam adhvanah 'him (Agni), who moves (as swiftly) as a bird that is going to sit on a tree (i.e., that is going to its nest) . . . raising dust over paths like a mighty person.' 15 Compare also 9, 72, 5: dprāh krātān sām ajajr adharē mātri vrī nā drushāc camēr āsadāh dharih; 9, 61, 21: sāṃśīlo arushō bhava sūpashāhērī nā dhēnubhīh | stēdāc chyenō nō yōnim a; 9, 62, 4: āsāy u nārā mādāyāpād ākṣo gīrībhāh | yēnō nō yōnim a āsadāh; 9, 71, 6: yēnō nō yōnim śādanāh dhīyag krām hīrāyāgām āsādam deva āshati | ē rīvanī bhārīshi priyām gīrā 'ēvo nā deva' a āpi etē jāyīyāh; 9, 82, 1: āsāvī sōmo arushō vṛśāh āri rējēa dasmō abhī go vēikrdrat | pūnō dhunērēm āryē ekyāyē yēnō nō yōnim gītīvantam āsādam; 9, 86, 35: ēkam ǔrjēm pavanāmābhī yārshī sēnē yēnō nō vīmō kuḷāsēhē śēsē; 10, 43, 4: vāsāy nā vṛksām supalāsām āsadām sōmaśa īnd rāmandīnāsī ca muṣhāhāh' where the idea of swiftness is implied by the comparison with the bird or falcon 'sitting,' i.e., going to sit, in its nest. 16

The comparison vāsāy na svusārānī therefore in the above half-verse (prā yād vāsāy nā svusārānī aṣē drāyāṁī ca na dānām ca krāmāntas) means 'as swiftly as birds (fly to their dwelling-places) in the evening.' The idea of swiftness is referred to clearly in other passages also that describe the running forth of the Waters or rivers after their liberation by Indra: compare 3, 32, 6: tvām apā yēdhā vṛtarm jahūlōn ātēhī līwrē rē sērāh sāravē jaua; 1, 32, 2: āhān āhīm pārvate śīrāyām . . . vārāvī līwrē dhēnāh śāyāmānām ānājāh samudrām āva jāmgar ǔpāh; 1, 130, 5: tvām vṛṭhā nādyā indra sāravēcchā samudrām asrjō rāthān āva vējāyātō rāthān īc; 2, 15, 3: vṛjēra kāhéyā aṭrān dānān nām | vṛthā sērjat pathibhīr dīrghāyāthāhā; 4, 17, 3: vēdīh vṛtarm vējānīr mandāsānē śērām ǔpo jāvēa hātēvēśhīt; 10, 111, 9-10: sērāh sīndhūrānāhī jāgrāsānāhī ā νād ǔdvērē lērēh prā viwijē jēvēna | mūmukshānā hūtē yē mumucē 'dhōdē lērē h nārāmāntō nītīkāh || sāhī-rēcē śēndhūm nāsētēr īvāyān.

15 Sarajantam, 1 conceive, is the participle of a denominative verb formed from saraja (ṣa-raja which is another form of rajās: see PW, a.e., raja and saraja) and meaning 'to make dusty; to raise dust.' Regarding the simile mahīvatam na sarajantam adhvanah; cf. 10, 40, 3: kāyā dhāsa yēhavātha kēṣyā nē nārā rājāpatro na svadānī gacchaθaθā.

16 This idea of swiftness is expressed clearly in other verses and similes: cf., for instance, 9, 62, 8: eś arshēṅdūrya pūrē vērō rōmaṇy asrjōyā | sēdān yōnā tēnēkē dō; 9, 62, 16: pavanāmāk utō vṛśōbhī hōtō sōmo lējām ināsant | ca muṣhāhā dākmanā śēdām; 9, 02, 19: ǔpīdōn kalādān utō vēkō arāshīnī abhī vēkōyā | ǔatō nā gēshū tēbētōh; 9, 64, 29: 'ā yād yōnim hīrāyāgām ādīr rēyēra sērārī; 9, 87, 1: prā tē drauca pārī kēdām ni śēdā nōrēbhī pūnād abhī edjām arshō.
2, 34, 5: indhanavabhīr dhenuḥḥīr rapśiddadhābhīr
adhvasmābhīh patībhīr bhrājadṛṣṭāyah |
dṝ hauṇḍo nā svāsārāṇī gantana
madhur mādāya marutaḥ samanyavah ||

"With the flaming (!) cows whose udders are full, come, O ye Marutas that are of the same mind, and that have bright spears, by dustless roads for the delight of the sweet (drink), (as swiftly) as swans in the evening."

The exact meaning of indhanavabhīh, which occurs in this one passage only, is not known. The sense of pāḍa a too, is somewhat obscure.

Svasardīṇi in this verse too is equivalent to svasareṣu. The comparison haisāsāna na svasardīṇi refers, not to the genus bird, like 6, 3, 5; 1, 25, 4; 1, 183, 1; etc., cited above, but to a particular species of birds; it resembles in this respect the verses 1, 30, 4: ayāṃ ut sāṃ atavi kapotā iva garbhadhīrin and 1, 33, 2: jūshṭāṃ nā śyenō vasatiṃ pālām (also cited above) which likewise refer to particular species of birds. The sāmānyadharmā, however, is the same, to wit, swiftness, in all these verses.

2, 34, 8: yād yuṇāṭe martyo rukmārakṣasō
evān vātheshu bhāga dṝ sudā navah |
dḥenir nā śīve svāsareṣu pīvate
jāṇyā āvādḥavische māhīṛn īśeṃ ||

"When the liberal Marutas, with ornaments on their breasts, yoke their horses in the chariots for the purpose of blessing, they oozé copious refreshments for him who has offered oblations as the milch-cow (does) to her calf in the evenings."

3, 60, 6: indra rbuddhaṇa vājānān māsveḥa no
esmin savane śacyā purushṭata |
imāni tūbhyaṃ svāsārāṇī yemire
vratā devīṇān māṇīnāh ca dhārmanabhīh ||

"Indra, delight thou now here ardent with the Rbhus and Vāja in this our oblation of the Soma juice, O thou that art much praised. These savāna times are set apart for thee according to the ordinances of the gods and the customs of men." Note the juxtaposition of the sentences, asmin savane mātēva and imāni tūbhyaṃ svāsārāṇī yemire which too points to the conclusion that svāsara denotes the time of savāna.

3, 61, 4: āva syūmeva cinvatī maghōny
udhā yāti svāsārasya pātnī |
svar jānautī subhāgā sudgīnā
āntā dvānāy pārpata dṝ prthivyāh ||

"Gathering rays, as it were, comes the liberal Dawn, the ruler of sandhyā. Bringing out the sun, she who is beautiful and has great might, has spread to the end of heaven and of earth."

The meaning of the expression āva syūmeva cinvatī is obscure. The epithet svāsārasya pātnī is appropriate to Ushas, because she is the deity that presides over the sandhyā time.

5, 62, 2: tāt su vām mitrāvaruṇā mahāvevām
āṃśū tāsthūshīr dhābhīr duduhre |
vīśvāḥ pinvathah svāsārasya dhānā
ānu vām śelāḥ pānīr dṝ vavāra ||

"This, O Mitra and Varuṇa, is your greatness, (namely), that those who are here were milked day by day. You make all the prayers oozé (i.e., yield favourable results) at sandhyā time; the felly alone revolved after you."

The signification of āṃṛā in pāḍa b is obscure. Regarding dhānā in c, I am not convinced that Oldenberg is right in his contention (Vedasforschung, p. 95) that it means 'Milchstrom' ;
I believe that it means āk or prayer here. Compare 5, 71, 12: viśvasya hi pracetasa vāruṇa mitra rājyathah | iśāna pipyataṃ dhiyaḥ; 9, 19, 2: yevam hi sthā ṣvāpataḥ indraś ca soma gopati | iśāna pipyataṃ dhiyaḥ; 10, 64, 12: tām (dhiyam) pipyataṃ pāyaseva dhenum.

6, 68, 10: indriveṇāṇa sualpaṃ śudāṃ suśāṁ
sōmaṃ pīṣataṁ mādayam dhravatvāt
yuyvā rātho adhvāraṃ devāśvita
prāti śvāsaraṃ āpa yāti pīṭṭaye ||

"O Indra and Varuṇa who uphold the ordinances, drink, ye Soma-drinkers, this exhilarating Soma-juice that has been pressed. Your chariot comes every evening to the sacrifice for the meal of the gods, that you may drink." This verse is one of those that are prescribed to be recited in the course of the third or evening savana (see Ās. Śr. Sūtra, 5, 5, 19); and hence it is likely that svāsara is used here in the sense of 'evening'.

8, 88, 1: tām vo dasmin rishāham vāsor mandāmām anudhāsaḥ |
abhī vatsām nā svāsareṣu dhenācaḥ indram gībhir navāmahe ||

"We cry with our hymns for mighty Indra, the conqueror in battles, who takes delight in the bright food (i.e., the Soma juice), as milch-cows do for their calves in the evenings."

8, 99, 1: te'd'm idd'ḥ hyā nārō 'pīṣay fanv jārin bhū'ṛṣayah |
sā indra stōmavahāsāṃ śurāḥ yādhyā āpa svāsaraṃ d' gahi ||

"The zealous men (i.e., the priests), O Vajra-bearer, have made thee drink now and yesterday. Hear now, O Indra, the (priests) who bring forward (thou) praises; come towards the evening."

9, 94, 2: dvitā vuśyavāṃ anv'tasya dhāma
svarāde bhūvanāṃ prathanta |
dhiyaḥ pīṇāṇd'ḥ śvāsare nā gēva
yāyāṁ tir abhir viśvāra indaṃ ||

"Opening again widely the abode of immortality, they spread the worlds for the finding of the sun. Oozing milk like cows in the evenings, the holy hymns lowered for Soma."

AV. 7, 23, 2: brādhnāḥ samjñāt vahāsah sūm airayan |
arepāsah sōcetasah śvāsare manyumātamāk cītē gōḥ ||

The import of this verse is obscure. I translate, following Whitney: "The bright one, sending out in sanshdyā time the beautiful dawns, faultless, like-minded, most furious, in the gathering of the cow."


"For the Ādityas who are the lords (i.e., presiding deities) of the advanced (i.e., the latest or third) sanshdyā time. Maha svasarasya means the 'advanced svasar' or 'third svasar'; compare the similar use of mahā in mahātrā. With regard to the third savana, compare Ch. Up. 2, 34, 1: adityāṇām ca viśveshaṃ ca devāṇām trīṣya-savanam (cited above), according to which this savana belongs to the Ādityas and Viśvedevas; compare also Śāta. Br. 4, 3, 5, 1: adityāṇām trīṣya-savanam. The Ādityas are therefore here represented as presiding over the time of the third savana, that is, over the third svasar.

Excursum.

Arati.

The word arati which I have above (p. 97) interpreted as 'bright' occurs in about thirty RV. verses and has been differently explained by exegetists. Sāyana has explained it differently as svāmin, adhipati or śevara (1, 59, 2; 1, 128, 6; 1, 128, 8; 2, 4, 2; 2, 3, 6; 15, 4; 7, 10, 3; etc.); vijāpta, viśteṣa (2, 2, 2; 2, 3); prāpayita (1, 58, 7); gantre or abhigantre (6, 3, 4; 6, 7, 1; etc.) and aprāti or aruta (3, 17, 4; 4, 38, 4). Uvāta and Mahādhara have interpreted the word as alamati, paryāptamati in VS. 7, 24 and 15, 32; and the latter has besides suggested the meanings pūtrakam, ratir uparatis tadrahitam and ratir uparamas
radhikam, sadogyamayutam ity arthaḥ for the word aratim. Similarly, Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara too has paraphrased arati by uparatirahita in his commentary on Tait. Br. 2, 5, 4, 4, as does also Sāyaṇa in ibid., 2, 8, 2, 4.

Roth (in P.W.) has interpreted the word as Diener, Gehilfe, Verwalter, Ordnner, administer while Grassmann, differing from him, has said that the word means 'der das Opfer zurichtet, zu Stande bringt.' Oldenberg, in SBE, 46, has explained the word as 'steward.' Bergaigne (Quarante Hymns, V) translates it as 'ministre' and Ludwig and Griffiths as 'messenger.' Geldner, in his Glossar gives the meaning 'Herr' (which Hillebrandt also approves of; Lieder des RV., p. 22), but in his Übersetzung, has translated the word as 'Lenker,' 'Wagenlenker,' and 'Rosselenker.'

It is my belief that none of the above interpretations is correct. The terms śivara (Herr), vyāpta, ganṭr, gopāḥ, etc., refer to characteristics that are common to almost all RV. deities and can be used as epithets of all such deities, while in fact, the word arati is used of Agni only. This in itself is enough to raise doubts in my mind as to whether arati means śivara, (Herr), vyāpta, or ganṭr, etc. On the other hand, I believe that the correct signification of the word arati is, in all probability, one that has specific reference to Agni, that in fact, arati means 'he who shines; the bright one; śukra; pāvaka.' I give here below the reasons for such belief.

I. The verse 10, 45, 7: uśīk pāvakō aratīḥ sumedhāḥ mārtesva agnir aṁy to ni dhāyi is in most respects parallel to the verse 1, 60, 4; uśīk pāvakō vāsir mā nushāṇam vairanyo hōtel dhāyi vikṣhāḥ; and it seems therefore (since aratiḥ cannot mean vareṇyāḥ17 and sumedhāḥ cannot mean vauṣhā) that aratīḥ is equivalent to vauṣhā or bright.

II. Again, five out of the thirty passages in which the word arati occurs, namely 1, 59, 2, (aratī rōdasyoḥ); 2, 2, 3 (divās pṛthivīr aratīṁ ny āryre); 6, 49, 2 (āḍrplakratam aratīm yuvatyāḥ); 7, 5, 1 (divō aratāye pṛthivīyāḥ); and 10, 3, 7 (divās-pṛthivīr aratīṁ yuvatyāḥ) say that Agni is the aratī of Heaven and Earth. Now what exactly is the relation between Agni on the one hand, and Heaven and Earth, on the other that is referred to by the word aratī in these passages? An examination of the RV. hymns addressed to Agni discloses that the following relations are mentioned therein:

1. Agni is the generator of Heaven and Earth (1, 96, 4: vīśām gopāḥ janitārā ṛdasyoḥ).
2. He is the son of Heaven and Earth (3, 3, 2: sā mātṛr abhavat putrā vīyāḥ; cf. also 10, 1, 7; 10, 140, 2).
3. He 'glorified' his parents, Heaven and Earth, when he was born (3, 3, 11: ubhāḥ pitarāḥ mahāyann ajyathān nirvīvām pṛthivīv).
4. He 'renovated' his parents (mātārā), i.e., Heaven and Earth, again and again (3, 5, 7: pānāḥ-punar mātārā māvāyaś kah).
5. He 'saw' Heaven and Earth (3, 26, 8: aḥ id dyē ṭāvā ṭāvā ṭāvāḥ pāy pāṣayat).
6. He follows, i.e., is like to, Heaven and Earth in point of prakṛti or strength (2, 1, 15: prakṛtāḥ yād ātra mahīndā vi te bhuvād anu dyē ṭāvā ṭāvāḥ rōdasi ubhā).
7. He supported Heaven and Earth (6, 8, 3: vṛ āstahknād rōdasi mitrō abhūtaḥ).
8. He is prayed to make Heaven and Earth well-inclined (2, 2, 7: prācē dyē ṭāvā ṭāvāv brāhmaṇād kṛtāḥ).
9. He moves in Heaven and Earth as dūta (3, 3, 2: ankār dūtā ṭāvā ṭāvā dasāmā śyte; cp. also 4, 7, 8; 7, 2, 3).
10. He enters into Heaven and Earth (10, 80, 2: agnir mahī rōdasi dā viveka; see also 3, 3, 4; 3, 7, 4; 3, 61, 7) or moves in them (10, 80, 1: agnīr rōdasi vi sura samahājān), adorning them.

17 This becomes clear from the context of the other verses where the word aratī occurs, and where the meaning vareṇyāḥ does not give good sense.
11. He extends Heaven and Earth with his light (6, 1, 11: ā' yāt tatānta rōdasi
vī bhādā; see also 10, 1, 7, 5, 1, 7, 6, 4, 6, 7, 5, 4; 10, 88, 3).

12. He brings Heaven and Earth to the sacrifice and offers oblations to them (6, 16, 24:
vāsa yakshānā rōdasi; and 3, 7, 9: mahā deva'n rōdasi ēha vakshē; see also 6, 12, 1; 6, 11, 4; 6, 15, 15; 3, 15, 5; 10, 11, 9).

13. He fills Heaven and Earth (6, 48, 6: ā' yāh paphrau bhānunā rōdasi ubhē; see also 1, 69, 1; 1, 73, 8; 3, 2, 7; 3, 3, 10; 3, 6, 2; 7, 13, 2; 10, 140, 2).

14. He shines upon or illumines Heaven and Earth (3, 25, 3: aigrī dyā'vāpythivā' viś-
vajanyā ā' bhāti devī anumēte āmūrah; see also 1, 143, 2; 3, 2, 2; 1, 96, 5; 2, 2, 5; 10, 45, 4; 7, 12, 1; 6, 3, 7).

The word arati, in all probability, refers to one out of these fourteen kinds of relations, and that being so, it becomes obvious that the first-mentioned thirteen cannot be intended by it (for none of these fits into the context in the other passages where arati occurs), and that it can refer to the fourteenth only.

Arati thus means 'one who shines or illumines, bright, brilliant.' It is therefore derived from the same root—ṛ or ar 'to shine' (and not from ṛ or ar 'to go' as Śāyaṇa has suggested)—as the words aruna and arusha and is practically synonymous with these two words and also with pāvaka, śukra, suci, vibhāvan, vibhavan, rukma, etc., all which means 'bright,' 'resplendent,' and are, like the word arati, used most often as epithets of Agni or Śūrya.

Arati thus, in 1, 59, 2: arati' rōdasyoh; 6, 49, 2: ādeptakratum aratih yuyatich; 2, 2, 3:
divās-pityivir arati' ny ēvire; 7, 5, 1: dvō aratidēḥ prīthinā'ḥ; and 10, 3, 7: dvōs-pityivir
aratir yuyatich means 'he who shines upon; he who illumines;' cf. 1, 143, 2: prā
dvā'ā deścāt prithivā' arocayat; 10, 45, 4: ā' rōdasi bhānunā bhātāy anthā; 1, 96, 5: dyā'vāpythivā' mā
rukma anār vī bhāti, etc. Similarly, aratim prithivā'ḥ in 6, 7, 1 means 'him who shines on, or illumines, the earth.' In 2, 4, 2, devā'nām aigrī aratih means 'Agni, who shines on the
gods;' cf. 8, 60, 15: d' ēd devēshu rājasi; and similarly, 7, 10, 3: havayavidharm aratim
mā'vushānām means 'him, the carrier of oblations, who shines on men;' compare 7, 5, 2:
sā' mā' rūshīr abhi viś vī bhāti. In 1, 58, 7: aigrī vieshādham aratih vāsīnām, the phrase
vāsānām arathī is equivalent to vasur vāsīnām in 1, 94, 13: vāsār vāsīnām asi . . . . agne;
and in 10, 91, 3: vāsur vāsānām kshayasi tvām ēka it, and means 'bright amongst those
that are bright; most bright.' In 6, 3, 5: citradhกรatij aratih yō akthō, the word akthō is to be

The verse 6, 12, 3: tējishthā yāsārārir vanera'todō ādhevan nā erdhasinō adyaun is a diffi-
cult one: Ludwig has proposed that the proper reading here is amatih and not arati, and Grassmann, that one should read tējishthayā' yah instead of tējishthā yasya, a suggestion that Oldenberg (RV. Noten) thinks is perhaps correct. Oldenberg has besides observed (I.c.) that 1, 127, 4 and 1, 129, 5 point to the reading arasi instead of arati, and also that it is possible to translate the passage without any emendation, though this translation is very artificial, as 'dessen (Glut) die schärfste ist, der arati.' He therefore proposes to interpret the pass-
age as 'he whose arati is most sharp' without however saying what the meaning of arati is.

Now the verses 1, 127, 4 and 1, 129, 5 referred to above by Oldenberg in this connection are obscure and it is difficult to find out what these verses themselves mean. And moreover, in the verse 10, 61, 20: adhāu mandō aratih vibhā'vē' va syati devitaranir vaneshāy, the word
vaneshāy 'victorious in the forest,' which is almost synonymous with the word vanerāy ('ruling over the forest') here, is clearly co-ordinate with arati and vibhāvī, which makes
it probable that the word vanerāḥ too here is co-ordinate with aratiḥ and refers to Agni. In the light of this, therefore, I supply here the word rc (fem. :=bhdānu, splendour) after tejśīṃṛddh on the analogy of 10, 3, 5: tejśīṃṛddh kṛṣṇmādhir 16 vārśiśthēbhir bhdānubdhiḥ and translate, ‘he whose (splendour) is most bright, the brilliant one, ruling over the forest, shone with increasing brightness like the sun in his course.’ This is not only not artificial, as observed by Oldenberg, but seems to me to be the only natural interpretation; compare also the translation (quoted above) of Oldenberg: ‘dessen Glut die schärfrste ist.’

The verse 5, 2, 1: āṁśakaṣaṣa na mināy jāndasah pyaṣyaṇti nihitam aratau is likewise obscure; and various suggestions have been made that the last word, namely, aratau, should be emended and read as aranau or araṭau or araṣyok; see Oldenberg, op. cit. As the rest of the hymn too is obscure, it is difficult to say with certainty that the reading aratau is incorrect. Sāyaṇa has interpreted this word here as araṇṇu which does not seem to be correct; for in this case, it is hardly possible to say of Agni latent in the araṇṇi that people see him—pyaṣyaṇti nihitam. I believe therefore that here too araṭau has the usual meaning ‘in the bright one’ and refers perhaps to the physical fire or the sun.

There is no difficulty about this word in the other verses where it occurs. Arati, in all these, is unconnected with other words and is a substantive meaning ‘the bright one.’

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.


In this short article Professor Bloch has dealt with a set of complex, widespread and important linguistic facts. Whereas in most of the Indo-Aryan languages the voiced aspirates of Sanskrit have been in principle maintained unchanged, over a considerable portion of the North-West the aspiration has suffered loss, accompanied or not by various other changes. We owe to Dr. Graham Bailey the first definite statement of the connection between this loss of aspiration and the existence of certain intonations of vowels in Panjabi. It has been the work of Professor Bloch to suggest the process of the growth of these tones. According to him the aspiration joins itself to the vowel, but not being vowel proper has less resonance and is of a lower tone. Hence if the aspiration originally preceded the vowel, the result is a low-rising tone; if it followed, a high-falling tone; where it both preceded and followed (as in the word dhīḍhā), we may have a low-rising-falling tone. The explanation is clear and without doubt correct, and fully explains why only the voiced aspirates, and not the breathed aspirates have this development.

There is, however, another phenomenon connected with the voiced aspirate. Over a certain part of this area initial voiced aspirates lose not only their aspiration, but also their voice. In this Professor Bloch, with fine insight, has seen a parallel to Verner's Law. Ganthiot (M.S.L. XI, p. 193 ff.) in explaining this law said that the tone prevented the voicing of the breathed consonant immediately following it. According to Ganthiot the maintenance of the breathed consonant after the tone was due to a species of differentiation, the muscular efforts required for raising the tone and for voicing a sound being of the same nature. Seeing this, Professor Bloch suggests that just as a preceding tone was said by Ganthiot to favour the unvoicing of a following r in Avestic, so in this case a following tone has favoured the unvoicing of a previous voiced consonant. The initial voiced consonant (either of a word or of the second member of a compound) is the only one affected, because an initial is less strongly voiced than an intervocalic. The author refers to Dr. F. W. Thomas' comparison of these phenomena with analogous ones in Tibetan; but he remarks too that, the change in Panjabi appearing to be quite recent, it is difficult to connect it with the existence of a Sino-Tibetan substratum. The fact, however, that words of Persian origin are affected does not necessarily argue its recent character; because new loan-words from English or any other language are similarly treated to-day by a process of substitution. In any case it appears to be one of those numerous cases in which, however difficult it is at present to see the exact connection, it is impossible to rule out altogether the possibility of influence by a substratum.

R. L. TURNER.

16 Or, if the suggestion of Oldenberg (i.e. footnote) about reading tejśīṃṛddh be correct, one can supply the word bhōdhuṇu. 
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1925. Government
Press, Bangalore, 1926.

This is a record of a very full year's work and con-
tains many features of interest, among them the
elucidation of sixty-three manuscripts concerning
Saiva Saints of South India, which are not only of
definite chronological value, but also throw much
light on the social, moral, religious and political
circumstances of the period to which they relate.
Another MS. contains a history of the rulers of
Kallalalli, who were feudatories of the Vijayanagar
kingdom. They are declared to have been descended
from certain Jainas Kshatriya families of Dvaravati,
who migrated to various parts of India, and some-
time later two sections of this stock, named Mangaresa
and Changalaraya, who had settled in Vijayanagar,
established principalities for themselves in Puri-
pattana and Rangapattana respectively. Mangara-
sa, in order to secure his ascendancy, contrived by
a ruse to destroy the Bédas, who were polygamous
of the surrounding country. These Bédas were
presumably of the same stock, if not identical, with
the Bôyas and the Bélas or Berads, who have
played so large a part in the history of Southern
India. Several important epigraphical records were
discovered, one of which is a grant of a Kadambe
King Vishvanar, who records that he was installed
on the throne by a Pallava ruler named Sântivarman,
whose name is hitherto unknown in Pallava genealogy.
The record indicates clearly that while the founder of the Kadambe line
conquered and subdued the Pallavas, his descendant
in the sixth degree was a feudatory of that dynasty.
Another grant, belonging to the Ganga King Bhuvik-
rama, describes Karikâla Chóla as Kârita-Kâveni-
tsirâ, i.e., 'he who constructed banks to the Kâveri,'
thus corroborating information about that ruler
which is enshrined in Tamil literature. Illustrations
are given of these grants, as also of various temples
etc., which have engaged the attention of the Director
and his Staff.

S. M. EDWARDS.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF
INDIA, No. 19: The Jami Masjid at Badaun and
other buildings in the United Provinces, by
J. F. BLASKTON, 1926; No. 21, The Baghela
Dynasty of Rewah, by HIRANANDA SHASTRI,
1925. Government of India Central Publication
Branch, Calcutta.

Of the above Memoirs, No. 19 is concerned with
four monuments of Indian medieval art, all of them
rather outside the beaten track of the travelling
antiquarian and therefore not widely known.
They are the Jami Mosque at Badaun, the Bassa at
Lalitpur, the Chaurasi Gumbaz of Kalpi, and the
Jami Mosque at Irich. The first of these was
built by Sultan Altamsh, who completed the Kuthi
Minar at Delhi; the origin and use of the second are
unknown; the third is an ancient mausoleum,
supposed to be that of Mahmud Shah Lodi; the
fourth is a relic of the reign of Mahmud Shah Tughlaq.
These monuments are fully described and illustrated
by good photographs, which are accompanied by
admirable drawings of their architectural details,
prepared nearly thirty years ago by the late Edmund
Smith, who was an expert in the subject of Indian
art and architecture.

Memoir No. 21 is devoted to the description and
gist of an old Sanskrit MS., Virabhädadayakāyakītyam,
a poem of 12 cantos written at Benares in 1591,
which gives the genealogy of the Baghela dynasty of
Rewah and other historical information. Two
seals on the first and last pages purport to show
that the MS. belonged to one Virabhadracharya,
grandson of the hero of the poem, who attended
Akbar's court at Delhi and was a friend of that
emperor. He appears also to have been a
confidential supporter of Prince Salim (Jahângir).

The information given in the poem requires
confirmation: on the other hand, many of the state-
ments are corroborated by the testimony of Muham-
dadan historians. The genealogy of the Baghela
chiefs differs from that given in the Gatier and
other accounts, but is not on that account necessarily
incorrect. It confirms such facts as the conquest of
Gahora by Baghagadeva and the friendship
existing between Babur and Virasimbadeva ('Nar
Singh' of Babur's Memoirs).

S. M. EDWARDS.

THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE VEDA AND
UPANISHADS, by ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH,
D.C.L., D.LITT., Harvard Oriental Series, volumes
31 and 32, Harvard University Press: London,
H. Milford, 1925.

This work in two volumes may be described as
the latest pronouncement by an acknowledged
expert on the various problems presented by Vedic
literature. Divided into five parts, it deals in a
spirit of judicial caution and analysis with the
original sources of Indian religion, that is to say with
the Rigveda and later Vedas and Brâhmans, and the
Avesta; with the gods and demons of the Veda,
with Vedic ritual, the Spirits of the Dead, and Vedic
philosophy. It is impossible within the limits of a
brief review to notice in detail the evidence offered
under these main heads of inquiry, or the inferences,
deductions, and findings which Dr. Keith holds to
be permissible in the case of the many enigmas
enshrined in the earliest literary remains of the
Aryans. No notice in the columns of a journal
can adequately portray the immense volume of
learning and the profound study of original texts,
which have gone to the making of these two volumes.
Every student of Vedic culture ought to read
them, and read them carefully, for his own benefit.
and satisfaction. Every point made, every decision arrived at, is marked by a spirit of caution and an appreciation of evidential values, which the author doubtless owes to his legal training and intellectual experience, and which embodies a lesson for some of those more imaginative writers who have sought to re-construct the social and political features of the Vedic age on what are apt to prove inadequate or fallacious foundations. In Appendix G, for example, he exposes the hollowness of the theory of "diffusion" preached by Messrs. Elliot Smith and Perry.

The second volume contains eight Appendices, which deal severally with the age of the Avesta and Rigveda, the sacrifice of Puruṣa and the origin of the world, the Aryan conception of the heaven, the drink of immortality, the Indo-European firecult, cremation and burial, the Dravidian element in Indian thought, and Pythagoras and Parmenides. No one, we imagine, will dissent from the view that Dr. Keith's work, which forms part of the Harvard Oriental Series, constitutes the most important contribution to our knowledge of Vedic culture, which has appeared in recent times, and that its value as an authoritative exposition of Indo-Aryan religious belief and ritual in all its phases is likely to increase, rather than diminish, in future years. The book should be read by every Sanskritist and every student of Hindu Philosophy.

S. M. EDWARDES.

EXPOSITION DE RÉCÉNTES DÉCOUVERTES ET DE RÉCENTS TRAVAUX ARCHÉOLOGIQUES EN AFGHANISTAN ET EN CHINE. Musée Guimet. March, 1925.

In 1922 M. Foucher, a professor at the Sorbonne and author of the Grâce-Buddhist Art of Gandhara, chanced to be on a mission of research in India. The French envoy in Persia, M. Bouin, having informed the French Government that the Afghans were prepared to authorize the French to conduct archaeological researches within their territories, M. Foucher journeyed to Persia and thence to Afghanistan by the Herat route. He was received at the Afghan frontier with every mark of respect as the first official envoy of the French Government, and was the guest of the Amir for several months at Kabul. During his stay he made certain researches, and eventually signed a convention with the Afghan government, which enables the French to prosecute excavation in Afghanistan for a period of thirty years. This permission secured, M. Foucher asked for the services of an architect, and M. André Godard was accordingly appointed and joined him at Jalalabad in February 1923. The two antiquaries commenced their work with a preliminary reconnaissance, which would enable them to prepare a chart of ancient sites in Afghanistan suitable for excavation. The results of these preliminary labours are described by M. Godard in this little pamphlet published by the Musée Guimet.

The pamphlet opens with general remarks on the archaeological value of Afghanistan, and then describes the relics, remains and survivals discovered at Jalalabad, Hadda, Kabul, Bamiyan, and Ghazni. In the last-named area they discovered the tomb of Sabuktigin, and a fine mausoleum, locally supposed to be that of Mainud, son of Mahmud, as well as many beautifully decorated marbles, ornamented with arabesque designs, animals, historical inscriptions, and quotations from the Koran, which had been built into the façade of Ghaznavid buildings. "They enable us" remarks M. Godard, "to give an outline of the history of this Ghaznavid art, which originated in the reign of Mahmud, was carried to India by his successors, and ultimately gave birth to that Indo-Musalman art which produced the marvellous architectural masterpieces of Agra, Delhi, Lahore and other cities of India."

The latter half of the pamphlet consists of two papers by MM. Sirén and Lartigue on archeological discoveries in China. Modest as it is in size and scope, the pamphlet is a record of valuable and painstaking antiquarian work, and so far as concerns the possessions of the Amir, is of first-class importance.

S. M. EDWARDES.


The Majjhima Nikāya is one of the most important and fundamental Buddhist scriptures, as it enshrines the principal tenets of early Buddhism; and the present English translation by a scholar who has devoted a large part of an active life to the study of the religion preached by Gautama forms a worthy pendant to the well-known translation of the Dīgha Nikāya by Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids. The actual translation is likely to meet with the approval of Pāli scholars, as the English is well-chosen and aptly portrays the succinct and popular style of the original, while at the same time preserving its meaning and gist. The author also provides a brief and useful introduction in which the main features of Indian thought in Gautama's age are explained, and stress is laid on the practical sagacity of the Buddha in adapting to his own doctrines the expressions and nomenclature of his forerunners. He borrowed a good deal from Brahmanism, for example; but "in each instance he altered the connotation of the familiar terms which he retained from the past, while importing into them his own novel content of meaning. The old labels were reassuring, even though the wine was a new brand."

S. M. EDWARDES.
BARRUT INSCRIPTIONS, edited and translated with critical notes by BHIMADASA BANNA and KUMAR GANGANANDA SINHA. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1926.

In the preface the authors of this learned work claim to have re-arranged the inscriptions on the eastern gateway, inner railing, and fragments of the Buddhist Stupa at Barhut in such a manner that the system underlying them and their real significance are more clearly disclosed. They have divided the inscriptions into two main groups, styled Votive Labels and Jātaka Labels, the former being grouped as they occur on the various parts of the Stupa and the latter by scenes in consonance with the accepted Jātaka outlines of the Buddha's life. Each inscription is accompanied by an English rendering and an explanatory note. The notes are well compiled and deal fully with doubtful points, as for example that on jāpama on page 34, the note on Jātaka Label No. 7 at pp. 42 to 44, the note on pp. 49-52, and so forth. The commentary on Vidura, mentioned in Jātaka Label No. 30, contains some illuminating remarks on adiśastraic etymology as displayed by the Brahmins. The third section of this scholarly publication is devoted to appendices on the paleography and language of the inscriptions, and on the names and epithets, as well as on the localities mentioned in them. The book is a worthy addition to the publications of the Calcutta University.

S. M. EDWARDS.

STUDIES IN INDIAN PAINTING, by NĀNĀLĀ CHA-
MANLĀI MEHTA, Indian Civil Service, with 17
colour plates and 44 half-tone plates. D. B.
Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay, 1926.

In his Foreword the author of this attractive work declares that his object has been to bring together new material for the study of Indian painting, and there can be no question that he has successfully achieved his object. He presents us with new examples of the famous Pallava frescoes of Sittannavasal, nine miles north-west of Pudukkotta, which are ascribed to the reign of the accomplished Pallava ruler Mahendravarman I (A.D. 600-623), and then introduces us to various examples of Hindu secular painting in medival Gujarat, which included a large portion of modern Rajputana. This style of painting has usually been styled "Jain", probably because Jainism formed the most of many of the artists; but, as the author, Mr. N. C. Mehta, points out; this style of painting was indigenous in Gujarat from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, and should be more correctly styled "Hindu."

The book contains several excellent examples of the Mughal school, including pictures by Abul Hassan, Mansur and Bishandas, and concludes with chapters on the Court art of Tehri-Garhwal and other Hindu painting of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These later schools, and the later Mughal paintings also, serve to corroborate the dictum of Mr. Percy Brown that so long as Jahangir lived, he was the soul and spirit of Mughal art, and that after his death an immediate and perceptible decline set in. Even the paintings of Shah Jahan's reign are marked by a certain feature of over-ripeness, which is the sure sign of deterioration. Of the various plates we cannot speak too highly, and special attention may be drawn to the reproductions of the fine fresco of Ardhanarishvara, of the picture Vāsana Viśāka, which illustrates the dress of the period, of Abul Hassan's bullock-cart, and Ustad Salivahana's painted epistle. Equally attractive are a portrait of Jahangir in later life, and Govardhana's study of a woman. Among the examples of Hindu painting of a later age must be mentioned the Jaipur picture of the Rāsa mandala, an admirable equestrian portrait of Rao Shri Raja of Datis, and samples of Mānaku's skill.

The book has been printed and published in India, and reflects great credit on everyone—author, printer and publisher—who has contributed to its production.

S. M. EDWARDS.

STUDIES IN THE LAND REVENUE HISTORY OF
BENGAL, 1769-1877, by R. B. RAMBOOTHAM,
Indian Educational Service. Oxford University
Press, 1926.

For students of the administrative history of Bengal in the days of the East India Company this unpretentious and well-documented work should prove extremely valuable. If deals with two very important records of the eighteenth century—the Amini Report of 1778, a large part of which is included in the second volume of Harington's analysis of the Laws and Regulators of the Governor-General in Council, published at Calcutta in 1805, and secondly the Report on the Office of Kanungo of 1787, which has never yet been published in accessible form. More than half the book is occupied by an illuminating note on the history and circumstances of the Company's revenue-administration of Bengal, and this is followed by a verbatim reproduction of the Amini Report itself, which Mr. Rambootham describes as "the first technical and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal that was placed before the Company." The author reminds us that after the death of Alivardi Khan the provinces of Bengal lapsed into a state of chaos, the actual survival of any administrative system at all being due to the Oriental custom which permitted most Government offices to become hereditary. The public services were in fact converted into a craft, of which the knowledge was confined to selected families from whom alone recruitment could take place for subordinate administrative offices. Thus
when the company assumed charge of the Desam, they found a complete cadre of hereditary officials ready to resume their functions under a normal and effective Government. The two most important and powerful classes of these hereditary revenue officials were the Zamindars and the Kanungos."

The position of the Zamindars was a very strong one. They enjoyed the same prestige and exercised greater magisterial powers than any large English landowner; they collected the revenue for which they were responsible and received a certain fixed quota as their remuneration. But as a class they were inert and degenerate, and in 1765 most of them were idle, ignorant and inept, and were usually under the thumb of unscrupulous servants. Between 1765 and 1783 the Court of Directors in England and the Company’s officers in India made a continuous effort to secure the knowledge requisite for a just and accurate settlement of the land revenue. The Amini report is one example of this endeavour, and it stands, in Mr. Ramsbotham’s words, as "an enduring monument of the work done by unknown British officers of the Company, whose services were never acknowledged by their ‘Humble Employers’, and on whom the limelight of public recognition never fell." Indeed, Mr. Ramsbotham quotes from an original manuscript, belonging to the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Pandit of Satara, evidence showing that Jos. Sodley was very far from being typical of the Company’s district officers, and that between 1772 and 1786 the district administration was conducted by a small, conscientious and very hardworking body of officials, who eschewed idleness, led sober and uneventful lives, and in their official dealings with the Indian public showed themselves "minutely just and inflexibly upright." Certainly the knowledge contained in the Amini Report could never have been acquired, sifted and co-ordinated by men of the type immortalised by Thackeray.

Equally interesting is the Report on the Kanungs—an office which probably existed in pre-Mughal times and was merely reconstituted and extended by Akbar. It became in the usual way hereditary, and the knowledge thus acquired by successive generations was employed by its possessors to strengthen their hold over the land revenue of their respective districts. By the time the Company became Diwan, these hereditary Kanungs held all the vital information necessary to the efficient collection of the land revenue and showed a firm intention to surrender none of it to the Company’s government. Hence arose the burning question whether the Kanungo should be retained or abolished. It is curious to reflect that when the Marāthā leader Shivaji commenced to organise the administration of the Deccan, he was confronted by a somewhat similar problem in the persons of the Deshpande and Deshmukh, who were the ancient and hereditary custodians of all information relating to the lands and land revenue of Western India. In both cases the ultimate decision was the same. The Marāthā leader reduced the Deshmukh and Deshpande to a purely ornamental position, and transferred their powers and duties to his own public servants: the Company in Bengal abolished the offices of sadr and muftasit Kanungo, simultaneously with the introduction of the Permanent Settlement. The decision was a wise one, for, in the words of Lord Cornwallis, "the official attestations and declarations [of the muftasit Kanungs] have long since fallen into contempt and disrepute in the eyes of the people, from having been invariably made the cloak to every species of fraud and abuse."

Mr. Ramsbotham’s book throws much valuable light upon the circumstances preceding the introduction of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, Bihar and Oriya and upon the foundations of the British district administration. It well repays perusal.

S. M. EDWARDES.

DIJAVA: TIJDSCHRIFT VAN HET JAVA-INSTITUTE, Vol. 5, Nos. 2 and 5, March, April and October 1925.


M. J. B.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TOPSHAW.

1702. Letter from Sir William Norris from the Scipio off Bombay on his homeward voyage, regarding the Bombay factory. "They have two or three Companies of Topshaws, those country soldiers which are but a slender and weak Guard" (Public Record Office) C.O. 77/51, p. 53. "Topshaw" seems to represent some local vernacular term from tapas, tapash, or topasli. See ante, vol. L, pp. 106-113.

R. C. TEMPLE.

KING SARANGDHRU.

It is stated by the Reverend Dr. Macnicol that a king Sarangdhru is mentioned in one copy of one of the books of the Marāthā poet Mukundraj. Can any reader of this Journal determine the precise identity of this king?

JOINT EDITOR.
THOMAS CANA AND HIS COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

Fr. A. Monserrat, S.J., wrote from Cochin in the beginning of 1579, under the title "Information about the Christians of St. Thomas," as follows:—

"As regards the origin of these Christians, there are two opinions. Some say that all descend from the disciples of the Apostle St. Thomas. Others say [they are descended] from one Mar Thoma, a Syrian (Mar among them means 'Don'), a merchant, who made his residence in Cranganor, and who had two wives: one noble, the other a slave, although of good caste, because it is the custom that the nobles be sold when born on evil days. The proof of this, besides the traditions of the ancients, is that among Christians there are many petty quarrels about birth and caste, those who are descended from the slave woman being less considered. And that both were noble, at least Nayar women, is proved by the custom existing in this Malavar, that there is no pollution between the Christians of St. Thomas and the Nayres, nor penalty of death, if there are between them marriages or friendship, 1 all of which arises, according to the custom of the country, for castes higher or lower than these two.

"What is more likely is that they originated from both, that is, from the glorious St. Thomas and from Mar Thoma, and from many Nayres who are daily converted. They are a Christianity of seventy-thousand souls, and they are reduced to these two clans by the lie of the land, and not only because they are descended from them [from Mar Thomas' two wives]; for some live on the south side, others on the north side.

"They say, therefore, that, when Mar Thoma came to India, he found at Cranganore and Coulon Christians descended from the Apostle St. Thomas' disciples, who now had but the name of Christians left, considering that they were intermarrying promiscuously with the Nayres. However, at their doors and on their walls they had as their emblem crosses, and they gave names of Christians to their children. And this Mar Thomas, they say, assembled them, and, filling them with ideas of caste, 2 which in that country is very strong, he caused to be baptized and baptized himself many of all those who were married with those Christians and were in any way descended from them. And he remained, so to say, the chief of them all, having assembled them and being rich and influential with the kings of Cranganor, etc. 3

"... They live in villages, and some respectable ones in farms, and these have less knowledge of the things of God, because they have no church, and they live near the

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1 Further study may lead to prove that the Nairs of Malabar and a great part of the St. Thomas Christians first converted by St. Thomas belonged to the same ethnic stock, presumably Parthian or Indo-Seythic. They would represent the Nāgas, and it is not impossible that the pictures on the façades of many Christian Syrian Churches in Malabar, pictures of male and female beings, half-man half-fish, holding a ship above their head, be not merely decorations, but represent a tradition of origin. We may imagine that a strong Parthian infiltration had set in before the Christian era from Sindh all along the West Coast as far as Mylapore, that in fact the best part of the commerce in the first century of our era was in the hands of the forebears of our Syrian Christians.

Fr. Roz could say in 1604 that at Beper on the Fishery Coast some called themselves 'Tarideenalmaiquemar,' 'themselves confessing that they were by caste Christians.' There are also among these Christians some of the king of Cochin's caste, whom they call Covilmor, and others Bramenes, and others Belamos, people of rank in Bismoro.' He could say also that some of them belonged to the race of the ancient kings of Malabar.

In Roz's 'Tarideenalmaiquemar,' the letters italicised are doubtful. do Couto (Dec. 12, 1. 3. c. 4., Tom. 8. Lisbon, 1788, p. 282) writes 'Taridescau Nalique mor.' Is it possible to connect this title with Taris or Tarsa, as the Syrian Christians were called in China, and in India too, since one of the Quilon copper-plates speaks of the Taris Church?

2 Lievandos por opinión de casta.

3 Cf. fol. 149 r, MS. XII, belonging to the Society of Jesus.
to get off their irons, which obliged us to throw Grandates [grenades], and after the first and second they laughed and called out Soop (1), which in English is Good. Upon that we threw another which cooled their courage and made them cry out for Mercy. We immediately got them up two at a time and chained them to the ringbolts fore and aft upon the maindeck with the Top chains. When all were secured we thought proper to discover the ringleaders by punishing the most suspicious, which was the person that seized Mr. Clough, which he confessed was with an intent to kill him. He discovered most of the Heads which we punished, and they all confessed it was with the general consent of the whole. Next morning we punished some of the women, who owned they was privy to it, but promised amendment. After a general muster we found three men missing, two of which were killed, and the third, both his legs shattered to pieces, in his agony threw himself out of the gun ports. All the ship's Company behaved well in the affair. P. M. sent the yawl ashore for slaves. Do. Returned 2 men and 1 woman. (Signed) John Clough" (Log of the Swallow, 14th July 1750).

618. On the 26th June 1752 the slaves aboard the Delaware (Abraham Dominicus Commander) when at Mannigaro Harbour, mutinied and secured themselves in the Galley. They then tried to cut the cable so as to wreck the ship and even killed the Linguist, whom they had asked to come and speak with them. This so enraged the crew that they fired on them and killed two or three and wounded almost all of them before they could be induced to surrender (Log of the Delaware). Numerous references in the Madras Despatches show that one of the main objects for which the British purchased slaves in Madagascar was to train these slaves, whom they called Coffrees, as soldiers, or to employ them upon their military works (Despatches from Company to Madras, 30th August and 8th December 1749). Governor Saunders wrote home in 1751:—“Coffrees make good soldiers. They are dreaded by the Moors.” And again in 1752:—“The men being of infinite service, especially in the Train [i.e. the Artillery] are to be disciplined and the women sent to the West Coast [i.e. Bengoolen in Sumatra]” (Despatches from Madras, 6th August 1751 and 3rd November 1752). To ensure good treatment for the slaves, the Company in 1751 ordered that for every slave delivered, the Commander should receive sixteen shillings and four pence, the Mate six shillings and eight pence and the Surgeon five shillings. Later the reward given to the Commander was raised to twenty shillings (Despatches from the Company to Madras 14th November 1751 and 25th October 1752).

Arabians.

619. On the 21st May 1743 the Montague, anchoring off Rasgurry (?) Rash Kasar) in the Red Sea, was informed that a French ship’s boat had been cut off at a place called Myatt (?) Mait Island, c. 280 miles west of Cape Guardafui) “opposite the white rock, where are the most barbarous people along the coast—all along this tract from Guardafuy and toll opposite Mocha the Arabs call the country of the Shumaulies” (Log of the Montague, Fielder Freeman, Commander). On the 13th July 1746 Captain J. Collier arranged with the Sultan of Aden to send on five chests of the Company’s treasure to Mocha with the Supercargo, Mr. Peisley. The latter arrived safely on the 27th July but with only four chests, the Sultan having kept the fifth (Log of the Severn).

Malays.

620. The following horrible entry occurs in the Log of the Royal Guardian (William Earl Benson, Commander) under date 24th February 1743-4:—“I petitioning for men to make up my compliment according to Charterparty, the Governor of Bengoolen [in Sumatra] ordered two Malay men on board who had been guilty of very great crimes* and gave them me. These fellows, together with another I had permitted my chief mate to buy, did about

*According to Malay custom, criminals were often sold as slaves.
2 a.m. in a tumultuous manner rise and knock down with crows, handspikes and marlinespikes and other weapons my chief and third mate, boatswain, butcher and three foremastmen, and had murthered them and me had not the ship's Company been alarmed. It being a fine night few were awake. They were soon quelled by knocking them down and beat them very much, that had I not ordered them to desist, would have murthered them on the spot, which they deserved, and it was too late when I spoke, for its my belief they died of the wounds they received from the ship's Company. In the morning they were tied up and received about 30 lashes each. One died soon after, another in the evening."

621. The caution necessary in dealing with the Malays is shown by an entry in the Log of the Scarborough (Philip d'Auvergne, Commander) when off the Arroo Islands on the 6th August 1748:—"This morning a terrible misfortune happened to me. Soon after daylight saw a large ship...at the same time saw a Malla Prue near us and, being calm, I sent my third Mate and a boat's crew with proper arms to defend themselves, to go to the Prue to entice or threaten them to come near the ship, whereby I might learn intelligence of the ship I saw was an enemy [i.e. French] or if there was any at the Arroos. They being too rash with the Malls and went on board to take a tow rope to tow them near the ship, on which the Malls creast [stabbed] my third mate, Mr. Robins, and two more, and very much wounded a fourth. Mr. Robins got into the boat, tho' stabbed to the heart under the left pap, and lived to come on board and expired immediately; the other two were killed on the spot; the wounded man got into the boat and two men that escaped free, and pulled towards the ship. As soon as I perceived the boat not to have her compliment, I hoisted out the Finsaece, well manned and armed, but before she could get on board [the Prue], a breeze sprung up, which brought her right in the wind's eye and so escaped."

622. The difficulty of dealing with places under Malay rule is illustrated by the experience of the Pelham (George Lindsay, Commander). Having anchored off Quedah and started in trade, the Malays intercepted a sloop engaged by Captain Lindsay to bring rice on board. The Supercargo went ashore to enquire into the matter and was promised that the sloop should be released next day, instead of which it was sunk in the river. When boats were sent ashore to bring it off, they found that the Malays had erected batteries, from which they fired so fast that the boats were compelled to return without getting any satisfaction (Log of the Pelham 8-10 July 1749).

Sanganians.

623. On the 19th March 1745-6, four days sail from Bombay harbour, the Pelham (William Wells, Commander) met with two vessels which they believed were "Sangarians" [i.e. Sanganians], beating drums and flying red ensigns with, on each side of the ensign staff, small red and white striped colours "supposed to be seapoy-colours." One of them, a three masted ship of about 250 tons and about 12 carriage guns, engaged the Pelham single-handed for an hour, but after some exchange of shots in which she was apparently badly hit, drew off. Captain Wells says that both vessels were full of men and by their behaviour appeared intent on boarding the Pelham. He refers to the "Sangarians" as "a cruel barbarous people to their captives" (Log of the Pelham).

Malabarese.

624. In October 1749 Tulaji Angris commanding in person, his fleet took the Company's armed ship, the Restoration, though she carried a crew of 80 Europeans and 45 lascars, commanded by Captain Thomas Leake (Low, I. 118; Biddulph, p. 223). On the other hand Captain William James in the same year, whilst convoying a fleet of 70 coasters from Bombay to Goa, fell in with 16 Angrian grabs and gallivats, sank one of the largest gallivats and drove the rest of the enemy into Gheria (Low, I. 127).
mountains, away from the inhabited places; yet they acknowledge their archbishop and bishop; they visit them from many leagues; and by this it appears that they are of those who remained from the Apostle Saint Thomas, although they are allied and married with those who are descended from Mar Thoma the Syrian. And this is what can be gathered about their genealogy.

"It is a very likely thing, therefore, that the Apostle St. Thomas preached and was martyred in India, at S. Thomé, and it is certain too that Mar Thoma the Syrian came to India and that he had the said wives. Hence, these people took the rites and ceremonies of the Syrian Church, because Mar Thoma ordained that Syrian bishops should come, and they have great respect for them, their ancestor having come from them, and because they know that Christ our Lord spoke Syrian, as it was spoken in Jerusalem after the children of Israel came from Babylon."

In another Spanish document, a letter to the General of the Society, dated Cochin, January 12, 1579, Fr. Monserrate touches on the same subject in almost identical terms, yet with certain additions which have their importance in the study of the Malabar traditions.

"My chief occupation has been with the Christians of the Sierra, who commonly call themselves of St. Thomas. As regards the origin of these Christians, there are two opinions: one is that all are descended from the disciples of the Apostle St. Thomas: others say [they are descended] only from one Mar Thoma the Syrian. This word Mar is in Chaldean a sign of honour, and means the same as Don and Saint in Spanish, and the Syrians use this word Mar in both meanings: for they call St. Thomas Mar Thoma and [they use it] for any honourable and noble person, Mariácob, Don Diego.

"This Mar Thoma the Syrian was a merchant and came by way of Ormuz like other merchants. The first port at which he touched was Paru, where they say he found people of the St. Thomas Christians, who with their families wore wooden crosses suspended from their neck. And from that time (dahy: for that reason) he made his seat at Curanguluru, which the Portuguese call Cranganor. He had two wives: one, free, the other, a slave; (Fol. 2r) but both of noble birth: for it is the custom in these parts to sell the nobles [children of noble birth], if they are born on evil days (as their manner of speaking is). The proof of this, besides the tradition of the old people, is that among these Christians there are many petty quarrels about caste. And that both were noble, at least Nayr women, is proved by the custom existing in this Malavar that there is no pollution between these Christians and the Nayres, nor penalty of death, if there be marriage or friendship, whereas, according to the custom of the land, there is, if they communicate, stay, or marry with other castes, higher or lower, than custom allows to them. What I have found is that they are not descended only from the said disciples of St. Thomas, nor only from this Mar Thoma, but that from these and those and from many Nayres who are daily converted a people has sprung, of about seventy thousand souls, which was reduced to these two tribes by the lie of the land, and not only from their being descended from them [the two wives of Mar Thoma]: for some live on the south side, and some on the north side.

"Besides what has been said, they say still that, when Mar Thoma the Syrian came to India, he found in Cranganor and Coulam Christians descended from St. Thomas' disciples, who had by then, so to say, but the name of Christians, and that they married promiscuously with the Nayres, having as their device crosses on the doors or walls of their houses, as they

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4 Cf. ibid., fol. 149 r.
5 Ibn Mubalhal, of the tenth century, writes of certain places difficult to identify: "Next they reached Naja, tributary to Thatháh. Here they have wine, figs, and black medlars, and a kind of wood which fire will not burn. The Christians carry this wood away, believing that Christ was crucified upon it." Yule, Cathay, (1866), I. cxxxvii. We should think that these Christians used this wood for crosses. Was there at any time in Malabar a notion that wooden crosses were to be made of a special wood? What wood?
have to-day and calling their children by names of Christians. And that this Mar Thoma assembled them, and, filling them with notions of caste (llamando los por opinion de casta), which in this country prevails much, caused to baptize and himself baptized a great number of all those who by their marriages had affinity or kindred with them or descent from them. In what concerned Religion, he was like their head, both because he had assembled them, and because he was a rich man and in great esteem with the kings, chiefly with him of Curanganuru or Cranganor. This is confirmed by the common saying that St. Thomas built with his own hands the oratories of Cranganor and Coulã, which to-day are churches dedicated to the same Saint. Now, although the Portuguese heard this from the Christians whom they found when they discovered India, that is from these, and though the word Mar Thoma means both Saint Thomas and Don Thomas, it may be much doubted whether the Holy Apostle or the aforesaid Syrian built these oratories. To me it appears more probable that the Syrian built them in honour of the Saint of his name and the Apostle of India: for the truth is that, when this Syrian came to Cranganor, there was no church until he was granted by the then reigning king a place for the settlement of the Christians and for the church, with a privileged boundary and place (con termino & lugar privilegiado), which in Latin we call asylum: a very big place. And it may be that it was so at Coulã: for it does not appear that the Apostle should have built churches dedicated to his name, nor is there proof that they continued to exist so many years when there was no one to repair them.

"However, the tradition is, and it is the common saying, that St. Thomas erected at Coulã a pillar (marco) on some stones from which the sea was then about half a league distant, saying that, when the sea should reach that pillar, white Christian people would come who would reduce (reduziria) them to following the law which he was preaching." On the one hand, what makes one think that this is true is that the stone of the pillar is different from the stone generally obtained in India: for it is white, and like salt, and much weather-beaten, and for half a league from there all is stones and shelves (baxos), showing that the sea has not since long covered this space of ground. On the other hand, what makes one doubt is what we read in the histories of the discovery of India: that, wherever the Portuguese first landed, they set up pillars, and, as they came discovering this coast, it is probable that they should have erected this one: indeed, this sort of stone is found in Portugal, and enough time has elapsed to make it possible for it to be so worn. But I rather think that pillar is there from before the time of the arrival of the Portuguese. Now, whether St. Thomas put it up or Mar Thoma, God knows."

Gouvea (Jornada, fol. 4r) says:

"Among those who came to these parts, there happened to come an Armenian, named Thomas Cana, or Mar Thoma, which in their language means Lord Thomas. As he was noble

6 The same thing was said for St. Thomas at Mylapore, though we have no allusion to the existence of such a pillar close to the church of the Saint's tomb. Already in 1222 Friar Jordan de Siverca could write from Thana, near the present Bombay, that the Indians were eagerly looking out for deliverers from the West, for the Latin. Why, said they, should the Pope not launch a few ships on the Indian Ocean and keep in check the daily inroads of Muhammadanism?

7 If this pillar had been a padrão set up by the Portuguese, it would have had some distinctive marks, like those which have been discovered in various places; for instance, the arms of Portugal, or a date. Now, the Quilon pillar has never been described as having anything distinctive. It is said that it disappeared only in the 10th century. Surely, that pillar was not the one erected by Friar John de Marignolli about 1347: his pillar was somewhere at or near Cape Comorin.

"Upon the rocks near the sea-shore of Coulang," writes Baldaeus, "stands a stone pillar, erected there, as the inhabitants report, by St. Thomas. I saw the pillar in 1652." Trav. Man., II. 147. Day, in his Land of the Perumals, 212, says that this pillar still exists, and Howard, in his Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies, 9, note, says "Mr. D'Albehyll, the Master Attendant at Quilon, told me that he had seen this pillar and that it was washed away only a few years ago."—Trav. Man., II. 147.

and rich, and carried on a great trade, he was shown much favour and hospitality by the king ofCranganor, who, as we saw above, was of the most powerful of Malavar. From him he received many privileges and honours for the Christians among whom he lived, and a very spacious ground where to found a big Church, in keeping with the founder's power and wealth, all which he caused to write on copper-plates. One Mar Jacob, Bishop of these Christians, fearing they might be lost, entrusted them to the Factor of Cochin, when the Portuguese made the factory there, in order that, when necessary to them, the Christians might from there make use of them, and they were for many years in the factory, to be kept in the house, until through carelessness they disappeared, which these Christians greatly chafe at, not having writings whereby to defend themselves before the infidel kings, who keep infringing these privileges, which among other things contained that the Christians alone, when marrying, were allowed to wear their hair tied up with a golden flower, to go on elephants, a privilege granted only to the heirs of kings, to sit on carpets, and other honours, which no other caste had, and which are greatly valued and esteemed among the Malavares; and the Christians esteem them so much that, because the king of Paru wanted to grant one of these privileges to certain Moors of his kingdom against a big sum of money, which they gave him, the Christians a very few years ago rose against the Moors, and many were killed, and much blood was shed on both sides."

We shall see that the Malabar Christians at Tevalikara in 1599 complained to Archbishop Menezes of the loss of the Cranganore copper-plates, meaning evidently the Thomas Cana copper-plates.

Gouvea wrote immediately after the Diamper Council of 1599. His Jornada appeared at Coimbra in 1606. The MS. was in Portugal by June 2, 1605, when a censor was deputed to examine it. Gouvea dated his preface from Goa on Sept. 27, 1603. In one place, to be shown further, he says he is writing in 1602.

An anonymous Jesuit Missionary, whom we discover to be Francisco Roz, Bishop of Cranganore, writes in 1604 a most valuable "Relaçao sobre a Serra" from which we ought to quote at some length.

(Fol. 525v; 86v.) "These Christians having no books of ancient histories, but only traditions of the ancients, to which they cling tenaciously, we must help ourselves with the chronicles and chronology (conta de tempos) existing among the Malabar gentios and with reliable surmises (conjecturas certas) which we find in different places of these kingdoms. Accordingly, it appears (consta) first that the last Emperor of Malavar, called Xaram Perumal, was the one who at Cranganor gave land for a Church and a settlement (povoação) to the St. Thomas Christians, and great privileges, as is seen from their ollas, the copper original of which was taken to Portugal by the Religious of St. Francis, a copy of them remaining here. This Perumal died on the first of March, one thousand two hundred and fifty-eight years ago. The witnesses who were present at the writing of the said Perumal's olla, by which he gave the said land of Cranganor, are those who now are kings [1st : Regulos, kinglets] in different parts of Malavar; and, when the olla was written, they were countries belonging to the said Perumal, as is shown by the same ollas. Hence it follows that the dedication of the Church of Cranganore took place more than one thousand two years ago. [Fol. 526r; 57r]. It was founded in the month of April of the said year, and presently seventy-two houses were built on the said land (chaço). The occasion, as related in the same olla of the Perumal, was that, as the said king was lodging (pousando) on the other side in a big pagoda which was at.

9 Por entrega da casa. da Couto uses the same expression.
10 Otherwise on March 1, 346.
11 If this is A.D. 346, Bishop Roz contradicts himself. We must take the year to be A.D. 345, according to the cryptogram 'Shovais.'
Parurpatanan, a place over-against Paliporto, the said king wished one day to go a-hunting, and he went to the other side, where Cranganor is now, the whole of which was thicket (mato). And he called for a very rich Armenian, named Thomas Cananeo, who had come from Babylon. He gave to the said king a good sum of money, bought from him the whole of that thicket, and founded on it the Church of St. Thomas and the bazar (basar). The land which he bought measured 264 elephant cubits (covados de elefante). Now, already many years before the said Church, there was in the said place of Patan a Church and a big settlement (povoasac) of Christians, the date of its beginning being unknown, and still to-day the place where the said Church stood is called Paliparamb, i.e., church-field, and quite near to it there is another place called Palimco, i.e., church-corner (canto da Igreja); hence, the island opposite is called Paliparam, i.e., other side, outside, opposite to the Church (outra banda de fora de fronte da Igra). That island became visible two hundred and seventy-seven years ago, whence it is clear that in the said place there was a Church; and from the settlement of Christians which was there and a great pagoda there is no doubting why it is called Magoder Patanam, i.e., great city of the great pagoda; and the sea came up to there, and the boats came to anchor there before the island of Paliporto came into existence. Hence the St. Thomas Christians in all the ollas which they write of accounts (em todas as ollas g escreue de contas) put down the era of Magoder Patanam, without knowing the beginning of it, because they consider the place one of the most ancient where St. Thomas Christians lived. The copy of the olla which the said Xaram Perumal gave to Thomas Cananeo, in which he granted him the ground of Cranganor, says faithfully this:

"May Coquarangon be prosperous, enjoy long life and live one hundred thousand years, divine, servant of God, strong, true, just, full of good works, reasonable, powerful over the whole earth, happy, conquering, glorious, rightly prosperous in the ministry of God, in Malavar.

12 The priests of Parur showed me a high wall near their Church which they thought was part of an old temple. Some big stones with fine carvings at the staircase leading up to the site of a new church, the foundations of which had been laid by Febr. 1924, also appeared to belong to an old Hindu temple or palace.

Not necessarily Armenian, but Armenian, i.e., Syrian.

14 1904 — 277 = A.D. 1327.

16 I was under the impression that Mahadevarpalapram, from which the Syrian Christians derived their era, was Cranganore, and that the name was connected either with the Tiruvanjikulaum temple or some Christian church. Bishop Ro's Magoderpatanam becomes Makottayar Paṭṭaṇam in an article on Thomas Cana by Mr. T. K. Joseph.

18 Even now, I believe, the St. Thomas Christians use on occasions the Mahadevarpalapram era conjointly with the Kollam era. Is it not the Vikrama era? Of the Śālvāhaṇa era Bishop Ro knew something. He says [fol. 525 r; 86r]: "From that time [from the time of St. Thomas' death], when the gentle religion began to wane, and from the said era [of the Saint's death] those who now are genious count [their era]." That can be only the Śālvāhaṇa era as no other era falls close to St. Thomas' death. If Śālvāhaṇa can mean cross-bearer or cross-borne, and if according to certain Gnostic notions Thomas suffered instead of Christ, the Śālvāhaṇa era could mean only St. Thomas' era. De' Conti (c. 1438) said that the greater part of the Indians counted their years from "Octavian, in whose time there was peace all over India." That could be only the Vikrama era. And do Conto wrote in A.D. 1611 (De Asia, Dec. 12, 1, 3, c. 4, Tom. 8, Lisbon, 1788, p. 275) : "Before this [the Kollam era] these Malavares counted the era by the course of the Planet Jupiter, which is from twelve to twelve years, as the Greeks did their Olympiads from four to four years; and in their writings, the St. Thomas Christians [of Malabar] place first the era of Putana [Mahadevarpalapram], and then that of Coulão, just as before the coming of Christ they followed in their writings the era of the world's creation [the Kali Yuga] and that of Cesar." Will our chronologists take note of these statements? Wilford, nearly 120 years ago, held that the Śālvāhaṇa era was the era of St. Thomas, and that the Vikrama era was that of Caesar Augustus. Cf. As. Res., X (1808). If the Mahadevarpalapram era is the Vikrama era, its origin may perhaps be connected with the dedication of the temple of Augustus at Muziris. It may have been started earlier too.
in the great city of the great Idol. While he reigned at the time of Mercury of February, on the seventh day of the month of March, before the full moon, the same king Coqarangon being in Carnellur, there arrived in a ship Thomas Cananco, a chief man, who had resolved to see the uttermost part of the East. And some men, seeing him as he arrived, went to inform the king. And the king himself came and saw and called the said chief man Thomas, and he disembarked and came before the king, who spoke graciously to him; and to honour him he gave him in surname his own name, calling him Coqarangon Cananco. And he received this honour from the king and went to rest in his place. (Fol. 526 v; 87v). And the king gave him the city of Magoderpatanam for ever. And the said king, being in his great prosperity, went one day to hunt in the forest, and the same king surrounded the whole forest. And he called in haste for Thomas, who came and stood before the king in a lucky hour. And the king questioned the soothsayer (adeivinhador). And the king afterwards spoke to Thomas, [saying] that he would build a city in that forest. And he answered to the king, first making reverence, and said: "I desire this forest for myself." And the king granted it to him and gave it for ever. And at once, the next day (logo outro dia), he cleared the forest and cast his eyes on it in the same year, on the eleventh of April, and gave it as an inheritance to Thomas at the time and day aforesaid, in the king's name, who laid the first brick (tijolo) for the Church and for the house of Thomas Cananco, and made there a city for all [of them], and entered the Church and there made prayer the same day. After these things, Thomas himself went to the king's palaces (passos) and offered him presents, and afterwards he asked the king to give that land to him and to his descendants; and he measured two hundred and sixty-four elephant cubits, and gave them to Thomas and his descendants for ever: and at the same time sixty-two houses (vistas e duas casas), which immediately were erected there, and gardens, and trees, with their enclosures, and with their paths (caminhos) and boundaries (terminos) and inner yards. And he granted him seven kinds of musical instruments, and all the honours, and to speak and walk like a king, and that at the weddings the women might give a certain signal with their finger in their mouth, and he granted him distinct weight, and to adorn the ground with cloths, and he granted the royal fans (abanos, fly-flaps), and to double the sandal [mark] on the arm, and a royal tent [2 or 3 words not

17 W. Rees Phillips, who helped Bishop Medlycott with a translation of Bishop Roz's letter of 1604, failed to decipher the words Mercurio de febre. Cf. Cn. Ency., New York, XIV, 680 b.d., and compare with Mackenzie in Travancore State Manual, II, 139. The present translation must be considered more authoritative, as I work on my own photographs of the MS. copied for W. B. Phillips by another person. Mackenzie used do Couto's text, which differs in some notable points from Bishop Roz's.

18 Compare this with the following: "He [Thomas Cana] also obtained from the Emperor land and high social privileges, as well as a copper-plate document to that effect, on Saturday, 29th Kumbham (Aquarius) of the above-mentioned year [A.D. 345], on the seventh day of the moon, and in the sign Cancer." T. K. Joseph, quoting Ittoop's Syrian Christian Church in Malabar (Malayalam), pp. 88-91, in an article, dated 17-7-1925, on Thomas Cana, which he wrote at my request and of which he sent me the MS.

The year mentioned by Fr. Roz would be 345.

19 This would seem to represent Cranganore (Curanguluru, as Monserrate spelt it in 1579, p. 130 supra).

20 This would be April 11, 345.

21 The corado, a measure used in Portugal, is three-fourths of a yard, a Flemish ell, as one of my Portuguese dictionaries puts it.

22 Once before and once after, Roz writes 72. I find that this number is something very sacred among the Syrians. It was likewise so among the Syrians of China, where we hear more than once of the 72 Christian tribes or clans.

23 "As do the women of Kings," which we have in Mackenzie, is not in my MS.; but we have it in do Couto.

24 Pezo distinto.

25 Mackenzie mentions among the privileges: to use sandals. This is not in my MS. We have however: "doobar o sandal no braço."
deciphered] in every part of the kingdom for ever, and besides five tributes to Thomas, and to his lineage, and to his confederates, for men, and for women, and for all his relatives, and to the children of his law for ever. The said king gave it in his name. Witnesses: these persons:

(L. 1.) Codaxericandem.
(L. 2.) Cherucaraplotachatencomeren, the king's chief door-keeper. Areundencounden, the king's counceller.
(L. 4.) Chirumalap[ro?]satiriuicramen comeren, Regedor of the East side in Malavar.
(L. 5.) Peru[i]ualatiata adit[en], . . . . singer (?) of the said king.
(L. 6.) Perubal[atia]cottonosoude, guard of the king's port (?) (gate?).
(L. 7.) Bichremenchinguen [de Car]tute, the said king's chamberlain.
(L. 8.) A[nan]iperumooul, Srivener of (all ?) the affairs, with his own hand wrote this sealed (?) sedil[a] (?) and also lucky writing.28

"This is the writing of the ground (chaõ) of Cranganor, which the Emperor of all Malavar gave to Thomas Cananeo, Armenian, and to the other Christians of St. Thomas. And, as at that time they reckoned from twelve to twelve years according to the course of Mercury, therefore it is said in the olla (Fol. 527r: 88r) that the said town (povacalõ) was founded in the year of Mercury of February. This manner of reckoning is quite forgotten, because for the last seven hundred and seventy-nine years they count in the whole of this Malavar by the Coulaõ era.29 However, since the said Perumal, as we said above, died more than one thousand and two hundred years ago, so the Church and Christians of Cranganor are older than the same number of years: and much before there were Christians at Paru, in the said Magoderpatanam.30 Afterwards, owing to evil times, the said Church and the settlement of Christians declined with the prosperity of Cranganor and was removed from the said place, and the Church was placed where it now is, on account of a private revelation received by a St. Thomas

26 E ajora dista.
27 The titles of the witnesses could not be deciphered properly from the rotographs, as the ink has spread. I help myself for the reconstruction of these titles and even for part of the Portuguese translations (1) by means of do Couto, who in my edition has however only the first five titles, the rest being omitted for fear of proximity; (2) by means of T. K. Joseph's The Malabar Christian copper-plates (Malayalam), 1925, who quotes Mackenzie's Christianity in Travancore, Trivandrum, 1901, pp. 59-61, where we have the other titles, but imperfectly too. I do not know whence Mackenzie could have got the titles except from the Roa MS. Possibly Mackenzie and Philips communicated at this time. The copist employed by Mr. Philips at the British Museum may have succeeded better at times to decipher the writing than I can manage from the rotographs. I am now sending to Mr. T. K. Joseph the page with the titles, in the hope that he may succeed in deciphering or reconstructing the Malayalam titles.
28 This is all I can make of this passage: escrivão de (todos) os negoceos cõ sua [maõ es]creuo [estã e]critura sedil[a]a e [tamõõ]õ bõ afortunada. I do not know what sedilata may mean. All the letters of that word are clear, except the last. 'Sealed' would be sedilada. We may notice that the date of the copper-plate is not given. Perhaps we have to understand that it was April 11, 345, when the first brick of the Church was laid.
30 If we can at all rely on the Acta of St. Thomas (Syrac and Greek), on the de Miraculis and the Passio, we get that the king of Sandarok or Andrapolis, to be identified with Cranganore, was baptised by St. Thomas and became a deacon, called Xanthisimus or Xenophûn, and by the St. Thomas Christians Andrew, that his son-in-law (perhaps a Parur prince?) became a bishop, called Dionysius in the Passio, and by the St. Thomas Christians Kephos or Peter, that Dionysius' wife, called Pelagia in the Passio, vowed chastity and was martyred, a Greek inscription on her tomb stating that she was the spiritual daughter of St. Thomas.
Christian of Paru. So says a reliable tradition existing among these Christians, which, having been received from the ancients, has been preserved till now. So that, already long before the coming of the said Thomas Cananeo, there were already St. Thomas Christians in this Malavar, who had come from Mallapur, the town of St. Thomas. And the chief families are four in number: Cotur, Catanal, Onamurute, Narimatan, which are known to-day among all these Christians, who became multiplied and extended through the whole of this Malavar, also adding to themselves some of the gentios who would convert themselves. However, the descendants of Thomas Cananeo always remained above them without wishing to marry or to mix with these other Christians, and so up to the present there are among them two lineages: one which is descended from Thomas Cananeo on the father’s side, the mother, they say, being a gentle woman who was baptised afterwards, the other lineage is that of those who on both the father’s and the mother’s side were originally descended from St. Thomas Christians. The latter took greater care than the others to increase the Church; and so they received among themselves many gentios whom they baptised, and even those who at anytime served the said children (filhos) of Thomas Cananeo they likewise took under their protection; and, as these were rich and honourable, they wished to subject the others, saying they were their blacks. Whence there arose between the St. Thomas Christians and the others great discord, and there were anciently among them great disputes: wherefore at Carturte and Cotete it was necessary to make different Churches, each party keeping aloof from the other. And those of the Thomas Cananeo (sic) party went in one Church, and the others in the other. And last year, 1603, the same was the cause of the quarrels between these of Udlamer and Candanada, each one holding out for his party. And it is wonderful to see the aversion which one party has for the other, without being able to forget their antiquities and the fables they have in this matter. The St. Thomas Christians descending from Thomas Cananeo are few. They are at Udlamer, and at the great Church of Carturte, and at the great Church of Cotete, and at Turigure.

(To be continued.)

31 Was there no Syrian church at Cranganore in 1604? We have to conclude the contrary from de Gouvea and do Couto. How old was the church of Parur in 1604? While I was at Parur, on Febr. 11, 1924, we pulled up from the open-air cross a small stone with a cross on both sides, and found an Indian inscription of Kollam era 728, or A.D. 1553. Did that year record the change from Cranganore to Parur here alluded to? Probably not. I understand from p. 125 n. 14 that Parur had a church in 1327.
32 I trust some of our Malabar friends will be able to comment on these names.
33 The latter seems to mean the Northists.
34 E ficando estes, ricos, kÓrados, os outros os quizerão avopar, dizêndo ser seus negros, should mean strictly, I think, “these (the Northists) being rich and honourable, the others (the Southists) wished to subject them, saying they were their blacks.” But the Northists were and still are the vast majority! That is true, and I believe the Northist theory is that the Southists are the descendants of the slave woman. Gouvea turns, however, the tables on the Northists, when he says that they, the Northists, are the descendants of the slave woman. Probably it will be said that de Gouvea is based on Roz, which is quite possible, as Roz supplied him with much material (cf. Prologo), and that Roz allowed himself to be circumvented by the Southists.
35 Kaṭutturutti.
36 Cotete was visited by Meneses after Diamper and before Caramali à (Jornada, fol. 76r and 79r). At Cotete there were two churches in 1599. It is Kottayam. Cf. Whitehouse, p. 298.
37 What place is this?
KURAVALANGAD BELL INSCRIPTION

Scale one-sixth.

T. K. JOSEPH.
ANOTHER ENIGMATIC INSRIPTION FROM TRAVANCORE.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

In the Indian Antiquary, vol. LI, pp. 356-7, I published a rough copy of one line of a seemingly Greek inscription on stone, discovered in the Nilakkal forests in Travancore. There are two other lines above it, much less legible.

Here is another such inscription 1 on the rim of a big bell, long kept unused in the Roman Catholic Church at Kuravallangad in North Travancore. Though not one of the seven churches said to have been founded by St. Thomas the Apostle in the first century A.D., this church is very old, dating from 335 A.D. (if the Catholic Directory, Madras, 1924, can be believed). Fra. Paulinus says in his Voyage to the East Indies, 1776-89, that “the Nestorians 2 had formerly a monastery here,” (at Kuravallangad) “inhabited by people of their order from Persia and Chaldea, who were the spiritual guides of the Christians of St. Thomas.” (English edition, London, MDCCC, p. 123).

The epigraph is in embossed characters and forms a single line of 19 or 20 symbols. The cross may stand for a full stop. It is earnestly hoped that the present facsimile 3 will be of use to scholars in publishing in this Journal a reading and interpretation of the inscription.

Several scholars have already expressed their opinion on the nature of this inscription. The following are some of the most authoritative.

(1) “All I can tell from the eye copy is that the inscription is not Greek.” (Sir John Marshall’s letter to me, dated 5th August, 1925) 4.

(2) “So, the greatest probability is that the language might be old-fashioned Portuguese.” (Prof. Ernst Herzfeld’s letter to me, dated 15th September 1925) 4.

(3) “It may well be that it represents nothing more than the barbaric result of an attempt to reproduce something like TE DEUM LAUS. ANNO. MDL, in which the year number is the most unsatisfactory part.” (Mr. John van Manen’s letter to me, dated 17th June, 1926).

(4) Dr. J. J. Modi says it is not Pahlavi, and Dr. Zwemer, Cairo, says it is not Cufic, inscriptions in both of which characters have already been discovered in Malabar. Could it be Armenian or Himyaritic 5?

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1 I got a copy of it for decipherment three years ago on 14th December 1923.
2 Some of the Malabar Christians of St. Thomas entertain the notion that their church has never been under the influence of Nestorianism, and try to explain away the term Nestorian very frequently applied to the Malabar church in Portuguese and other records, by saying that to the writers of the Portuguese and Dutch periods a Nestorian church simply meant a church using the Syriac language and liturgy. But says Dr. Medlycott, some time Roman Catholic Bishop in Malabar: “By the year 530 the Christians in Malabar, had been captured in the Nestorian net.” (India and the Apostle Thomas, 1905, p. 198, note 1). Again the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., says in his letter to me dated 2nd October 1923: “I know the tendency of absolving the St. Thomas Christians of Nestorianism. It does not appeal to most of us.”

3 Now let us hear Professor Dr. F. C. Burkitt, Cambridge. “If I may say so, all the trustworthy evidence connecting the old Malabar Christians with earlier bodies in the West connects them with the Nestorians, i.e., with the Christians most numerous within the Sasanian Empire.”

4 “It cannot be too often repeated that the Malabar Liturgy which the Jesuits revised and altered was a Nestorian Liturgy, and substantially remains so. It simply is a form of the Liturgy now best known to scholars as ‘The Liturgy of Adai and Mari.’” (Letter to me, dated 4th January 1926."

5 Further, “There can be little doubt that there was a time (say 9th or 10th century) when the Nestorian fully-developed rite was observed by the Christians of S. India.” (Letter to me, dated 14th February 1927.)

6 This is an enlargement of the facsimile opposite p. 333 of the Young Men of India, Calcutta, for May 1926.

See my article on the present inscription in the Young Men of India, for June 1926.
THE MEANING AND ETYMOLOGY OF PUJA.

By Prof. JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA.

(Continued from page 99.)

IV.

It can easily be observed that in all the more or less primitive cults spread all over India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin perhaps the most common way of adoring the various gods, i.e., of performing their pūjā, is to smear the wooden logs, uncarved stones or idols which represent the deities with oil, or rather with lac, cinnabar, turmeric or other red or yellow dye stuffs. Materials concerning this form of cult are to be found in overwhelming masses in European sources; and in the following only a few instances relating to various parts of India, and which seem to the present writer rather typical, will be quoted.

In the Himalayas the five Pāṇḍava brothers are often called Panj pīr and sometimes taken to be one single person; generally they are adored in the form of five stones put up beneath a pīpal tree and smeared with red ochre. Hanumān, of whom more presently, all over the Punjab has his image smeared with red-stuff. During the nine days' festival of the serpents (Nāganaśa) in the month of Bhādon the women in the Panjāb make images of Nāgas from dough and smear them with red and black colour; and it is also usual to smear the brass images of the serpents with ghee. When, in the Panjāb, the women perform pūjā to the cows, they smear not only the forehead of animal, but also their own with sandal and minium. In Pehowā (Karnāl District) there is a temple of Śvāmī Kārttikeya whose image is always smeared with oil and red ochre. There is a special sect of Jogīs, who are followers of the terrible god Bhairon, who anoint themselves with oil and red ochre and go alms-begging in the name of the god—apparently pretending themselves to be manifestations of Bhairon. The goddess of small-pox, in Hissār generally called Devī Matā, has her abode in a pīpal or in some sort of small shrine; this is festooned with red rags and painted with red colour-stuff. Buffaloes which are to be sacrificed to Durgā Mahiṣāsuramārdini are adored as deities by the pūjārīs, who smear their frontheads with saffron and rice-grains. In the Kāṅgrā District the god Nārāsingh (who is, perhaps, not always identical with the fourth avatār) is adored in the shape of a coco-nut which is daubed with sandal and rice-grains.

In Eastern parts of the United Provinces the adoring and daubing with red ochre of a drum belongs to the ceremonies preceding a wedding. The late Dr. Crooke ingeniously suggested that the drum (especially perhaps the hour-glass like drum attributed to Śiva, the damaru) belongs to "the very primitive fetishes of the aboriginal races." The

37 That this way of adoring the deities is spread over practically the whole of India seems to suggest that, before the Aryan invasion, a somewhat uniform religion prevailed over greater parts of the subcontinent. In this connection stress may be laid also upon the great similarity between myths of deities in the Himalayas and myths of demons amongst the Tuluvas in the Far South (On the Devil-worship of the Tuluvas, cf. I.A., vol. XXIII-XXVI). Cf. Rose, A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab, vol. I, p. 443 n. 2.
38 Panjab Notes and Queries, vol. III, § 169; Rose, i.c., vol. I, p. 121.
40 Rose, i.c., vol. I, pp. 144, 149. In the Rāvi valley the idols are often washed with milk, curds and ghi, ibid., vol. I, pp. 232-233.
42 Rose, i.c., vol. I, p. 324.
45 Rose, i.c., vol. I, p. 359. That sacrificial animals and men are treated as gods before being killed is a well-known fact and need not be dwelt upon here. Let us only remember the way in which the Khonds, before performing the horrid Meriāh sacrifices, treated the poor victims. It is sufficiently clear that they were looked upon as some sort of divine beings; amongst other things they were smeared with oil, ghi and turmeric. Cf. e.g., Russell, Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, vol. I, p. 475; Thurston, Omens and Superstitions of S. India, p. 200 sq.
46 Rose, i.c., vol. I, p. 376.
47 Crooke, i.c., vol. I, p. 28.
48 Cf. Elmore, i.c., p. 67.
godling Bhimsen at many places in the Central Provinces is adored in the shape of an uncarved stone daubed with red ochre; and a grāmdēvatā called Porū Māi in Nadiyā is represented by a little piece of rough black stone painted with red ochre, and placed beneath the boughs of an old banyan-tree⁴⁹. Scattered about at the very simple places of worship of the grāmdēvatās are generally a few rough stones, the tops of which are rubbed by the country people with oil and red ochre “as an act of worship”⁵⁰. Around the place sacred to Gausām Deo, a Dravidian deity, are seen some boulders smeared with red ochre⁵¹. Mahisābā, a godling considered to be identical with Mahiṣāsura and chiefly revered throughout the Bombay Presidency, is represented by a rough stone daubed with red ochre; amongst the Santals several deities are thus represented: Mahāmāi, the daughter of Dēvi, by an oblong log painted red at the top, Burhiyā Māi by a white, red-daubed stone, and Hanumān (who is generally red-coloured) by a red-painted trident⁵².

Since times of yore it has been common belief in India that certain trees are inhabited by demons who must be propitiated by bloody sacrifices; the Jātakas frequently tell us about human sacrifices to trees, e.g. the Dhonasākhaḍātaka (No. 353)⁵³. Trees are still frequently adored, but the blood—at any rate human blood—has mostly been exchanged for red colour. In Šāhābdā the holy tree is the karām (Kadamba, Nauclea), twigs of which are planted in front of the houses and smeared with red ochre and ghl⁵⁴. The pīpal, in which live the three great gods but also a number of lower beings, on certain days has its trunk daubed with red ochre and sandal by high-caste women; at the frequent weddings of trees daubing with red and yellow dye-stuffs are of common occurrence⁵⁵.

The materials collected by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson in her very valuable book The Rites of the Twice-born (1920) mostly originate from Gūjārāt and Kāṭhiāwār; the authoress especially seems to have drawn her information from Nāgar Brahmans. She tells us how Ganeśa is washed with the pākāmīrīta (milk, curds, ghl, honey and sugar) and is sprinkled with red powder at the upanayana (p. 29); and the same god is smeared with ghl and red ochre every Tuesday and Saturday (pp. 293-321). On those same days Hanumān is wholly or partly painted red and smeared with oil (pp. 327-406)⁵⁶. The image of Pārvatī is daubed with red-stuff at the Holi (p. 285), and the roughly carved idols at the entrance of the Śiva temples are likewise painted red (p. 372 sq.). The earth, as an act of worship, is strewn with red powder (p. 333)⁵⁷ and the snake-stones which are so common (especially in the South) are painted with red ochre (p. 407). The Nāgar Brahmans look upon bride and bridegroom as being manifestations of Śiva and Pārvatī (p. 68); consequently they are daubed with red powder (p. 70), and the bride daubs the big toe of her husband with red paint in order to show that she worships a divine being (p. 73, cf. also p. 79 sq.)⁵⁸. The head of a dead man is smeared either with goṭicandana or with red sandal (p. 143), a ceremony which would seem senseless if we did not, at the same time, learn that the dead body is looked upon as a deity until leaving the house (p. 145).

But not only this. In the daily devapūjana (p. 231 sq.) as well as in the worship of the cow (p. 312), the images of the Nāgas (p. 314), the threshold (p. 316), the Krishṇa-idol (p. 317)

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 96.
⁵¹ Ibid., p. 117.
⁵² Cf. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 7, n. 3; Vogel, Verslagen en Mededelingen, Afl. Letterkunde, 5, IV, p. 228 etc. Nothing more can be said about this topic here.
⁵³ Crooke, l.c., vol. II, p. 95; this reminds us of the description by Broughton, Letters Written in a Maharatta Camp (ed. 1892), p. 214, of the behaviour of Marāṭhā Brahmans at a certain festival.
⁵⁵ This throws a clear light on the primitive character of gods like Ganesa and Hanumān.
⁵⁷ The faithful wife should every morning worship the big toe of her husband (p. 248 f.) but this seems to have gone out of use nowadays (p. 251).
or the different idols in the Śiva temples (p. 380 sq.) there always recurs the daubing or painting with red sandal, etc. The foreheads of the idols are generally daubed in a way which reminds us of the putting on of the tilakas amongst their worshippers. The image of Vishnu is daubed with gopīcandana (p. 406), the sacred Sālagrāma is washed in pańcāmṛita (p. 270). We need not doubt for a moment that what we see here is in reality the constitutive element of the pūjā.

Very extensive materials from the Bombay Presidency (with the exception of Sindh) have been collected by Mr. Enthoven in his book The Folklore of Bombay (1924). We read there how the low-castes in Konkan (Mahārās, etc.) daub stones with oil and red ochre and give them the names of mostly evil godlings such as Vetāl, Khandobā, etc., (p. 112). A certain species of tree in Kāthiāwār have fruits like a human face and are consequently worshipped with red ochre and oil (p. 125). Āhirs and other cattle-breedin casets in Gūjarāt erect stones called pādias at the village frontier's in remembrance of dead caste-fellows; and these on certain days are daubed with red ochre (p. 143). In the Ratnagiri District holy men are worshipped with sandal paste, etc., (p. 146). The grāmadesvatās are represented by stones on which are painted triśūlas with oil and red ochre, or by wooden tridents the tops of which are painted red (p. 170). On the eighth day of the Navarātira the “Mothers” are daubed with oil and red ochre (p. 171), and on the last day of Āgyātha the members of the low castes wash their idols with water and milk and smear them with oil and red ochre (p. 172). On other occasions the house godlings are washed in pańcāmṛita (p. 180).

The goddesses described as the “Mothers” are sometimes represented simply by red spots on the wall which are daubed with ghū, etc., (p. 185 sq.). The image of Gānapati, here as in other parts of India, is smeared with oil and red ochre, the remnants of which are then put on doors and windows (p. 187 sq.); and it goes without saying that Hanumān is regularly painted with those same substances (pp. 175, 188, 191 sq.). On the first day of Mārγaśīra in the Deccan the domestic animals are worshipped like deities, their horns are washed and painted red, lamps are swung in front of them, etc., (p. 221). Sitalā, the goddess of small-pox, is mostly represented by a rough stone daubed with red ochre (p. 265). Chedā, a grāmadesvatā of the Thana District, is represented by a stone or a stake erected at the village border and painted with red ochre (p. 303), and Mhsobā, another godling, is worshipped with red ochre at the time of ploughing and sowing (p. 304). In other places the sacred stones are daubed with red ochre at the re-planting of the rice (p. 308). On the twelfth day of the dark half of Kārtika the inhabitants of certain villages of the Thana District worship Waghobā, the tiger godling, by daubing his stone in the jungle with red ochre and bringing him food (p. 310).

Proceeding southwards we find that already Pietro della Valle, who journeyed from Surat to Calicut in 1623–1624, remarked how the Hindus painted the faces of their idols red. About a century later Alexander Hamilton speaks about the red-painted stones representing godlings. Also the good old Abbé Dubois had noticed how the idols were painted with various colours. In our own day we learn that bulls and cows are daubed with red and yellow powder, that pots which often seem to represent gods among the

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64 Cf. the description of a curious ceremony (p. 259) where Bhagias (scavengers) sprinkle the image of Hanumān with the blood of a cow.

65 Cf. Professor Zacharias' extremely valuable Kleine Schriften, p. 247 sq.


67 Hindu Manners, p. 581.
Dravidians,\textsuperscript{69} are painted with saffron and turmeric, and that snake stones are daubed with oil and red ochre.\textsuperscript{70} A grāmadravatā called Usaramma is often washed and smeared with saffron; and this is also the case with other godlings.\textsuperscript{71} The blood of the sacrificial animals is smeared on the stones or the rough idols, or these and the animals themselves are sprinkled with water and red paint.\textsuperscript{72}

We might also remember that the castes in general seem to worship their various tools on certain occasions. Tod\textsuperscript{73} tells us how the Rājpūts painted their guns with the blood of sacrificed goats before the battle. The ill-famed Thugs at certain times performed a regular pūjā to the pick-axe, which was not only one of their most important tools but also one of their deities; they washed it with plain and sugared water, curds and liquor and then daubed it in seven places with red ochre.\textsuperscript{74} In the Deccan agricultural tools are sometimes worshipped; they are then washed and smeared with red ochre.\textsuperscript{76} From other regions is reported the painting of cart-wheels with red or white colours.\textsuperscript{76} Also the weapons of the soldiers are daubed with red powder on certain occasions; and at Jeypore in Vizagapatam a sword is smeared with red sandal and worshipped at the Dasahra, and the weapons are sprinkled with the blood of the sacrificial animals.\textsuperscript{78}

Already the material quoted above which has been collected at random from various works is quite sufficient to show us that all over India a wide-spread form of worship consists in daubing or painting the sacred objects with oily and red-coloured stuffs. Nor can it be doubted that this rite has its origin in very primitive conditions as it is still mostly practised by low-caste people, who worship as their gods rough stones and uncarved logs of wood. We should also notice that this rite is frequently used in the worship of those gods of advanced Hinduism, who, like Gaṇeśa and Hanumān, still betray their low origin, though they have long dwelt within the pantheon of Brahmanism. The present pūjā has long been at home in Brahmanism and has become very complicated, as have most of the rituals of the Brahmins; but, notwithstanding that, one of its main elements is the daubing and smearing of the idols with sandal, etc., and washing them with honey, sugar, ghee, etc. Consequently, I can see no obstacle to the suggestion that this rite originated long ago with the primitive and still very wide-spread daubing and painting of the stones, logs or idols with oil and red dyestuffs. From this it follows that the only etymology of the word pūjā which can possibly be correct is the one which derives it from the Dravidian pāgu-, pāsu- "to paint, to daub, to smear." The rite and the name of it alike must, however, have been introduced into Hinduism at a very early date; this is proved by the fact that already Yāska and Pāṇini use pāj- and pājā in a sense which is no longer the original one.

V.

I have now only to say a few words concerning the religious or magic ideas that may possibly underlie this smearing and daubing with red and yellow colours.

The explanation nearest at hand would undoubtedly be that the red colour is used instead of blood which, during an older and more brutal age, was only and alone used for smearing the idols. Such an explanation seems quite obvious and has probably been pronounced more than once. And it is quite true that the daubing of idols and other cult

\textsuperscript{69} Cf. Elmore, l.c., p. 24, etc.
\textsuperscript{70} Thurston, l.c., pp. 170, 176, 178
\textsuperscript{71} Elmore, l.c., pp. 35, 42.
\textsuperscript{72} Elmore, l.c., pp. 56, 60.
\textsuperscript{73} Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān (ed. Crooke), vol. II, p. 1041 sq.
\textsuperscript{74} Cf. e.g., Crooke, Popular Religion, vol. II, p. 184 sq.
\textsuperscript{75} Enthoven, l.c., p. 304.
\textsuperscript{76} Thurston, l.c., p. 175.
\textsuperscript{77} Stevenson, l.c., p. 332.
\textsuperscript{78} Crooke, Folk-lore, vol. XXVI, p. 34. Herodotus, V, 62, tells us that the chief god of the Scythians was a sword which they worshipped with human sacrifices; cf. what Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI: 2, 23, tells about the Alans.
objects with blood is so well-known from different parts of the earth—and not least from India—that it would be simple waste of time to speak of it again here. But, according to the present writer's opinion, we must not always think of the red paint as a substitute for blood owing to the milder habits of a more modern time. It is true that human sacrifices which were, a century ago, of not unfrequent occurrence in India are now strictly prohibited; just as it is true also that under certain conditions they would undoubtedly revive in places. But, notwithstanding this, it may well be doubted whether the humanitarian attitude in religious matters has become greater amongst the great masses of the population, and, at times, the blood of the animal victims flows in streams at various places from Nepal in the North to the extreme South. Consequently, it seems to the present writer that we must suggest that red paint was used since times of yore instead of and besides blood. Animal and still more human sacrifices are always an expensive business while some red paint does not belong to very extravagant things. There is a utilitarian point of view even in religion.

The daubing and sprinkling of the idols with blood originally meant to sate them with the precious liquor and thus avert their malignant activities; this is well-known and need not be further dwelt upon here. This would thus account for the daubing of the idols, but scarcely for the smearing with blood of South Indian pûjâris, etc., nor for similar ceremonies in which it is not the god but his worshippers who get their share of the blood or are smeared with the red colour-stuffs. We must try to find out another explanation for this; and it must not be only the old one which tells about the establishment of a blood covenant between the god and his worshippers.

Red is the colour of blood, and it seems as if here the colour were the important factor. I do not enter upon any discussion of all the literature where this question has been dealt with; in this connection it is sufficient to point to two papers by Professor Zacharias in which he has emphasized the fact that red (and blue) are looked upon, in India and elsewhere, as apotropaic, devil-scarifying colours. This eminent scholar here, as in other of his papers, has dealt with his subject in a very exhaustive way. In the following remarks will only be given a few instances from books published during later years, instances that make things still clearer.

In Gôjarât when a new village has been founded and the usual ceremonies are brought to an end the village headman, accompanied by a Brahman, walks round the village dragging with him a red thread with which he, in a way, encircles the whole area; this is doubtless done in order to avert evil influence. The Kammâlans in Madras, when a house has been completed, smear the walls and the ceiling with the blood of slaughtered fowls; it also occurs that the door-frame is daubed with saffron and red powder. The following

79 Cf., e.g., Crooke, Popular Religion, vol. II, p. 19 sq.; Elmore, i.e., p. 130, etc.
80 Human victims (from whom criminals condemned to death cannot, during an early period, be sharply separated) were undoubtedly considered as deities; the Sanskrit literature tells us that they were daubed with red, hung with garlands of red flowers, etc.
82 In this connection we need not speak about blue colour. We may only remember that Hindus seem to have a strong objection to blue stuffs and indigo, cf. Panjab Notes and Queries, vol. III, §§ 581, 715; Rose, i.e., vol. I, pp. 137, 239. It is an artificial explanation that this is because blue is a favourite colour with Muhammadans. Black apparently is also a devil-scarifying colour, cf. Rose, i.e., vol. I, p. 210.
83 Dreaming about red things is dealt with by Zacharias, i.e., p. 213 sq. To this add several passages in Jagaddeva's Sânapo Cintâmani ed. von Negelein, as e.g., II, 25, 51, 62, 69, 72, 75-76, 104, 105, 120, etc.
84 Entboven, i.e., p. 302.
instance seems to me a very characteristic one: in the Simla Hills—as well as elsewhere—it sometimes occurs that a Brahman or a Sādhu prohibits a man from taking possession of his own house; but this interdict can be raised if the owner of the house sprinkles it with a few drops of his blood. The curse of the holy man has brought the house under the influence of evil spirits, but they are sated and driven away by the red blood. In the Panjāb, when there is an outbreak of cholera in a village, the plague may be cured by painting a young buffalo red and driving it into the next village; it seems a bit doubtful whether it is only intended to drive away the plague demon or the animal is also looked upon as a sacrifice (scape-goat)—for, with red paste and red garlands one adorns the sacrifices to the god of Death, the condemned criminals.

When amongst low-castes in Northern India the parting of the bride’s hair is daubed with red paint, this, according to my opinion, does not mean a survival of the old blood covenant, but that there is a desire to protect her from evil influences at a very critical moment of her life. It is tempting to suggest, in view of this, that the tilakas which are in use all over India and are daubed on the forehead with red sandal, gopīcandana, etc., were originally meant to avert demons and the evil eye. I had long conceived this hypothesis, when, to my great pleasure, I found it suggested also by the late Dr. Crooke, Popular Religion, vol. II, p. 29.

Averting of evil influences no doubt is the idea underlying the mutual daubing with red powder and sprinkling with red-coloured water at the Holi; on this occasion the face is painted red, or red handprints are imprinted on one’s own body and that of others—all apparently with the same intention.

Extremely wide-spread amongst Aryan and non-Aryan peoples inside and outside India is the sacrifice connected with the erecting of buildings and bridges, the digging of tanks, etc. It formerly generally took the form of a human sacrifice, sometimes of horrible proportions. It is well-known that the Sultan Alā’ud-dīn Khiljī of Delhi (A.D. 1316) at the foundation of his new capital, Siri, had its walls sprinkled with the blood of thousands of Mongolian captives. Dr. Crooke and Mr. Enthoven tell us about a curious habit: at the foundation of a house a red-painted wooden peg is driven into the ground and afterwards worshipped with lac, sandal paste and rice. It is called the peg of Shesh Nāg, and the idea is said to be that Seṣa, who carries the earth and, like other snakes, has a tendency to turn towards the right and thus cause earthquakes, should be made to keep steady. But this explanation is a late and artificial one. There is scarcely a doubt that the fixing of the red-painted peg was originally a sacrifice to the evil spirits of the earth who had been disturbed by the new foundation.

87 Rose, L.c., vol. I, p. 204 n. The author expressively states (I, p. 208) that in the Himalayas any demon can be scared away by some red paint or red ochre deposited under a pipal tree, at a cross road, at a tank or on a cremation ground.
89 Zacharias, L.c., p. 212. Scapegoats are still adorned with red flowers. Enthoven, L.c., p. 266, tells how in Konkan and the Deccan at the outbreak of an epidemic a cock or a goat adorned with red garlands is led outside the village. Hanging with garlands is generally looked upon as an initiation to sacrificial death, cf. Rohde Psyche, vol. I, p. 229; Samter, Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod, p. 184 n.
91 Crooke, Popular Religion, vol. II, p. 173; Folk-lore, vol. XXV, pp. 68, 72, etc.
92 Folk-lore, vol. XXV, p. 64.
94 Cf. Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 234.
95 Folk-lore, vol. XXIX, p. 130.
96 Cf., L.c., p. 302.
Though infinitely more could be added, this may be sufficient for the present purpose. Everywhere we meet with the same idea: the red colour is a devil-searing one—often, but not generally, a substitute for blood—and serves the purpose of averting the influence of the evil spirits present everywhere. Thus the painting and daubing of the idols and of one's own person with red colour-stuffs originate in the same idea; and from these rites which belong to a very primitive stage of religious development the central elements of the pūjā, which has for long been of so great importance within Hinduism, draw their origin.

VEDIC STUDIES.
By A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.
(Continued from page 116.)

4. Phaliga.

This is a rare word which occurs but in four passages of the Rgveda (1, 62, 4; 1, 121, 10; 4, 50, 5; 8, 32, 25) and except in a repetition of one of these passages (4, 50, 5) in the TS., MS., KS., and AV. does not occur elsewhere. The meanings assigned by the commentators to this word are various. The Vedic Nighāṇṭu 1, 10, 17, includes this word among the meghanandāni; and it is divided in the RV. Padapātha (but not in the TS. Padapātha) into phalī-qa. Sāyaṇa explains the word, RV., 1, 62, 4, as phalaṃ pratiphalam pratibimbaṃ tad asminn asati phali svaccham udakam tad gacchaty adhāratveneti phaligo mehāh || 19 This etymology is repeated in his comment on TS. 2, 3, 14, 4 (p. 1663 of the Anandārāma ed.); but phaliga is here made out to be equivalent to pratibandha, obstacle, thus: phaligam | phalama asyānti phali yajamānaḥ | tān gacchatiti praṇotiti phaligah tādṛṣyam . . . . pratibandham. In RV., 4, 50, 5 he explains the word as ṛīphalā visaraṇe | phalir bhedah | tena gacchatiti phaligām | valan valandānum asurām.20 Bhāṭṭabhāskara too, on the above passage of the TS. explains (p. 102) the word as phaligam | svacchadakapūrṇaṃ balavadudekṣaṃ vā ravaṇa īlabdena upalakṣhitam valan | ravaṇa vā phaligam giriguhādīshu pratipalavantam.

Böhtlingk and Roth in their dictionary say that the word means a caulk, bag, or similar receptacle of a liquid. So also does Grassmann in his Wörterbuch where he however gives a second meaning, 'cloud'. In his Translation he has further interpreted the word as 'cave' (1, 62, 4; 4, 50, 5 !). Ludwig has translated it variously as 'flaming' (1, 62, 4), 'dark' (4, 50, 5), 'water-cloud' (8, 32, 25), and as a proper name (in 1, 121, 10). In this last respect he is followed by Geldner (Fed. St., 2, p. 173) who, however, in his RV. Glossar suggests the meaning

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87 As Professor Zacharias, I.c., p. 153 n. 2, has also said something about the devil-searing power of the yellow colour, a few additions to this may be given here. The Rāja of Bāstar in the Central Provinces, who at the Dasahra functions as a priest, is thus smeared with sandal and dressed in yellow clothes. Crooke, Folk-lore, vol. XXVI, p. 33, a man who on his death-bed becomes a Sannyāsī dons a saffron-coloured robe, Stevenson, I.c., p. 139. The clearest instance is perhaps furnished by the Rājpūts by their well-known habit of donning saffron-coloured robes when going to battle and especially when trying their last outbreak from a besieged fort, cf. Tod, Annals ed. Crookes, vol. I, p. 226 and gassim; at the same time their woman-holocaust committed the horrible holocaust called jashar (cf. on this word the remark of Sir G. Grierson in Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 72 n.), and all became sāttis. In this connection it seems possible to suggest that the yellow or orange-coloured robe (kṣaṭdhyā) of the Buddhist monk was originally meant to be a means of scaring the evil spirits; like several other implements, etc., it may have its origin in pre-Buddhist monkhood. As demon-searing colours are at the same time often considered to be omnious, this may account for the circumstance often alluded to in literature, that the meeting with a Buddhist friar was considered unlucky. Saffron, just as well as turmeric, is looked upon as demon-searing, cf. Folk-lore, vol. XXXVI, p. 42. According to Tod, I.e., vol. II, p. 1060, men condemned to death were smeared with saffron; in the South, walls are at times daubed with saffron or yellow clay in order to drive off the evil spirits, cf. Elmore, I.c., p. 66; and the Māsāṅgi, the curious priestess of certain Dravidian castes, daubs the foreheads of her worshippers with saffron and turmeric, cf. ibid., p. 44 n.

19 This is the explanation given by Devarāja in his commentary on the Nighāṇṭu.

20 This is the explanation of Mādhava as cited by Devarāja, loc. cit.
of 'robber' in 4, 50, 5 and 8, 32, 25. Hillebrandt suggests (Ved. Myth., 3, p. 262, n. 5) that phaliga is a dialectal form of the word sphaṭika, and Oldenberg (RV. Noten, I, p. 121), that it is another form of the word parīgha.21 Bergaigne (Rel. Ved., II, p. 292; 320) interprets the word as 'reservoir' and Macdonnell (Ved. Reader, p. 87) as 'cave.'

Of these meanings mentioned above, it is improbable that phaliga denotes the name of a person in one out of the four passages in which the word occurs. It can also be readily seen that none of the meanings proposed, like 'cave', 'cloud', 'robber' fits in all the four passages. It is otherwise with the suggestions of Oldenberg (that phaliga=parīgha) and Hillebrandt (that phaliga=sphaṭika). The latter is indeed the correct explanation; but perhaps because it remained as a mere suggestion and was not followed by an exposition, in the light of that suggestion, of the passages in which the word occurs, it has not found favour with later writers (Oldenberg, Geldner in his RV. Glossar, Macdonnell) who have preferred to suggest other interpretations of their own.

Pischel, in his Prakrit Grammatik, p. 167, § 238, has given references to many places where the Sanskrit word sphaṭika appears in Prakrit as phalika with cerebral la. He has also noted the occurrence of the form phalia with dental la. The dental la appears in the Pali form phalika also. I believe that the Vedic word phaliga is but another form of the above-mentioned phalika, the surd ka of the latter being changed into the corresponding sonant in the former (for examples, see Pischel, op. cit., § 202). The course of transformation of the Sanskrit sphaṭika into Prakrit would therefore be as follows:

sphaṭika—phalika—phaliga (Vedic)
         (Sanskrit) (Pali)

Similar is the case with the Sanskrit word parīgha also. This, too, appears in Prakrit as phalia (for references, see Pischel, op. cit., § 208); and an alternative form phaliga may with probability be posited for this phalia also (for examples of the unaspirated sonant replacing an original sonant aspirate, see ibid., § 213). And further, this meaning would fit in all the passages where the word occurs. For, parīgha, which originally means 'the pin of a door', has the sense of 'weapon' and of 'hindrance, obstacle', also. The last mentioned of these senses would be not unsuitable in 1, 62, 4; 4, 50, 5; and 8, 32, 25 (compare 1, 51, 4 : tvām apām apiśahā na vṛṣor āpa) while that of 'weapon' would pass well in 1, 121, 10. This interpretation however is open to the objection that it is not in the least connected with the meaning mentioned in the Nighaṇṭu.

As this is not the case with the meaning sphaṭika (crystal; quartz) which denotes a kind of stone and is therefore not improperly associated with the words adri, gotra, ahman, pavana, etc., in the Nighaṇṭu, and as moreover 10, 68, 8 seems, as I shall show below, to point to this meaning, I believe that this is the correct meaning of phaliga. I shall now show that this meaning yields good sense in all the passages where the word occurs.

1, 62, 4: sā susāṭāḥā sā stubhā saptā vipraie
svarṇādṛim svarṇā navagraiḥ |
svanyāḥ phaligaṁ Indra śaṅkra
valām rávēna durāya dāṣagriḥ ||

'He, the roaring, with the well-praising, lauding (throng), the seven seers, and the Navagvas, cleft the rock with his roar. Thou, O mighty Indra, hast with the Daśagvas, cleft the enclosure of crystal with thy roar.' There is a transition here from the third person in the first half-stanza to the second person in the last which makes it necessary to supply the word addārayat with third person ending, in the first half. The word sāḥ that occurs in it, I have here taken as referring to Indra who is mentioned in the third pāda. It is however possible to understand

21 This suggestion was originally made by M. Regnault in the Revue de l'histoire des religions, 1890.
the word as referring to Bṛhaspati who is mentioned in the last half of the preceding verse, Bṛ'haspot'iv bhinād ādriṃ vīdād gād' sām usriyābhir vāvaśanta nāraḥ. Further, I have, on the analogy of 4, 50, 5 (see below), understood the words sushṭubhā and stubhā as referring to the gaṇa of Aigirases mentioned in the preceding verse. See also Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 68.

The enclosure of crystal mentioned in the second half of this verse is the same as the rock, aśman, parvata, giri, adri, that Indra (or Bṛhaspati) is elsewhere mentioned as having, with the Aigirases and others, broken open in order to set free the imprisoned waters and cows; compare the first half of this verse; compare also 10, 68, 4: Bṛ'haspot'iv uddhārann ādmiṃ gād' bhī'myā udnānā vi ti vācām bibheda; 5, 30, 4: ādmiṃ cīc chāvāsē adiduṭo vi vīdā gāvēm ārām usriyāvām; 4, 16, 6: vīdāvī śākro nārāṇi vīcād'ān ṛpi rīcēa sākshibhir nikāmaḥ | ādmiṃ cīc yē bibhīdūr vācābhir vṛacām gūmāntam uśjo vi vāvṛu; 10, 68, 3: Bṛ'haspot'ī pāvataḥbhī yītāvī vī gād' ṛpe yāvām ivā sthīvībhīhāḥ; 1, 57, 6: tvām tām Indra pāvataṃ mahām urūṃ vījṛṣna vajrīṃ parvāsō ca kartiṣṭha | adiṣṭo niśrītās sārāvāī apāh 4, 17, 3: bhīnād girīṃ śvēsād vājram iṣyānān avīśkṛtyānās sahaṣānā ējāḥ | vādhīd vītrīṃ vījṛṣna mandrasāṇās śarām ṛpo jāvēsāvāhāḥ; 10, 68, 11: Bṛ'haspot'ī bhinād ādriṃ vīdād gād' | 10, 112, 8: satīnāmanyur avśāhāhī ādriṃ swedandu'm akṛnora bhūkmane gād'm.

4, 50, 5: sā sushṭubhā sā v'kvalā gaṇēna
vīlamu ruroja phaligām rāveṇa |
Bṛ'haspot'iv usriyā hāravāsēd'ādah
kānkarād vēvāsētṛ ud ējāṭa ||

'He, with the well-praising jubilant throng has shattered the enclosure of crystal with his roar. Bṛhaspati, roaring, drove forth the lowing cows that sweeten the oblation (with their milk).'

8, 32, 25: yā udnaḥ phaligām bhīnan
nyāk sindhāvīr avēsrēt |
yō gōshu pākvam dhāraḥīyat ||

'Who (Indra) cleft the crystal containing the waters and discharged the rivers downwards; who put the ripe (milk) in the cows.' The construction here is somewhat peculiar; it is similar to that in 4, 16, 8: apē yād ādriṃ purhāhā dārāh, and 3, 20, 21: ā' no gotrāv dārāvī hī gopeī gād'h, where the verb seems to govern two objects. It is possible to regard udnaḥ in this passage as genitive singular (so Grasmann does with regard to apāh in 4, 16, 8 in his Wörterbuch governing the word phaligam; but I am inclined to think (as does also Geldner, Ved. St., 2, p. 275) that these words are really in the accusative plural, and that we have to supply here the word vāvīdānsam or other similar word.

1, 121, 10: purā' yād sāras tāmaso āptēs
tām adrivā phaligāṃ hetim asya |
Śuṣṭhuṣyā cīt pākirām yād ṛjo
divās pāri sıgṛthāntam tād adāh ||

'Hurl, O thou (Indra) with the dart, thy weapon of rock-crystal before the disappearance of the sun in darkness: shatter the consolidated might of Śuṣṭha which has spread over heaven even'. Indra's 'weapon of rock-crystal' mentioned here is the well-known Vajrāyudha which is frequently referred to as adri, parvata, aśman; compare 1, 51, 3: tvām gotram ādipribho vṛor ṛpoṭā tṛayē śatādureṣu gāvṛt | saūnā cīc vinādāvāhāvā vās ējā'v ādriṃ vāvasānāsya nartāyan; 6, 22, 6: aya' ha tṛyā nājāyā vāvīdānāṃ manoṣyā svatāvah pāvatiṣṭha | ācātā cīc vījlī' śvōgo rūjō vēdrīhā' dvēshatā' vīrāpēn 4, 22, 1: yō (Indraḥ) ādmiṃm ēvāsā vībhrad ēti; 2, 30, 5: ēva kṣhipa divē ādmiṃm uccō. Compare also the word adrivat 'he who has the stone (as a weapon) used almost exclusively of Indra in the RV.'
The characteristic that specially differentiates sphatika, rock crystal, from ordinary stone or rock (adri, aśman, parvata) is its transparency. In the last passage of those given above (1, 121, 10), the context is such that it is sufficient to note that the weapon is of stone; its transparency or otherwise is not material. In the other three passages, on the other hand, which mention the enclosure of crystal that imprints the waters and cows, it would seem, to judge from 10, 68, 8, dānā 'pinaddhānā, mā dhū pāry apadāyā nā dānā udānā kahiṣyāntam | nīś tāj jahānā pramānā na vyakhyātā Bṛhaspatir viravāṇā virārya tathā the transparency of the walls of the enclosure should also be taken into consideration. For, in this verse we read: ‘Bṛhaspati saw the sweet (water) enclosed in the stone, as (one sees) a fish in shallow water. Having with his roar, broken (the stone) open, he brought it out as (one does) a goblet from a tree.’ Thus the water could be seen by Bṛhaspati through the enclosing stone as a fish in shallow water can be seen through the water; in other words, the stone was transparent, it was a sphatika or crystal.

The rock that imprints the waters and cows, represents, as is well-known, the cloud; see Bergaigne, I, p. 257f. and Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 60. The author of the *Nighañtū* has therefore rightly included this word, along with adri, grāvam, gopā, aśman, parvata, giri, upara and upala—all meaning ‘stone’, ‘rock’, etc., among the meghanāmāni.

*(To be continued.)*

MISCELLANEA.

DOM MARTIN, THE ARAKANESE PRINCE.

The April number of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (vol. XVI, pt. I), 1926, contains an article of great interest on Dom Martin, 1600–1643, the first Burman to visit Europe, by Mr. M. S. Collis and San Shwe Bu. It is as romantic a story as one could wish and it might be said as one could find even in Burma, the land of romance. Dom Martin—observe the high Portuguese title—was born in 1608, as a son of Min Mangri, himself a younger son of Rajagi, king of Arakan. Min Mangri became Viceroy of Chittagong in 1610. His elder brother was Min Khamau, afterwards a famous king of Arakan. The two brothers were not on good terms, and Min Mangri feared for his position. About 1610 the celebrated Portuguese corsair Gonçalves Tibau established himself in Sandwip and with him the disaffected Min Mangri consorted, Gonçalves saw his chance and sent Father Rafael of Santa Monica to convert Min Mangri’s family to Christianity. In this errand Father Raphael succeeded and Min Mangri’s daughter was married as a Roman Catholic to Gonçalves’ son. All this naturally did not please Rajagi of Arakan, and Min Khamau was sent against Chittagong in 1612. That was the end of Min Mangri, but his little children, a boy and a girl, were spirited away by Father Raphael to the convent of St. Nicholas at Huli. Here they were brought up, the boy as a Christian prince named Dom Martin, and the girl as Princess Petimolla. In due course Min Khamau became king of Arakan and the future looked black for Dom Martin, but he was sent to Goa, where he did well and became, as an Oriental Christian of high standing, a Portuguese military cadet.

In 1622 Min Khamau died and Thivithudhamma succeeded him, while Dom Martin was still a Portuguese officer. In 1627 he greatly distinguished himself in the defeat of the king of Achin off Malacca, and then continued to serve with distinction about the Indian coasts from Jacatra (Batavia) to Ormuz (Bandar Abbas) until 1640. In 1638 Narapatigri had usurped the throne of Arakan, and in 1641 the Duke of Braganza had recovered the Portuguese throne from the Spaniards and ruled as John IV. So Dom Martin proceeded to Portugal to see if he too could get back his rights from the usurper of Arakan with the help of John IV. John knew his story and could feel for him, and thus he equipped Dom Martin for the purpose in 1642. Dom Martin duly set out with high hopes, but in 1643 he died on the voyage out and never even reached Goa. What a story!

R. C. TEMPLE.

NAUGAZA TOMBS TO THE WEST OF INDIA.

Tombs known as naugazā, of inordinate length, more or less approximating nine yards, and dedicated to saints, are not uncommon in Upper India and have frequently been noticed by European observers: e.g., ante, vol. XXV, pp. 146, 254; XXVIII, p. 28. They are no doubt a Semitic importation from lands to the West of India during the Muhammadan invasions.

In the course of some amusing notes on “discoveries” by Lord Curzon in his *Leaves from a Viceroy’s Note-book*, p. 263, occurs the following passage: “I had, I thought, already left Noah safely buried
at Hebron, when later on in the neighbourhood of Baalbek I came upon him again, and this time he was interred in a tomb forty yards long by two or three feet wide. . . . Noah must have been a person of exceptional stature, even in a part of the world where the Sons of Anak, 'which came of the Giants,' and compared with whom all other men 'were as grasshoppers,' would appear to have abounded. But even in his day the standard of human height must have been rapidly deteriorating. For the grave of Eve, near Jeddah in the Hedjaz, which corresponds accurately to the measurement of her body is no less than of 172 yards long by 12 yards wide: so that in comparison with the Mother of Mankind the builder of the Ark was only a pigmy. At Jeddah, however, the guardians of the tomb have a ready and indeed a plausible explanation of the decline, for they say that when Eve fell, with her fell the stature of the race she originated."

R. C. Temple.

BOOK NOTICEx


In the issue of this Journal for January, 1924, I reviewed Professor Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India from the accession of Parashrut to the coronation of Bimbisara. That work forms the first part of the present volume, which continues the story of India's past history to the end of the Gupta age. As the author states in a foreword to the second part, he claims no originality for his treatment of the period from Bimbisara to Ashoka, but he has added fresh material from epic and Jain sources and occasionally arrives at conclusions differing from those adopted by previous workers in this field. As an indication of the suggestive and interesting character of his succinct review of the political features of this obscure period, a few of his views and conclusions may be here recorded. He accepts the Ceylonese tradition that Shiromaga was later in date than Bimbisara; he rejects Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's suggestion that the headless Patna statue is that of Nandivardhana, and that the Nirandaraja of the Hathigumpha inscription is also Nandivardhana. He considers it more likely that Mahapadma Nanda is referred to by Khurana. He accepts the date of Buddha's death as 483 B.C., and believes that the earlier date, 543 B.C., must have gained currency by being confounded with the era which commenced with Bimbisara's accession. He suggests that Chandragupta belonged to the Moriys (Mauryas), the ruling Kayastha clan of Pippalivana in ancient times, and corrects Vincent Smith's view of the character of the Mauryan Uttaradhyakshas. The epithet Rashtra, applied to Pushyagupta in the time of Chandragupta, he regards as equivalent to imperial high commissioner, and suggests that the Rashtra, who are not mentioned either in the Arthashastra or in Asoka's Edicts, were probably identical with the Rashtra-pahis, who drew the same salary as Kumaras or princey viceroys of the blood royal.

Tushahrupa, the Yavanaraja, he considers to have been a Greek, not a Persian, as originally stated by Vincent Smith. But had the author consulted the recently published fourth edition of Smith's work, he would have found his own opinion duly recorded in a footnote qualifying Smith's original opinion. He does not accept the view that Pushyamitra, who slew the last Mauryan ruler, was the head of a Brahman reaction against the Mauryan empire, and attributes the fall of the Mauryan power to (a) the oppression of the state officials, which was rampant long before 185 B.C., (b) the feebleness of Asoka's successors, and (c) the decay of the State's military power owing to the spread of the Asoka doctrine of Dharmasamaj. Pushyamitra, according to this view, merely gave the coup-de-grace to a moribund power. This may be so: but at the same time it does not preclude the possibility of Pushyamitra having been the protagonist in a conservative Brahman reaction against a system which had obviously rendered the empire powerless to cope with foreign invasion.

The author's arguments as to the identity of the Indo-Greek invader of India during Pushyamitra's reign are well marshalled and deserve study, as also do his views on the Sakas Sarapras of Northern India. He proposes a new chronology for the early Satavahanas or Andhra-Bhryias, placing Simula in the 1st century B.C., and the end of his dynasty in the 3rd century A.D., while the Kuntala or collateral Kanarese line of Satakarnis continued to rule till the 4th or 5th century A.D. He suggests that the Satakarni of the Nanaekhat inscription is identical with the Satakarni who defied Khurana, with the Satakarni of the Sanchi inscription, and with the older Saranganas mentioned in the Periplus. He has much of interest to say about the Sakas and Pahlava rulers of the Punjab, the Kusanos, and the Western Kshatrapas. I have perhaps said enough to show that Professor Raychaudhuri's book forms a solid contribution to the discussion of the various problems implicit in the early history of India.

The book is succinctly written, partaking rather of the nature of an outline than a literary essay in history: but it furnishes the evidence upon which the author relies for his views and contains a good bibliographical as well as a general index. It is well worth a place on the bookshelf of the student of Indian history.

S. M. Edwardes.
THE DATE OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMA.N.

By K. G. SANKAR, B.A., B.L.

Kerala is the part of South India inhabited by people who speak Malayalam (an offshoot of Tamil). It is now split up into the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin, and the British district of Malabar. But in ancient times it was undivided and owned the sway of a single dynasty of emperors. Bhāskara Ravivarman was one of such emperors. His inscriptions and copper-plates have been found in all parts of the Kerala country. They reveal to us the fact that Malayalam was already developing into a distinct language, with its own grammar and diction. Bhāskara Ravivarman was moreover the earliest emperor in India to give special privileges to the Jews, which he did in his 38th year, as we know from his Cochin plates published in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. 3, No. 11). His date is therefore of peculiar importance for the history of the Malayalam language and also of the Jews in India.

But unfortunately scholars are not yet in agreement as to his date. The vast majority of them place it in the eleventh century A.D. But recently (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. 53, pp. 220-223) Mr. K. N. Daniel has attempted, relying mainly on astronomical evidence, to take him back to the sixth century A.D. If his conclusion be accepted, we shall have to revise the current notion that Malayalam branched off from Tamil as a distinct language only in the ninth century A.D. This notion is based on a comparison of the Tiruvallāl plates (eighth century A.D.) of Rājashekharā, published in the *Travancore Archaeological Series* (vol. 2, No. 1), which are entirely free from Malayalam forms, with the Koṭṭayam plates of Sthānu Ravi (circa 900 A.D.). Mr. Daniel's arguments therefore deserve careful scrutiny.

He has recently admitted that arguments based on linguistic and palaeographic evidence are, taken by themselves, inconclusive, and he therefore mainly relies on the astronomical evidence. I shall therefore confine myself here to examining his astronomical argument. But, before doing so, it would be well to consider whether there is no other definite historical evidence that may throw some light on the date of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

Mr. A. S. Rāmanātha Ayyar has recently pointed out in the *Indian Antiquary* and elsewhere that the Tirukkadittānam inscription of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*Trav. Arch. Ser.*, vol. 5, No. 61) refers to a festival instituted by Śrī Vallabhaṇ Kōdai of Veṇāḍ (i.e., Sout Travancore). But he concludes that Śrī Vallabhāṇ was a feudatory of Bhāskara Ravivarman. This, however, is by no means certain. The inscription does not say that the festival was instituted in Bhāskara Ravivarman's time. We can therefore only infer that Śrī Vallabhāṇ lived at or before the date of the inscription, and that Bhāskara Ravivarman was not earlier in date than Śrī Vallabhāṇ. Now the Māmpallī plates of Śrī Vallabhaṇ Kōdai of Veṇāḍ date themselves definitely, through their astronomical data, on the 10th November 973 A.D. (*Trav. Arch. Ser.*, vol. 4, No. 1), and as we know of only one Śrī Vallabhaṇ Kōdai of Veṇāḍ, it is almost certain that Bhāskara Ravivarman did not live before the end of the tenth century A.D. Mr. T. K. Joseph, on the other hand, told me that he was able to read the word *parādu* (i.e., of old) in the original inscription, in connection with the festival instituted by Śrī Vallabhaṇ Kōdai. But, as his statement is not supported by the plate published by Mr. Rāmanātha Ayyar, and as he himself has not yet thought fit to publish his reading of the inscription, we cannot for the present rely on his statement. We can therefore only conclude that Bhāskara Ravivarman lived in or after the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

To this conclusion Mr. Daniel opposes his astronomical argument. He says that the astronomical data given in the Perunna inscription (*Trav. Arch. Ser.*, vol. 2, p. 34) and the Tirunelli plates (*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 31) of Bhāskara Ravivarman agree only with dates in the sixth century A.D., in a period of 5000 years starting from the Kali era. If this statement were correct, we should have to assume the existence of an earlier Śrī Vallabhaṇ Kōdai of Veṇāḍ, however unwilling we might be to postulate so early a date for Bhāskara Ravivarman. Messrs. Rāmanātha Ayyar and Joseph, no doubt, fight shy of the astronomical
argument, and the latter urges that astronomical data need not be always correct or reliable. But he forgets that the burden of proof is on him to show why the astronomical data should be discredited, when they work out correctly, as they do in the present instance, and he has not even attempted to discharge that burden. We have no alternative but to disprove Mr. Daniel's statement, or, if we cannot do so, to accept his conclusion. I shall therefore examine Mr. Daniel's astronomical argument in detail.

To begin with, several of the inscriptions of Bhāskara Rāvīvarman give the positions of Jupiter at the times when they were engraved. The following is a list of such positions given in the order of the dates of the inscriptions:

2. 15th " Makara (ibid., 2, p. 36).
3. 23rd " Dhanu (ibid., 2, p. 39).
4. 31st " Kumbha (ibid., 2, p. 43).
6. 33rd " Tulā (ibid., 3, p. 44).
7. 43rd " Simha (Ind. Ant., 20, p. 290).
8. 48th " Tulā (Trav. Arch. Ser., 5, p. 190).
9. 50th " Simha (ibid., 2, p. 49).

Now Jupiter moves approximately over one rāti (solar sign) every year. The reader can therefore calculate for himself and easily find out that these positions cannot be reconciled with each other, unless we postulate the existence of at least four different Bhāskara Rāvīvarmanas. Since there is no justification for doing so, we have no alternative but to give up the problem as for the present insoluble.

Mr. Daniel however claims to have solved the riddle. He does so by assuming (1) that some of the given years are current and some expired, and (2) that some of them refer to the king's age, while others to his regnal years. The former of the assumptions is barely possible, but the latter is clearly gratuitous. This is not all. He has some of his facts wrong. For instance, (1) in the 15th year inscription he reads 13th for 13 + x (= 2) nd year; (2) in the 23rd year inscription he reads 13th for 23rd year; and (3) in the 48th year inscription he reads 46th for 48th year. It is therefore clear that, in spite of Mr. Daniel's praiseworthy efforts, we are as far as ever from a solution of the riddle.

I shall now examine the data of the Perunna inscription and the Tirunelli plates. All scholars, including Mr. Daniel, have hitherto assumed that the former is an inscription of Bhāskara Rāvīvarman. But there is no justification for it in the inscription itself. The portion referring to the king's name is missing, and there is in it no mention either of Bhāskara's feudatory Govardhana Mārttāṇa of Vēnāḍ. The style, palaeography and language no doubt resemble those of Bhāskara Rāvīvarman. But this fact is not inconsistent with the ascription of the inscription to the immediate predecessor or successor of Bhāskara instead of to that king himself. Mr. Daniel has made much of the condition that the interval between the two inscriptions should be exactly 45 years and challenged Mr. Joseph to produce any other couple of dates satisfying that condition in the said period of 5000 years. It is therefore necessary to point out that there is no warrant in the inscriptions themselves for any such condition. It is entirely his own creation, based on the fact that the interval between his dates is exactly 45 years, and on his assumption that the Perunna inscription is an inscription of Bhāskara Rāvīvarman.

Coming now to the data themselves of the two inscriptions, they are:

1. Perunna inscription—14th year, 20th Mina (solar month), Sunday, Purnavasu (nakṣatra), Jupiter in Makara;
2. Tirunelli plates—43rd year, 8th Mina, Wednesday, Uttara Phalguni, Jupiter in Tulā.
Mr. Daniel says, and I agree, that the data of the Perumna inscription are satisfied by both 526 and 1060 A.D. But, as to the data of the Tirunelli plates, he says that, between 1 and 1400 A.D., only 571 and 666 A.D. satisfy them, and that therefore Bhāskara Rāvivarman cannot be placed so late as the tenth or eleventh century A.D. He notices the suggestion of the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai that A.D. 1116 is a likely date for the Tirunelli plates, but dismisses it as a mistake and even claims that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself agreed with him, shortly before his death. If Mr. Swamikannu Pillai had done so, I believe it must be due to his ignorance of the prevalence in ancient times of the Malabar rule that, if the sankrama of a solar month (the point of time at which the sun passes from one solar sign to another) occurs after eighteen ghatikās (one ghatikā = two-fifths of an hour) from sunrise, the next day should be the first of that month. Mr. Daniel has himself pointed out that this usage was prevalent as early as circa 1200 A.D. and that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai was not aware of it, when he suggested 1155 A.D. as a suitable date for the Perumna inscription. For myself, I contend that 1st March 1116 A.D., satisfies the data of the Tirunelli plates in all respects. The Mina sankrama of that year fell on 24 ghatikās after sunrise of the 22nd February. The 1st Mina therefore, according to Malabar usage, was the 23rd February, and, as 1116 A.D. was a leap year, the 8th Mina fell on 1st March. It was a Wednesday, and the nakṣatra Uttara Phalguni ended on that day shortly after daybreak, allowing for an error of one ghatikā at the most. Uttara Phalguni was therefore most probably the nakṣatra of that day, and the geocentric longitude of Jupiter was 196°. It was thus in 16° of Tūlā rāśi. The 1st March 1116 A.D. therefore completely satisfies the astronomical data of the Tirunelli plates, and there is no need to assume, without evidence, the existence of an earlier Śrī Vallabhan Kodai of Vēṇāḍ, or to take Bhāskara Rāvivarman back to the sixth century A.D. We can therefore safely conclude that the 43rd year of Bhāskara Rāvivarman was 1116 A.D., and that he ruled from 1073 to at least 1131 A.D.

It is agreed on all hands, with the single exception of Mr. Joseph for reasons which he has not revealed, that the Perumna inscription and the Tirunelli plates could not be removed from each other by any long interval, though of course it is not necessary that they should belong to the same king or that the interval should be exactly 45 years. It is therefore almost certain that, of the two astronomically suitable dates for the Perumna inscription 526 and 1060 A.D., the latter is more probable, if we place the accession of Bhāskara Rāvivarman in 1073 A.D. The 14th year of an unnamed king was therefore 1060 A.D., and, as this is only thirteen years before Bhāskara Rāvivarman’s accession, the unnamed king was most probably Bhāskara’s immediate predecessor.

Now there is evidence to show that Indukodaivaran was the immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Rāvivarman. One Perumanaikkoṭṭu Keśavan Śaṅkaran is known to have been the contemporary of both Indukodaivaran and Bhāskara Rāvivarman (Trav. Arch. Ser., vol. 3, pp. 173, 181). But Veliyāmpalji Polan Śattan and Panjiṭturutt Pottan Kaṇnan Polan are known to have been the contemporaries of Indukodaivaran (ibid., vol. 3, pp. 165–168), while Veliyāmpalji Śattan Kumaran and Panjiṭturutt Polan Kumaran, who were evidently their immediate successors, are known to have been the contemporaries of Bhāskara Rāvivarman (ibid., vol. 2, pp. 49, 53). It is therefore almost certain that Indukodaivaran was the immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Rāvivarman, and, as he is known to have ruled for at least sixteen years, while the interval between the Perumna inscription and the accession of Bhāskara Rāvivarman was only thirteen years, he must almost certainly be identical with the unnamed king of the Perumna inscription. As his fourteenth year was 1060 A.D., his accession must be placed in 1046 A.D.

The result, therefore, of this brief inquiry is that we are now able definitely to place Indukodaivaran in 1046 to 1073 A.D., and Bhāskara Rāvivarman in 1073 to at least 1131 A.D.
MOSLEM EPIGRAPHY IN THE GWALIOR STATE.\(^1\)

BY RAMSINGH SAKSENA.

(Continued from page 104.)

These inscriptions belong to one of the many cities of historical importance which lie within the territories of the Sindhis of Gwalior. This sacred city of hoary fame and mysterious origin rightly deserves the name of Ujjain (the City of Light). It has been given a dozen names in the Hindu scriptures, viz., Avanti, Kanaksharanga, Kush-thaiti, Vishala, etc.; but is more extensively styled Ujjayini, and has been noticed by every known historian or traveller. The present town, however, though enjoying its ancient historic attributes and traditions, is devoid of any remains earlier than the tenth century A.D. It lies two miles south of its ancient site, the remains of which still yield interesting antiquities, whenever tapped. It lies in 23° 11’ North and 75° 50’ East, on the Sipra river, and is still, as in the past, the Government head-quarters of the Malwá Division and is reached by the Bombay Baroda & Central India and the Great Indian Peninsula systems of Railways.

Unfortunately Ujjain has escaped expert antiquarian survey by the modern archaeologists. Even Sir A. Cunningham and his successors seem to be content with the undisputed identification of the site and by its mention in different epigraphical records, with brief descriptions thereof published in various journals from time to time. An authoritative, systematic and well-linked history of the old and new sites is a keenly felt need, and let us hope that the Gwalior Archaeological Department will try to fill this gap. Scientific excavations at the site may yield startling discoveries, which may be as valuable as those of Mohenjo-daro (Sind) and Harappa (in the Panjab).

The Muhammadans laid their hands on Ujjain (Malwá) as early as A.D. 724 under Junaid,\(^2\) governor of Sind, but they actually occupied it only from the time of Qutbuddin, A.D. 1196-97, up to the fall of the Mughals. The following are a few of the many unnoticed and unpublished Moslem inscriptions to be seen at Ujjain.

A.—Inscription on Biná-nim-ki Masjid (or Mosque without Foundation), Ujjain.

This epigraph though belonging to one of the interesting monuments of Ujjain, has remained unnoticed for the reasons given above. The building is wittily known locally as Biná-nim-ki-Masjid (the mosque without foundation) on account of its having been erected on the (still visible and intact) plinth, and from the materials, of some Hindu temple. Though numerous mosques of this type are extant all over India, the adoption of this fanciful name in this case baffles explanation, except as a local joke.

The inscription is said to consist of a piece of slaty stone of the bluish colour common in Malwá, measuring 2' 7" by 2' 4" and to have been fixed over the only entrance of the mosque. It consists of raised letters and contains five lines of Persian verse,\(^3\) each of which has been relieved by a plain line \(\frac{1}{2}\)-inch in breadth. The style of writing is Naskh, but poor in execution. It has been difficult to fully decipher it, because the small photographic reproduction, which though apparently neat, has apparently been made after inking over the original inscription, and the ink has run into the curves of already crude letters. However, as I have been able to make out the salient points, I feel no hesitation in publishing this small record, since I believe that the undeciphered portion of it would probably reveal nothing more than a mere eulogy of the Prophet or the king, couched in elegant and forcible words. The record refers to the completion of the mosque in A.H. 806 (A.D. 1403) and names Diláwar Khán as king. Diláwar Khán,\(^4\) Ghori (whose real name was Hasan, a descendant on his mother's side from Sultán Shihábuddin Ghorí) is a well-known personage in history. He was appointed Governor of Malwá by Muhammad IV ibn Firóz of Delhi about A.H. 794, asserted his independence in A.H. 804, and proclaimed himself Diláwar Khán Ghori, Sultán of Malwá.

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1 See ante, vol. LV, p. 4.  
2 Elliot, H.I., I. 126.  
3 In maqāfifth muṭbmím waft mazāhīf muṭbmun maqārī metre.  
AN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SULTAN DILAWAR KHAN GHORI, FIRST SULTAN OF (MANDU) MALWA, ON THE BINA NIM-KI MASJID AT UJJAIN, GWALIOR STATE
A.H. 806 = A.D. 1403.

R. S. Saksena.
the mosque was completed in A.H. 806, only two years after the assumption of kingship, it is certainly the outcome of the early orders of this king, though the temple itself may have been pulled down by some previous invaders of Mâlwâ.

I read the text as under—

**Inscription on Bind-nâm-ki Masjid, Ujjain.**

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

**Translation.**

1. (1) King of kings, pillar of (supporter of) the world, Dilâwar Khân
   (2) 
2. (1) He is proved true like the sun in
   (2) 
3. (1) 
   (2) 
4. (1) Was completed in date eight hundred and (sixth) year.
   (2) Through the felicity of the valour of the master of the times (world) Dilawar Khan.
5. (1) May the desires of the world and religion be in his skirt.
   (2) Through the aid of the Disposer of necessities (God) and the Generator of the times.

**B.—A Loose Inscription picked up from débris at Ujjain.**

This fine epigraph was picked up from the débris, during operations in the heart of the (modern) town under a town improvement scheme, and is stored in a collection of antiquities maintained by the Mâdhav College, Ujjain. It consists of raised letters on a piece of basalt stone available locally and is reported to measure 18 inches by 10 inches. A line running round the margins at the top and both sides contains a quotation from the Qurân in elegant Naskh characters, with an air of Tughra. The rest consists of ten lines (five couplets) of Persian verse in neat Nastâliq characters. The metre of the verse is Hazâj muthmin waâfá salim.

The record after a eulogy of Emperor Akbar refers to the construction of a strong sarâf in Akbar's reign—a portion of which still exists. The date, as found from chronograms contained in it, works out to A.H. 987 = A.D. 1579, while that given in ciphers reads A.H. 986 = A.D. 1578.

My reading of the text is as under—

**A loose inscription picked up from débris at Ujjain.**

—لَدَّئُ لَا يَوْلُ الْيَوْمِ الْمُتَأَخَرِ الْمَسِيْحَةِ وَلَا نُومَ لِمَانِيَ السَّجَوَاتَ—Top.
Line on margin.  God, there is no God but He, the living, the self-subsistent. Slumber takes Him not, nor sleep. His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth. Who is it that intercedes with Him save by His permission? He knows what is before them and what is behind them, and they comprehend not aught of His knowledge, but what He pleases. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth and the guarding of both of them wearies Him not. And He is Exalted and Great. 8

1. (1) During the reign of Jalālū’d-din (the Dignity of the Religion) Muhammad Akbar, the victorious.

2. (2) Whose (God)-gifted fortune subdued the whole world.

3. (3) The king of refined temperament (who is the) pride of religion, who always

4. (4) By his liberal disposition, keeps the world bound (as a slave) through obligation.

5. (5) Caused to be built a sardi (mansion) for the comfort of mankind in such a way

6. (6) That the sky calls it, by (virtue of) its stabilities (a) “steel castle”;

7. (7) When at the time of building it, divine help was invoked,

8. (8) Wisdom found the date of construction through that (invoked) assistance,

9. (9) And if (thou) seekest the date of completion of this edifice,

10. (10) Seek it in (the words) بقعة خير (the house of welfare = 987) and look for it in

(To be continued.)

8 From the Qur’ān (Ayat-ul kursi), Sūra II; v. 255. 9 According to the Abjad system.
AN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR THE GREAT, MUGHAL EMPEROR OF DELHI, AT UJJAIN, GWALIOR STATE.
A.H. 986-87 = A.D. 1578-79.
THOMAS CANA AND HIS COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

(Continued from page 128.)

"From what has been said it can be seen that wrong information was given to the author who, treating of the origin (fol. 527; 88a.) of the St. Thomas Christians, [says that it was] from the foundation of the [. . . .] of Crangan and [gives?] the said Thomas Cananeo as the beginning of the St. Thomas Christians in Malavar. In this it seems that he had not full information, [since it appears?] from very ancient traditions and reliable surmises that there were St. Thomas Christians in Malavar already before the said Cananeo. Xaram Perumal's olla bears clear witness to this: for it says that on the said ground of Crangan seventy-two houses (setenta e duas casas) were established, which were of Christians, together with the Church, and it is clear that the said Thomas had not [other?] people with him, since he came to trade; and, as between this arrival and the foundation of the city of Crangan there was no longer interval than from the seventh of March to the eleventh of April, it is clear that the said city could not have been built by his descendants; hence, the fact is clear and strongly established that there were already St. Thomas Christians in Malavar, and this the other Christians who descend from the said Thomas Cananeo also confess: and also that (assy que) through this Thomas Our Lord greatly helped the Christians who in this Malavar were forsaken, although before and after they were sometimes visited by some Armanian pilgrims who were going on a visit to the sepulchre of the Apostle St. Thomas, and some would remain at Miliapur, and others in Malavar.

"In this Church of Crangan there was, before the coming of the Portuguese, a Bishop called Mar Johanam, of whom it is said in an old manuscript book written in Chaldean that he restored to life the sacristan of the said Church, who had died of a fall. I found moreover the name of the said Thomas Cananeo among the names of the Saints which the Deacon knows in the Mass, and it was said of him that he gave a large sum of money to the king of Malavar to buy that ground of Crangan. Hence, I consider as a fable what these Christians relate, when they say that the said Thomas had a wife and a concubine, from whom are descended the two kinds of Christians living in this Malabar of whom we spoke above. In the old manuscript book of prayer (livro da resa) of a (?) Church of Mangate I found written at the end how the said book was made and written at Crangan, where it says there were

39 It is passing strange that neither Monserrate, nor Gouvea, nor Roz in 1604, nor do Couto mentions the 400 who are said to have come from Mesopotamia with Thomas Cana, nor the vision of the Katholikos of Edessa. How is that? When do we first hear of that vision and migration? Certain Christian songs sung during a religious dance which I witnessed at Kottayam were full of Thomas Cana, the vision, the migration, etc. Are these songs later than 1604? Who will publish a translation of these songs?

38 Bishop Roz therefore clearly understood that March 7 and April 11 belonged both to a year other than the Perumal's death on March 1, 346. We should take it that he means a.d. 345.

37 There are places in Malabar where real Armenians, not Armanians, are said to have settled. Palayur near Ch Published is one, I believe.

41 Compare with the following in F. de Sousa, S.J., Oriente Conquistado, Conq. I, Div. 2, § 16: "In this Church of Crangan, there was, before the arrival of the Portuguese, a Bishop called Mar Johanam (Mar means Lord), who resuscitated the sacristan of the said Church, who had died from a fall. Such is the story which the Illustrissimo Archbishop of Angamale, D. Francisco Roz of the Company of Jesus, read in an old Chaldean manuscript." It is on the authority of this passage in de Sousa, who at Goa had before him the MS. now in the British Museum, that we identify our anonymous Jesuit author with Bishop Roz, appointed Bishop of Angamale by a bull of August 4, 1600.

42 There is some similarity between the stories related by the Northists about the Southists, and vice versa, and those which the Navallys relate of the Labibs. "The Labbes pretend to one common origin with the Nevayets, and attribute their black complexion to inter-marriage with the natives; but the Nevayets assure that the Labbes are the descendants of their domestic slaves." Wilks, Hist. Sketches, 1, 243, quoted in Ryle's Hobson-Jobson, s.c., Lubbay.
three Churches, one of St. Thomas, another of Our Lady, and another of St. Cyriacus,\textsuperscript{44} I say St. Quire, a martyr-child, the son of St. Julita, and very famous (muy celebrado) among these Chaldeans, whose feast they celebrate on the feast of July. According to the era in which the said book was written, it was written ninety-seven years before this year 1604.\textsuperscript{45}

Diogo do Couto, who died in 1616, and was some 40 or 50 years in India writing the history of the Portuguese in the East, says:—

"Many years after that, there landed at that harbour of Patana a ship, (p. 283) in which came an Armenian Christian, called Thomé Cananeo, a very rich man: and, on meeting that king, he gave an account of himself and he gave the place of Patana for him to settle with his people, who brought their wives; and after that the same king gave him the field of Cranganor, where now is our Fortress, where Thomé Cananeo ordered to make the Church at the place where it now is, under the invocation of the same Apostle; and afterwards he made two others: one of the title of Our Lady, and another of St. Cyriac, Martyr. And, as the grant of these fields, which the king ordered to pass, is remarkable and declares many things which deserve knowing, it appeared good to me to put them here word for word, as they were found in certain copper-plates, to which I refer in my seventh Decada, which disappeared from the Factory of Cochin, and from them I conclude that this king was a Christian and was called Cucurango.\textsuperscript{46}

In his Decada 7 do Couto writes:—

(P. 14) "The Bishops whom he (St. Thomas) left in those parts of Malavar, governing that Christianity, founded Churches in the City of Cranganor and in that of Couloã, which still to-day are seen in the same places, and they keep (p. 15) in many things their memory and antiquity,\textsuperscript{47} and, among them\textsuperscript{48} on certain padrões (memorials),\textsuperscript{49} and on plates of metal, of lands and revenues, granted by those kings for the building of those Temples, which we\textsuperscript{50} still found in the Factory of Cochin a very few years ago,\textsuperscript{51} which, from the beginning of that Fortress, had passed from Factor to Factor to be kept in the house.\textsuperscript{52} And, when I wished to know about them, in order that, according to duty, we might place them in the Torre do Tombo,\textsuperscript{53} considering they were such an ancient thing, and so greatly worth keeping and...

\textsuperscript{44} Barbosa wrote before 1516: "Further along the coast [than Chatura] is another river which forms the frontier with the Kingdom of Cochin, on the bither bank of which is a place called Cranganor [p. 89] where the King of Cochin holds certain dues. In these places dwell many Moors, Christians, and Heathen Indians. The Christians follow the doctrine of the Blessed Saint Thomas, and they hold here a Church dedicated to him, and another to Our Lady. They are very devout Christians, lacking nothing but true doctrine whereof I will speak further on, for many of them dwell from here as far as Charamandel, whom the Blessed Saint Thomas left established here when he died in these regions." Dames, Duarte Barbosa, II. 88-89.

Correa (Lendas da India, I. 509) says that the Christians of Cranganore asked of Lopo Soares (1504) not to burn their Church. "Some Christians of the land came to the Captain-in-chief asking mercy, that he might not order to burn the settlement, because (p. 509) they had there a Church and crosses in their houses, being Christians of the teaching of St. Thomas; wherewith the Captain-in-chief was pleased, and therefore he would not burn the settlement, which was depopulated, as all the people had fled with the King."

When the Portuguese came to India, "there was still in existence at Cranganor an old Christian Church called The House of St. Thomas. This was destroyed in 1536 by the troops of the Zamorin of Callicut, and the Portuguese then built two churches under the title of St. Thomas and St. James. (Lendas da India)." Trav. Man., II. 192.

\textsuperscript{45} 1604—97 = A.D. 1507.
\textsuperscript{46} Dec. 12, 1, 4, c. 5 (Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 282-283).
\textsuperscript{47} Sua memoria e antiquidade, i.e., the memory of their antiquity.
\textsuperscript{48} Among the things of the antiquity of which they keep the memory.
\textsuperscript{49} Does he refer to padrões like the pillar of Quilon?
\textsuperscript{50} Do Couto means himself.
\textsuperscript{51} Ha bem poucos annos.
\textsuperscript{52} For entrepa da casa.
\textsuperscript{53} The record-room of Goa.
honouring, they could no longer give an account of them, nor can the Factors who come from there give an account of them."  


Mr. T. K. Joseph, in The Magna Charta of the Malabar Christians (Asiatic Review, April 1925, p. 300) writes: "In 1544, Mar Jacob, the then Bishop, in distressful circumstances, pawned the two copper-plates to the Portuguese treasurer in Cochin, and obtained two hundred reals. . . . So says Manuel de Faria y Sousa of the seventeenth century, in his Portuguese Asia, vol. 2, p. 506."

Faria y Sousa was a compiler, writing in Europe. He must have found his statement somewhere, as historians, if conscientious, remain within the limits of their materials. This notwithstanding, I believe that the Jesuit of 1604, being on the spot, must be regarded as our best authority.

Father Lucena (Hist. de vida do P. Fr. de Xavier, Lisboa, 1600, p. 162, col. 2) speaks of "tablets of metal which were found in India in one of the first three years that Father Master Francis was in India. They presented them to the Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa, with the writing already almost spoiled by age, and the letters and the language were new to all, as they were very old. However, there was found (p. 163, col. 1) a Jew, (who as such is herein less suspect), who, being curious of antiquity, had great knowledge of it and various languages. He, though with much trouble, translated it into Portuguese. It contained the grant which the then king made to the Apostle St. Thomas, of certain fields to build a Temple and a Church on."

This discovery was therefore made in 1542-1545. St. Francis Xavier came to India with Dom Martin Affonso de Sousa, and arrived at Goa on May 16, 1542. Dom Affonso governed three years and four months, his successor leaving Lisbon on March 28, 1545. We know from his history that he visited Cochin and Quilon. Did he perhaps take these copper-plates with him to Lisbon on his return? Other authors should be consulted on this incident, for instance Polanco's Chronicon, and Maffei; but I cannot now consult these here. As Lucena opposes this discovery to others in Narsinga, and as Cranganore and Coulam are mentioned by him immediately before as possessing ancient memorials of the St. Thomas Christians, it would seem we have here an allusion to the Thomas Cana copper-plates, and a confusion between his name and that of St. Thomas.

Three copper-plates, supposed to contain a donation of lands by Bukka Raja to the Church of St. Thomas at Mylapore, were produced by a Brahman in or before 1552 and sold for 300 pardaos. They were probably forged. A Brahman of Kanjiviram was called to decipher them. These plates are not now found at Mylapore. Where could they be? At Cochin, Goa or Lisbon? (Lucena, pp. 172-173; do Couto, Dec. 7, 1. 10, c. 5, Tom. 4, Pte 2, Lisboa, 1783, pp. 482-487, where we have a translation of the three plates, which were written on one side only.)

Do Couto says that Thomas Cana's arrival was put down in A.D. 811, "as is found in the Chaldean books of these Christians; and, from many conjectures, it seems to me that he is the king of whom St. Antoninus writes in his history that he sent every year a present of pepper to the Tsar of Tsaroff."

I do not think that we need pay any attention to do Couto's date of A.D. 811, no more than to de Barros, who states of the Sarama Pereimal, who was said to have gone to Mecca, i.e., the last Perumal, as he is generally called, that he reigned 612 years before the arrival of the Portuguese, i.e., in 1498-612 = A.D. 886.

54 Dec. 7, I. 1, c. 2 (Tom. 4, Pte 1, Lisboa, 1782, pp. 14-15).
56 De Barros, Da Asia, Dec. 1, I. 9, c. 3 (Lisboa, 1777, p. 324). Do Couto's date and that of de Burros may refer correctly to later Perumals.
Do Couto himself has stated that the last Perumal, who would be the Perumal of the Thomas Cana copper-plates, ceased to reign in A.D. 347, according to the calculations of the Brahmins of Calicut, in A.D. 588 according to the Brahmins of Cochin.\(^6\) The date A.D. 347 is remarkably close to that of the Jesuit of 1604, who gives March 1, 346, as the date of this Perumal's death. At first sight the Jesuit's date appears to be wrong by at least one year: for, if the king who welcomed Thomas Canaceo died on March 1, 1235 years before 1604, i.e., on March 1, 346, how did he, as the Father also states in one place, lay the first brick of a church in April "of the said year," the year immediately preceding being A.D. 346? It is clear, however, that the Jesuit Father meant the April of 345 for this ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone. This latter date is therefore April 11, 345, and the date of the king's death is given as March 1, 346. The year 345 for Thomas Cana's arrival is the date regularly ascribed to that event by the St. Thomas Christians. They have it in a chronogram, "Shovala." Probably they had that chronogram in 1604. They, must however, have had other data to determine the time of the Perumal's death.

It is a fact that, though copper-plates were found by Col. Macaulay in the Cochin record-room in 1806, the plates of which the Jesuit (1604) and do Couto (1610) quoted similar translations, did not appear. We might, therefore, doubt whether the copper-plates of Thomas Cana were ever deposited in the Cochin record-room. If they were in that room, when do Couto saw Christian copper-plates there, it would seem that the Thomas Cana copper-plates were removed before 1599, when the Christians complained of their disappearance. The Jesuit's reflexion in 1604 that the Franciscans sent these particular plates to Portugal, "a copy of them remaining here," would be based on actual enquiry.\(^8\) The identical translation given by the Jesuit and do Couto would be based on the copy kept by the Franciscans, or on copies from that copy. It may well be, therefore, that when do Couto saw copper-plates in the Cochin record-room, the Thomas Cana plates were not there. There is no need to think that do Couto obtained his translation on the occasion of a visit to the Cochin record-room.

My surmise is, therefore, as expressed in the *Catholic Herald of India*, December 17, 1924, p. 801, "that the Magna Charta of the Malabar Syrians lies now in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon, or in some old Franciscan Convent in Portugal."

It does not mean that, before making an enquiry in Portugal, it would not be wise to examine again the Cochin record-room. Do Couto's complaints were not about the disappearance of the Thomas Cana plates only; yet, 200 years later, several Syro-Christian copper-plates supposed to have disappeared were found.

We have still to compare the story of Thomas Cana with that of another merchant in *Conversão de um Rei da India ao Christianismo. Homilia do Arcebispo S. Michael por Severo Arcebispo de Antioquia. Estudo de crítica e historia literaria por F. M. Esteves Pereira.* (Lisboa, Imprensa Lucas, 93 Rua do Diario de Notícias, 1900.) There the scene is laid in India, apparently in the days of Thomas Cana, the story of the merchant Ketson (Qeṣṭ, Qisṣān, after

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\(^6\) Do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 7, 1, 10, c. 10 (Tom. 4, Pte 2, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 523-525).


Fr. Nicoletto Lanclotto, S.J., wrote from Cochin, Dec. 28, 1548, about Mar Jacob: "To us it appears that some heretical Christians went to China to preach, because of the similarity of their customs and ours. Here in Cochin there is a very old Hirmeni (Hirmenio) bishop, who these forty-five years has been here, teaching the things of our faith to the Christians of St. Thomas, who are in this land of Malabar. This bishop says that in the primitive Church the Hirmeni went to China to preach and that they made a big Christianity there." L. Delplace, S.J., *Seleciones Indicarum Epistolae num. primum editae*, Fiorentina, 1887, p. 63. St. Francis Xavier wrote from Cochin, Jan. 28, 1549: "A bishop of Armenia, by name Jacob Abuna, for forty-five years has served God and Your Highness in these parts, a very old, a virtuous and a holy man. . . . He is noticed only by the Fathers of St. Francis and they take so good care of him that nothing more is wanted." *Trav. Man.*, II, 157.
baptism Matthew) of Qonya, of his wife Helena, and of his four sons (John, Stephen, Joseph, and Daniel) being possibly a mixture of the story of the merchant Thomas Cana and that of Meropius and his nephews Frumentius and Edesius. King Kasititos or Kesantos, before whom a dead man is brought to life to establish the innocence of Ketsan’s sons, would be the king of Kerala or Malabar: for doubtless Ketsan’s story resembles greatly that of Thomas Cana. The moment king Kesantos, at the instigation of Ketsan’s son, John, wrote to Emperor Constantine the Great for a bishop from his dominions, John, the Archbishop of Edessa (sic), came to India with three deacons and a priest, the homily goes on to say, and with church-books and ornaments. He built a church at the king’s capital and baptised the king and his people. Next he ordained John, Ketsan’s son, a bishop, one of his brothers a priest, and the two others deacons. Agelas or Ephillas, the king’s son, was also ordained a deacon. After that the Archbishop of Ephesus returned home.

This story is found in a Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic text, and, according to E. Drouin, writing to Senhor F. M. Esteves Pereira (18–11–1900), it is also found in a Georgian chronicle. No Greek, Syriac, or Armenian text is yet known to exist. The homily in which it is found is, it would seem, falsely attributed to Severus, Archbishop of Antioch (A.D. 512), who died in exile at Alexandria in Egypt (A.D. 539). The author of the homily says he had the story from trustworthy persons. If Constantine, who reigned from A.D. 308 to 337, was really written to, and if the identification of Thomas Cana with the merchant Ketsan of Qonya could with sufficient plausibility be established, we should have to shift Thomas Cana’s arrival in Malabar to a period somewhat earlier than the generally accredited date A.D. 345, and the homily would contain proofs of the existence in India of Christians and of a bishop before Ketsan’s arrival at Kesantos’ capital, the name of which, Qalonya, in the Coptic text, appears to be identifiable with Coulão, Quilon, the country of Philippoi (Coptic text), where it was, being perhaps the country of the Pahlavas. I have translated into English the whole of Senhor F. M. Esteves Pereira’s study, and hope to publish it with the necessary comments as a contribution to the Thomas Cana episode.

In 1599 there was at least one more set of copper-plates which was not deposited in the Cochin Factory, but was in the treasury of the Tevalikara Church, near Quilon.

Let me quote Gouvea’s Jornada:—

"To the increase secured by their descent from the Armenian Thome and the privileges he obtained, was added another, which greatly enhanced the Christian community. It was this. Not many years after the foundation of Coulão (that is the era by which the Malavars count, as this city was the noblest (nobilissima) among the people of Malavar: for just as we count our era from the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, so do they count the year of the foundation of Coulão; hence, the year in which we are, that is the year six hundred and two, is for them the year seven hundred and eighty from the foundation of Coulão). At this time there came from Babylonia two Chaldeans, (Pol. 5r. col. 1) Mar Xabro and Mar Prod, who, it is understood, were Nestorians by sect, and they went to Coulão, where the king received them with many favours, because he saw them much honoured by the Christians. And he

59 Understand 1062.
60 Sic. We expect 783, as the occasion for the era should be computed to fall in A.D. 825. The occasion for the era is far from clear. Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Quilon, will not admit that Quilon did not previously exist. There must be question of a new foundation or the foundation of something new. The Madura Titan Varaliu (Account of the Sacred City of Madura) dates a certain fact in 3464, 601 years "after the destruction of Kollam". Cf. Indian Historical Records Commission, 1924, p. 108. This would place the fact in 1246 + 78 = A.D. 1324. But 301 + 825 gives A.D. 1326, or 2 years in excess. The author of this chronicle wrote in A.D. 1801, and, as he did not compute the beginning of the Kollam era correctly, his explanation about the origin of the era, a destruction of Kollam, is perhaps to be neglected. Might not the occasion have been the dedication of a church or a new settlement of the Christians under Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh, as Yule suspected?"
allowed them to build Churches and temples in the places where they might choose, and to make Christians of those who wished to be: wherewith they made many and much increased the Christianity; wherefore, the king gave them a site at Coulão to build a Church, in the same place where the Portuguese have it to-day, and much revenue for it, together with many great privileges for the whole Christianity; which privileges were written on ollas of copper, like the ollas of Cranganor, in different letters and characters, Malavar, Canarin, and of the Tamul, and letters of Bissnaga. And at Tevelacare these ollas were produced and shown to the Archbishop by the Christians, among the most precious things of the Church, as inestimable treasures of their honours and privileges. For all these things these Christians regard these two Chaldeans as holy men, and call them gadejaqal, which, in their language means "the saints," and twice every day make the commemoration of them in their divine office, and they have dedicated many Churches to them: all which, at the Synod, the Archbishop suppressed, ordering that they should not pray to them, since it was not allowable to reverence as saints men of whom no one knew who they were or how they had died and lived, and since there was much probability and indications that they were Nestorian by sect, having come from its fountain-head, Babylonia, and had been received by these peoples; for they were of the same sect as that which they professed." (Fol. 4v, col. 2—Fol. 5r. col. 1.)

De Glen, the French translator of Gouvea's Jornada, has a curious mistranslation, which on former occasions, when I could not consult the Portuguese text of 1601, gave me much trouble. De Glen says of the privileges that they "were engraved on copper-plates (as we have said those of Cranganor were) in different forms of characters, Malabar, Canarin, of Tamul, in letters also of Bissnaga, which (lesquelles) were translated in the Tanalereate tongue; and these plates were exhibited and shown to the Lord Archbishop." 81

The relative "lesquelles" can refer to the "plates" or to the "letters". The only word with which I could compare "Tanalereate" was "Tolinate" in Duarte Barbosa, 82 i.e., Tulu-nada, Tuluva, i.e., Tulu of S. Canara. I now find that de Glen has grossly misunderstood his text, as he often does, to the extent that one should never use him for translation. The words "which were translated in the Tanalereate tongue . . ." correspond to the Portuguese "as quais em Tevachere foizam trazidas, and mostradas ao Arcebispo"; and this means: "which (copper-plates) at Tevelacare were brought out, and shown to the Archbishop." De Glen read "traduzidas," "translated," when it was a question of bringing the plates out of the church treasury, which in Malabar is an enormous safe, often as big as a room.

When Archbishop de Menezes left the Church of Tevalikara, in the kingdom of the queen of "Changanate", to go to "Gundara", "the Christians brought to him, for him to see, three big copper ollas written in divers characters, which contained many privileges and revenues, which the king who founded Coulão (Quilon) gave to the Church which the two who came from Babylonia, Mar Xarão and Mar Prodh, built there, as we said above: which ollas the Christians of this Church keep as an inestimable Treasure. And so, before showing them to the Archbishop, they asked him to swear never to take them from that Church; and he did so: for they feared he might take them to Angamale, because it is the headquarters of the Bishopric, where its Archives are. And about others, like these, granted to the Church at Cranganor, (Fol. 97r, col. 1) the Christians complained that they were lost in the hands of the Portuguese in the factory of Cochim, where an Archbishop of the Serra, Mar Jacob, deposited them on a certain occasion. And they value these ollas so highly, because in them are contained their privileges and honours, in which they want the Malavar Kings ever to maintain them. And each one was two palms long and four fingers broad,
and was written on both sides; and all three hung from an iron ring." (Gouvea, Jornada, 1606, fol. 97r—97v.

While I was at Quilon, at the end of January 1924, I motored to Tevalikara, to inquire about these copper-plates; but, as in the time of Fra Paolino, no one there knew anything of them. From the description given, some one in Malabar might be able to tell us whether these plates are possibly any of those now known to exist.

Friar Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo sought in vain for the Quilon and Tevalikara plates mentioned by Anquetil Du Perron. He writes:

"Matay Matay, a Cassanar, born at Anglicnmal, and secretary at Verapoli to Dom Florentius a Jesu, Bishop of Areopolis, wrote Lives of Saints. But uncertain and supposititious is a copy of the privileges granted by Emperor Ceraperumal to the Christians of St. Thomas, which Anquetil du Perron produces in his Zend-Avesta, Dic. prél. p. clxx sqq., as having been received from that priest in 1758 (p. 190). For:

"1. D. Florentius, Bishop of Areopolis, in his letter to Anquetil, does not mark the place whence that copy was taken, or where it was found.

"2. La Croze and Raulin, in his history of the Diamper Synod (ch. 1, p. 8), tell openly and clearly that the copper-plates, on which were written the privileges of the Christians granted by Ceraperumal, were lost through the carelessness of the Portuguese Procurator, with whom Mar Jacob the Bishop had deposited them. Such too is the general tradition of the learned in Malabar.

"3. The Christians never produced this copy before the king of Cochin and of Travancore, when there was question of the privileges [of the Christians], of their infraction of, the dignity of the Christians, or the honour of the churches, or when any persecution was moved against the churches.

"4. I made a diligent enquiry for these privileges at Collam and at Tevelicare, where Anquetil had thought these writings were hiding, and I could not find them.

"Therefore, that copy of the Priest Matay is uncertain and supposititious, like two apocryphal letters by him: one of the Blessed Virgin Mary, written to St. Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, and another of the B. V. M. to the people of Messina, which Matay circulated (senditabat) as true and genuine at Verapoli." 63

Friar Paulinus is mistaken if he thought there could not be copies, more or less exact, of the privileges granted to Thomas Cana. In 1924 the Rev. Fr. J. Panjikaran and Mr. T. K. Joseph collected in a short time 13 versions of these privileges. I am afraid many are not genuine, and have been made to air the peculiar views of the Northists against the Southists, and vice versa. One such version which came to light at Gothuruti during my journey would have deserved being printed at once. Will it be suppressed, because it recites the origin of most of the Seven Churches of St. Thomas and attributes them to Thomas Cana? St. Thomas' claim on India is built on stronger grounds than the Seven Churches. Such is precisely the state of the St. Thomas Christians that, if the publication of the different versions of these privileges now current were attempted, it might be viewed by one section of the community as an attack on their dignity. All the old antipathy of Southists and Northists would blaze up again, and who knows whether new faked documents would not be produced! There is still a class of professional bards, who go about the houses of Christians singing those privileges, and from whom variants of the privileges could be extracted. These songs should be compared, translated, published on their own merits, and without any regard for the susceptibilities of.

63 Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, India Orientalis Christianas, Romae, 1794, pp. 189–190.

"From him [Bishop Florentius] Du Perron got a Sanscrit (?) version of the copper-plate grant by Chera
man Perumal to the Syrian Christians. Du Perron showed this to a Syrian priest at Matancheri, who in bad Portuguese gave him an oral translation, which Du Perron produces at page 175 of his book [Zendavesta]. This version in no way resembles the Portuguese version which has already been given."—Trav. Man., II, 193.
certain classes of the Christian community. We complain of the dearth of materials for a history of the Malabar Churches. The materials are plentiful. They are to be found in songs, religious or patriotic, in the songs of the different churches, for many churches have a song of their own recording their beginning, their traditions, etc. The scholars in Malabar now know that they can compare the present songs or versions of the privileges of Thomas Cana with a copy published by Anquetil Du Perron. An English translation of Du Perron’s contents of the plates was sent by me to Mr. T. K. Joseph for study and comment. The contents appear to be valuable.

Friar Paulinus’ reflections on Matay Matay’s two apocryphal letters are unjustified. That priest may have thought these two letters genuine. They may have been current in Syria and Malabar as they were in the West. The Epistle of the B. V. M. to St. Ignatius Martyr has only nine lines in the Fabricius edition of the apocrypha. It exhorts to faith and courage. Equally short is the letter to the people of Messina: it conveys an exhortation to faith and a blessing.

To suppose that Matay’s copy of the privileges was supposititious is ungenerous. We cannot imagine that the present copies of these privileges of Thomas Cana all derive from Matay’s copy, or that the institution of the bards is posterior to Matay.

Two Portuguese versions of the Thomas Cana Copper-plates.

Bishop Ros’ version.

Coquarangon seia prosperado e tenha longa vida e uia cêmil annos, divino, servno de D’s, forte, verdadeiro, insto, cheo de boas obras, racional, poderoso sobre toda a tr. a, ditoso, vencedor, glorioso, prospero no ministerio de D’s direitam. te, no Malavar na cidade gr.de do grade Idolo. Rejnado elle no têpo de Mercuro de feuro no dia septimo do mes de Março até de lá chea o mesmo Rej Coquarangon estando em Carnel[ur] chegou Thome Cananeo hom3 principal e húa nao determinado deuer a derradr.a parte de Oriente. E usdoo algus homês como chegara foraa [a] dicer a ElRey. E uo o mesmo Rej, e uio e chamo ao dito Thome hom3 principal, e desbarcou, e uo diate delRej, o qual falou cê elle amiguem.te e lhe poz sobrenome p.a o honrar, o seu proprio, chamádo Coquarangon Cananeo. E elle recebeu delRej esta hóra e foy se apousar no seu (Fac. 87v) lugar. E elRey lle deu a cidade de Magorderpanam p.a todo sêpre. E estád o dito Rej nesta gr.de prosperide foy hú dia a caça ao mato, e o mesmo Rej cercou [o] mato todo. E chamou de pressa a Thome, o qual veo, e esteue diate delRej 3 hóra ditosa. E perguntou ElRey ao dinímador. E depois falou ElRey cê Thome, q’ edifica[ria] húa cidade naquelle mato. E respondeu aelRej34 fazedolhe p.ro reuerêcia, e disse: Eu quero este mato p.a mi.

Do Couto’s version.

Dec. 12, 1, 3, c. 5, Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 283–285.

Copia da doação que ElRey do Malavar fez a Thomé Cananeo.

Cocurangon seja prosperado, e tenha longa vida, e viva com mil annos, divino servo de Deus, forte, verdadeiro, cheio de boas obras, racional, poderoso, (P. 284) sobre toda a terra, ditoso, vencedor, glorioso, prospero no ministerio de Deus direitamente. No Malavar na Cidade do grade idolo, reinando elle em tempo de Mercuro, no dia setimo do mez de Março antes da Lua cheia, o mesmo Rey Cocurangon, estando em Cornulur, chegou Thomé Cananeo, homem principal, em huma não com determinaçao de ver a derradeira terra do Oriente, e vendo-o chegar alli, deram recado ao Rey, que o mandou ir perante si, fallou com elle amigavelmente, e lhe deo o seu proprio nome, chamando-se dalli por diante Cocurangon Cananeo, a quem ElRey deo a Cidade Patana pera tudo sempre. E estando este Rey em sua grande prosperidade, foi um dia a caça, e mandou cercar o mato, tendo consigo o Thomé Cananeo, e fallou ElRey com hum grande Astrologo, que lhe aconselhou que dêsse todo aquelle mato, que era grande, ao Cananeo, como fez, que elle mandou logo roçar, e alimpar. Foi isto no mesmo anno, em que alli aportou aos onze dias do mez.
E o Rei lho côcedeo, e deu p.a todo sempre.
E logo outro dia alimpou aquelle mato e pôz os olhos nelle no mesmo anno a onze de Abril, e deo por herança a Thome ê têpo, e dia dito, a nome delRej, o qual pôz o pr. o tijolo\textsuperscript{66} p.a a Igra e p.a a casa de Thome Cananeo, e fez allí hua cidade a todos e STRou na Igra e fez allí oração no mesmo dia, depois destas cousas Thome mesmo foi aos passos delRej e lhe ofereceu presentes e depois disto dice alRej, q’ lhe desse a elle e a seus desceútes aquella t.ra. E mediu dozêtes e sessenta e quatro couados de Elefante, e deu a Thome, e as seus desceútes p.a todo sempre. E iñtam.te seça e duas casas, q’ allí se fizerão logo, e hortas, e arroés, cõ seus circuitos, e cõ seus caminhos e termínos e pateos interiores. E côcedeo lhe sete modos de instrum.toz.muzicos e todas as honras, e falar (?), e andar como Rej, e nas bodas faserê as mulheres certo sinal cõ o dedo na boca, e côcedeo lhe pezo distincto, e ornar o chaê cõ panos, e côcedeo abanou reales, e dobrar o sandal no braço, e tabernaculo ... cal (?) à toda parte de seu Rejno p.a todo sempre, e agora disto cinco tributos a Thome, e a sua gerâção, e a seus cõfederados p.a homês e p.a mulheres e p.a [tod]os seus parêtes e aos los de sua lej p.a todo sempre. O dito Rej lhe nome o deu testemunhas estes principes ... ... ... (The rest as above in the translation.)

(To be continued.)

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE UPANISADS.

BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJE, M.A., B.L.

(Continued from page 92.)

We have seen thus far that the manner in which Deussen and others are building a modern philosophy of the \textit{Upaniṣads}, implies a more or less arbitrary choice and is not free from ambiguity. It is further open to question whether a modern philosophy of the \textit{Upaniṣads}, as distinguished from, and as independent of, the \textit{Vedânta-sūtras}, is not altogether an anomaly, leading to unintended misconceptions. We ought not to forget that the attempt of Deussen and others is not the earliest attempt to construct a philosophy out of the \textit{Upaniṣads}. The \textit{Vedânta-sūtras} themselves are another such attempt—the most important, the most classical and the most authoritative of such attempts. Our analysis of the situation, it may be hoped, has given us this result that the philosophy of the \textit{Upaniṣads} as it is usually presented to us is not, strictly speaking, a homogeneous system. Either we have the philosophy of this or that group of \textit{Upaniṣads}—a group, be it remembered, formed more or less according to our taste, or according to materials available to us;—or we have what is incorporated in the \textit{Vedânta-sūtras}. The most authentic and historical philosophy of the

\textsuperscript{66} This word, blurred in the text, is repeated more clearly in the margin.
Upaniṣads is what is contained in these Sūtras. If we take the liberty of going beyond the Sūtras, we may find ourselves landed in a congeries of philosophies, instead of being blessed with a truer synthesis.

Even the interpretation that we find in the Sūtras, was a gradual growth. We have evidence within the Sūtras themselves that the interpretation of the Upaniṣads attempted therein was not a sudden discovery which flashed from the brain of one man; on the contrary, we have evidence that it was a gradual and perhaps a slow process, which ultimately culminated in the system that we find in the Sūtras.

The nucleus of this system is of course those Sūtras which refer to specific texts of the Upaniṣads and interpret them. The texts are not named in the Sūtras, but the commentators are almost always unanimous as to which of the texts the author of the Sūtras has in view in any particular place. Thus Sūtras i. 1. 23, etc., refer to specific texts; but it is interesting to note that, though they otherwise belong to different schools, both Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja in explaining these and similar Sūtras quote, almost without exception, the identical passages of the Upaniṣads.

These Sūtras of interpretation, as we were saying, are the nucleus of the system. The Sūtras which discuss rival systems of thought and attempt to refute them (e.g., ii. 1. 1, etc.), are logically an added buttress to the system, and chronologically, may have been later. It may even be supposed that these latter Sūtras increased in number and variety, as attacks began to be made upon the system from different quarters.

Even so far as the interpretation of the Sūtras go, there are signs of a gradual growth. In different connections, the author of the Sūtras refers to earlier authorities by name, obviously implying that there have been other interpreters of the Upaniṣadic texts before him. Thus in Sūtra i. 1. 24 et seq., the author proposes to ascertain the meaning of Čāndogya, v. 11, especially the expression 'Vaivānara' used therein (cf. Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja); and incidentally he refers to three other earlier interpreters, viz., Jaimini (i. 1. 28), Āśmarātha (i. 1. 29), and also Bādari (i. 1. 30)—the last being the name of his father (cf. Panini, iv. 1. 101).

Again, in i. 4. 19 et seq., while deciphering the meaning of the word 'Ātman' in Brhadāraṇyaka Up., iv. 5. 6 (cf. Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Vallabha), he again refers to Āśmarātha (i. 4. 20) and also to Auḍulomi (i. 4. 21) and Kāṣakṛtana (i. 4. 22).

There are two other teachers to whom a reference is made in the Sūtras. These are Kāryājīnī (iii. 1. 9) and Átreya (iii. 4. 44). The first is referred to in connection with the interpretation of the passage, Čāndogya, v. 10. 7 ; and the second name is cited in connection with a particular doctrine involved in passages like Br. Up. i. 3. 28, Ch. ii. 3. 2, etc. All these references show that the author of the Vedānta-sūtras was heir to a more or less unbroken tradition of interpretation of the Upaniṣadic texts.

Besides these Sūtras of Bādaryāpha and the authorities quoted by him, other attempts at interpretation of the Upaniṣads also appear to have been made. For instance, there is a Āgīūd called the Brahma-gīūd, which devotes several of its chapters to an interpretation and summarisation of the teachings of some of the leading Upaniṣads. These stray attempts may have preceded or may have followed the Sūtras of Bādaryāpha; but they have all been eclipsed and overturned by the Sūtras. And to-day these Sūtras represent the acme of all traditional attempts of ancient and medieval India to understand and to explain the Upaniṣads. Have we any right to overlook this classical attempt in building our own theories?

We have perhaps been encouraged in such an attempt by the divergence of views of the interpreters of these Sūtras. But we should not ignore the fact that even these divergent interpreters, though they had their own individual systems to build, yet took their start invariably from the Sūtras. They knew the texts of the Upaniṣads well enough. Deussen's statement that Śaṅkara 'had in his hands no collection of Upaniṣads' (op. cit., p. 31), is misleading.
It cannot be insinuated that Sankara did not know the Upanisads he was quoting from; Deussen’s meaning seems to be that Sankara regarded the Upanisads ‘as still forming the concluding chapters of their respective Brahmaṇas’, and that he was, therefore, wrong. Even if this be Deussen’s contention, it is difficult to support him. The Upanisads came to be regarded as independent books very much later than the date of their birth; and some of them still continue to be regarded as ‘the concluding chapters of their respective Brahmaṇas’. Deussen gives no reason for thinking that originally they were not part of a Brahmaṇa or a Mantra text. In some cases doubt the Brahmaṇa has been lost, though the corresponding Upanisad has been preserved. At least one Upanisad, viz., the līlā, forms part of an important Mantra text (i.e., the White Yajus). So, the tendency to regard the Upanisads as independent products implies a defiance of all accepted tradition and is not so easily supported. This is, however, by the way. [Cf. Jaimini-sūtra, ii. 1. 33].

It cannot but be conceded that the commentators of the Sūtras knew the texts of the Upanisads and knew them no less than we do. Yet, each having his own system of thought to develop, all of them—Sankara and Rāmānuja and Vallabha and Madhva—build their systems on the Sūtras. The Sūtras were not regarded as revealed like the Upanisads; their authority was only the authority of a great name; it was not absolute and infallible. The Sūtras themselves refer to earlier interpreters of the texts. And just as before the Sūtras, independent interpreters of the texts proceeded on their own lines, there was nothing forbidding a similar procedure after the Sūtras. They were not part of the sacred texts. Just as a modern interpreter ignores the Sūtras and puts his own meaning upon the texts, Sankara or Rāmānuja or Vallabha might have done exactly the same without being guilty of heterodoxy. In fact, Sankara and several others have commented on the Upanisads as independent books and as the ultimate sources of Vedantic knowledge. Yet when they had to build their systems of philosophy, they took the Sūtras as the common foundation, though there was nothing to bind them to such a procedure. This is an important and interesting fact; and its significance should have been sufficiently stressed.

We should recollect in this connection that the Vedānta is the most orthodox, the most sacred and the most Brahmancial of all the philosophies of ancient India. The so-called Kṣatriya origin of the Upanisads is an unproven hypothesis; the Upanisads are as integral a part of the Brahmancial culture as the Vedas themselves. And the Vedānta is the system that is built exclusively on sacred texts (cf. Sūtra, ii. 1. 11). It is the system that paid the greatest homage to the orthodox Brahmancial organisation of caste (varṇa) and stages of life (āśrama). (Cf. Sūtras: i. 3. 34; iii. 4. 17, 19; etc.) And this is the system in which the continuity of Vedic culture has been preserved most of all. This characterisation of the Vedānta is not affected by the fact that the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā of Jaimini is an equally orthodox system, being also based on sacred texts and being concerned with the interpretation of another section of Vedic literature. In spite of difference in the value assigned to Karma, the system of Jaimini cannot claim to be more orthodox than the Vedānta. On the contrary, the Vedānta may rightfully claim that it is a necessary complement to the system of Jaimini, which is, therefore, incomplete in itself.

The Pūrva-mīmāṃsā has been the philosophical back-ground of the Smṛtis, which regulate the rituals and external formalities of the religious life of a Hindu. It is based on the Brahmans, to explain which it employs canons of interpretation enunciated by itself. It is certainly not opposed to the Vedas; and to that extent it is of course orthodox; and the advocates and supporters of this system to this day have been far more numerous than those of the Vedānta. But it has ignored the Upanisads—not a negligible branch of the revealed literature. It had to ignore them, because their attitude towards Vedic Liturgy was not

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2 Deussen, however, expresses a modified view about this matter in the Introduction to his System of the Vedānta.
free from suspicion. And that was exactly the strong point of the Vedânta. The Vedânta recognised the system of Jaimini, even quoted from him and the texts on which his system was based; but at the same time, exposed its limitations. Besides, the Vedânta gave full weight to the Upaniṣads. It thus included more of the Vedic lore within its scope than any other system.

In the Vedânta-sûtras, the more or less unbroken continuity of interpretation of the Upaniṣads has found a perfect form of expression. This is why all subsequent system-builders of the Vedânta School, instead of going straight to the original sources in the Upaniṣads,—which they knew well enough,—preferred to build on the common and undisputed foundation of the Śûtras.

The prestige of these Śûtras of Bādarāyâna was unique. The authoritative character of his interpretation of the Upaniṣads is further evidenced by the fact that even those who did not, strictly speaking, belong to the Vedânta School, considered him well worth quoting. And his authority was sometimes enough for a philosophical tenet. In the Bhakti-sûtras of Śandilya, we find copious references to the Śûtras of Bādarâyâna. Thus, Śandilya i. 1. 4, i. 2. 17, ii. 1. 4, and iii. 1. 7 refer respectively to Vedânta-sûtras i. 1. 7, i. 1. 4, and i. 1. 2. Besides, Svapnesvara, the commentator of Śandilya, quotes several other Śûtras of Bādarâyâna in the course of elucidating his author. Original Śruti also are quoted; but Bādarâyâna’s authority is not only never challenged, but his interpretation is quoted approvingly; and this, in spite of the fact that his Śûtras were not considered ‘Apauruṣeya’ or as of non-human origin. This shows the unshakeable position that the Śûtras had established for themselves.

It is no doubt true that by no stretch of imagination can the Śûtras be understood to refer to all the Upaniṣads. But that in itself ought to be a warning to us against taking the liberty of forming any group that we like of the Upaniṣads and then basing a philosophy upon it. If the Śûtras have avoided reference to any of the Upaniṣads, the question ought to be decided first how far they are entitled to our consideration at all, before admitting their claim to contribute to a philosophy of the Upaniṣads. It is an admitted fact that a large number of the Upaniṣads owe their origin to sectarian movements—that is to say, to a re-crudecscence or innovation of sect-deities and their cults. And some of the Upaniṣads again are but off-shoots of the original texts of Brahma-vidyā. These latter say very little that is original, i.e., very little that is not found in the earlier and more authentic Upaniṣads. (Cf. Deussen, op. cit., p. 9.) For instance, the Mahādevkya-upaniṣad, as the very name signifies, is only an elucidation of the experience implied in the ‘great saying’ (mahādevkya) of Uddâlaka in Ch. Up. vi. 8, viz. “Tattvamasi”—‘That thou art’. Upaniṣads of this class have little to contribute towards building up a philosophy of the Upaniṣads. And as to those that are unmistakeably sectarian, obviously they have no right to take a share in the construction of a philosophy of Brahma-vidyā. For instance, what right has the Rudrâkṣa-jâbala-upaniṣad,—which, as the very name implies, is but a dissertation on the efficacy of wearing a rudrâkṣa (the berry of the Eleocarpus), a peculiar kind of seed, which is worn on the arm or neck or ear by certain orthodox people—what right has such a book as this to be considered in connection with the construction of a philosophy of the Upaniṣads?

Evidently some of the Upaniṣads have to be excluded from our consideration in building up a philosophy of the Upaniṣads. As to which should be excluded and which not, the Śûtras, we contend, are our best and most authentic guide. Our choice is practically limited to the Upaniṣads, to which the Śûtras have been or can be understood to have referred.

Now, that being so, is there any other philosophy of the Upaniṣads but what is contained in the Śûtras of Bādarâyâna? Is there anything in the Upaniṣads which has not been
touched upon by the Sūtras? Or, is there anything in the Sūtras for which the authority of some text or other of the Upaniṣads cannot be cited? These facts warrant us in concluding that the most scientific and historically the most accurate interpretation of the Upaniṣads, is to be looked for in the Sūtras of Bādarāyana. They contain the entire philosophy of the Upaniṣads in a nutshell.

We shall probably be confronted here with the objection that the Sūtras do not tell their own meaning and commentators have differed as to what they exactly mean. Our answer to this is that modern interpreters of the Upaniṣads also have differed; and the commentators of the Sūtras have not differed so hopelessly that nothing common can be found in them. On the contrary, in most essential things, they agree. The most important points in which they disagree are questions regarding the reality of the individual soul and the world, and consequently their relation with Brahma. As to the causality of Brahma, the course of the evolution of the world, the means for the attainment of Brahma and similar things, there is little, if any, difference between one school and another. Even in cases where they differ, they quote mostly the same passages from the Upaniṣads and differ only in the construction put upon them, just as modern interpreters do with regard to passages of the Upaniṣads. Surely, we do not avoid such differences by simply overlooking the Sūtras.

Again, as to the passages meant in any particular Sūtra, the commentators show little, if any, divergence at all. If a commentator could say that in a particular Sūtra (say, i. 3. 12), one particular passage was meant rather than another, it would serve his purpose as the exponent of a particular theory better than otherwise. Yet curiously enough, by a Sūtra he understands reference to the self-same texts as his adversary, and has to distinguish himself from his opponent only by the meaning read into the passages. Had Deussen been aware of this striking agreement among the commentators of the Sūtras as to the texts referred to by them, he would not have expressed any doubt as to the fact that the exclusion of certain Upaniṣads from the Sūtras—or, rather, the limitation of the Sūtras to some only of the Upaniṣads—was not due to Śaṅkara or to any other commentator individually (vide Deussen, op. cit., p. 32), but to tradition already firmly established and scrupulously adhered to, and never departed from afterwards. And if he had known this, it may well be doubted if he would have thought it worth his while to venture upon a separate philosophy of the Upaniṣads at all.

It is remarkable that if we adhere to the proper texts, we arrive at more or less the same conclusion which the Sūtras have reached. To take one example; Deussen in his philosophy of the Upaniṣads discusses the doctrine of transmigration (p. 332); he refers there to the identical passages (viz. Ch. v. 3-10; Br. vi. 2; Kauś. i. 2; etc.), to which the Sūtras refer (cf. Sūtra iii. 1). And Deussen's own Vedānta also gives the identical version. This shows that there is little justification for thinking of a separate philosophy of the Upaniṣads as distinguished from the system of the Vedānta-sūtras. Or, to put it differently, the most correct and scientific interpretation of the Philosophy of the Upaniṣads is to be traced in the Sūtras of Bādarāyana. They constitute the most rational starting point for all who would know the right meaning of the Upaniṣads.

The Sūtras constitute an important landmark in the history of the interpretation of the Upaniṣads. All the threads of earlier interpretation are gathered up in them and are woven into a fabric upon which all subsequent thinkers of the school have rested their doctrines. It is not difficult—and certainly not impossible—to get at the true meaning of the Sūtras. The commentators agree as to the passages of the Upaniṣads that are referred to in any of the Sūtras; they generally differ only as to what these actually mean. In some cases, no doubt, a difference also exists among them as to the meaning of a Sūtra itself; and sometimes even a Sūtra is admitted by one, but is rejected by another; and occasionally they also disagree as to how a particular Sūtra should be constructed. But these are very rare instances
and do not present insuperable difficulties. And in spite of these minor differences, a generally admitted common system of thought can be deciphered in the Śūtras, even against the manifest diversities of views of the commentators. In most cases, the difference of view is due to the cryptic and equivocal character of the Upaniṣadic texts themselves; and such differences, we repeat, we cannot escape by attempting our own interpretation.

These considerations lead but to one conclusion: A philosophy of the Upaniṣads, as distinguished from the philosophy of the Vedānta-śūtras, is either meaningless or is not necessary. It is liable to be misconstrued. We are certainly free to dilate upon the texts of the Upaniṣads or upon any individual book of this literature; but a philosophy of the Upaniṣads cannot be something other than the philosophy of the Vedānta. No such philosophy has been attempted in India after the Śūtras of Bādarāyana. Independent thinkers must have needed it, and would certainly have attempted it, if they had only felt that such an attempt was justifiable. And in modern times, a philosophy of the Upaniṣads involves an arbitrary selection of texts and has less justification for ignoring the authority of the Śūtras. For any philosophy of the Upaniṣads, therefore, the indispensable nucleus is to be found in the Śūtras of Bādarāyana.

It is not suggested here that the Upaniṣads should remain a sealed book for us. We have every right to study them—to scrutinise their literary merit and the suggestions they throw out for the construction of philosophies. They are the fountain-head that has continued to feed all the currents of Vedantic thought in India; and as such their value is immense. But the Śūtras of Bādarāyana are the sheet-anchor for any stable philosophy of the Upaniṣads.

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BOOK-NOTICE.


It is not easy to review a vocabulary, but Dr. Hannes Sköld has given in this book something more. It consists of two parts, philological and glossarial. In the first part he has striven to establish the nature of the relations of the Nirukta with the Vedic literature, and has taken Roth’s edition as the basis of his investigation.

Taking the Nirukta to be a running commentary on an old list of Vedic works, which is now called Nighaṇṭu or Nighaṇṭuka, Dr. Sköld discusses that list of commemorative words, its authorship, its relation to Vedic words and its recension. He then discusses the Nirukta as a vedānga, and follows this with an account of the materials he has examined for the purpose in 26 pages of research of extraordinary patience and minuteness. After this comes a discussion of the material in 30 pages of even deeper research. We are then taken with much learning in ten chapters through the testimony of Patañjali and the relation of the Nirukta to the Brihaddevata.

After this Dr. Sköld asks himself the question: Was Yāska a nirukta, a question which has become necessary to him in consequence of his own research. After minute investigation he arrives at the opinion that Indian tradition is right in attributing the Nirukta to Yāska, so far as it is a commentary on the nighaṇṭu, and that he had a hand in the whole of it as it now exists. Next, after dealing with the Vedārthasaṃgraha of about 1180 and the Nighaṇṭu,” Dr. Sköld makes some phonological remarks on the etymologies of “Nirukta General” and comes to an important conclusion: “I think we have the right to state that the vernacular of Yāska’s time must have been Middle Indian, and it would have been surprising if it had not been so.”

To all this he adds an Appendix on the various readings of the principal nighaṇṭas, and then tackles the Nirukta itself. The student will not find his version of the Nirukta easy reading, for there are no less than sixteen arbitrary signs attached to the words, all explained however on pp. 173f, which relate to some information or other about it. This system reduces printing, but is apt to catch the unwary: e.g., by looking up one word in which I was interested I found by a sign attached that it was “a primary nighaṇṭa word etymologised.” Another set of words in which I was also interested was in the same category except that one of them was shown by another sign to be “happax legeomenes in the Rig Veda.” After three further explanatory notes Dr. Sköld gives the Index Verborum Etymologicis Elucidatorum itself.

The above remarks form of course but a very inadequate survey of a deep research most conscientiously conducted, but I shall have reached my object if I have succeeded thereby in drawing the attention of scholars thereto. At any rate within half an hour of the book coming into my hands I had extracted from it and recorded two items of information which I had been looking for.

R. C. Temple.
THOMAS CANA.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

THOMAS CANA is the greatest hero and benefactor of the Malabar Christians. He is also said to have been the Prime Minister of Chéramán Perumal, the Emperor of Malabar.

The tradition of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar has it that, while their Church was in a chaotic condition for want of bishops and leaders, the Bishop of Urahâi (Edessa) was asked in a dream whether he was not sorry for the distress and ruin of the flock in Malabar which the interrogator had earned by his death. The Bishop then told this dream to the Catholicos of Jerusalem, who, on consultation with the wise men of the place, determined to send Thomas Cana the honourable merchant residing in the city, to Malabar for information.

He set sail and landed in Cranganore, where he found certain Christians wearing crosses hanging from their necks. Having gathered from them their past history and learned that they were sorely in need of bishops, he soon loaded his vessel with what pepper and other merchandise he could procure, hastened home and delivered the strange news to the Catholicos of Jerusalem.

Subsequently, with the permission of Yustêdios, Patriarch of Antioch, the Catholicos sent with his blessing to Malabar, Joseph, Bishop of Edessa, several priests and deacons and a great many men, women and children—four hundred and odd in all—under the leadership of the merchant Knâyi Tômmâ.

All these, after a safe voyage, landed in Cranganore in a.d. 345. And "the people of the Kôtjakkâyal community and the Christians called Dharütykkal of the sixty-four families," all came together and received them and acknowledged Mar Joseph from Jerusalem as their Bishop. And the affairs of the Church were properly managed by Tômmâ (Thomas).

He also obtained from the Emperor land and high social privileges, as well as a copper-plate document to that effect on Saturday, 29th Kumbham (Aquarius) of the above-mentioned year, on the seventh day of the moon and in the sign Cancer. (The tradition in these five paragraphs is recorded on pp. 88-91 of Ittûp's *Syrian Christian Church of Malabar, in Malayalam*).

The 72 high social privileges which Thomas Cana obtained from the Emperor are used even to-day. Besides these, he got 18 low castes, like barbers, carpenters, bow-makers, bards, toddy-drawers, etc., to serve the Christians and be under their special protection from the molestation of other castes. (See my *Malabar Christian Copper-Plates*, ch. 9.) Thomas, the merchant prince, is also said to have presented the Emperor with one nâtî (measure of

**Observations by Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.**

1 How could we substantiate that Thomas Cana was the Perumal's Prime Minister? That brings up his story nearer that of Frumentius and Edessus.

2 How is it proved that, as Mr. T. K. Joseph states in another paper on Thomas Cana, this was the 3th Patriarch of Jerusalem? Fr. Monseate notes in 1579 that the Syrian Bishops of his time were very fond of connecting themselves somehow with Jerusalem. It gave them a special standing of honour. His words are: "the greater number of the bishops and priests, whom they call cazíja in Syrian have passed through Jerusalem before they come from there." (Babylonia). [The Patriarchs of Jerusalem have the designation 'fifth Patriarch,' which does not mean the fifth among the Patriarchs of Jerusalem.—T.K.J.]


4 What means Kôttakkaýal? Perhaps Parur, Kottakavu? What is the meaning of Kottakavu? [Kôttakkaýal (-profitable), or correctly Kôttakkaýu (profitable) is Parur. —T.K.J.]

5 Does Ittûp's *History* say that Mar Joseph of Edessa was from Jerusalem? [Yes.]

6 Gouvea has something about the castes which had to serve the Christians by order of the Perumal of Thomas Cana, and who had even to become ammuos, or run amock, for their sake. I hope to extract some other time from Gouvea all that he has about Thomas Cana and the two Bishops, Mar Xabro and Mar Prodi. [Gouvea's passage on Thomas Cana has already been extracted by Fr. Hosten in the *Ind. Ant. for* July 1927.—T.K.J.]
capacity, about 20 c. in.) of precious stones for his crown, and to have helped him with money in his battles.

The Emperor once pressed the artisan caste to give one of their girls in marriage to his washerman. The artisans could not but submit to this indignity. But during the marriage festival they killed the washermen assembled there by secretly crushing them under the marriage shed specially contrived for the purpose, and absconded in a body to Ceylon. And Thomas is said to have saved the situation by inducing the strikers to return to the Emperor. (See my Malabar Christian Copper-Plates, pp. 93-94.)

Here are authentic specimens of the peculiar titles and privileges which Thomas Cana and the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar obtained by the Emperor’s letters patent: (1) the title of ‘the Emperor’s Own Merchant,’ (2) seven kinds of musical instruments, (3) palanquin, (4) elephant, (5) bodyguards, (6) cloth for walking along upon, (7) royal umbrella, (8) lingual cheers by women, (9) lamp lit by day, (10) carpet, and (11) sandals. Nos. 2-9, besides others, form the paraphernalia of a procession. Most of these are even to-day used in the processions of the Malabar Syrian Christian Bishops. The palanquin and the elephant, as dignified or stately means of locomotion, have become very antiquated and ludicrous, and have been replaced by phaetons, landaus and motor-cars.

An English translation of the original document given to Thomas Cana is found on p. 139 of the Travancore State Manual, vol. 2. See also do Couto’s Da Asia, 12th Decade, last part, p. 283, for another, in Portuguese.

In 1544, Mar Jacob, the then Bishop pawned the two original copper-plates for 200 reals to the Portuguese in Cochin. The translation made for them is very probably what we find in the above two books. The plates are now missing; but, according to the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., and Rev. H. Heras, S.J., they may be “in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon, or in some old Franciscan Convent of Portugal.” The Malabar Christian community will be extremely obliged to the person who will discover these plates and send to the writer (Trivandrum, Travancore, South India) printer’s-ink impressions (half a dozen copies) of the inscription on them.

**WANTED**

**THE ANCIENT COPPER-PLATES OF THOMAS CANA**

NOW SUPPOSED TO BE IN PORTUGAL.

(See also my Magna Charta of the Malabar Christians, in the Asiatic Review of April, 1925, pp. 299-304.)

The traditional date A.D. 345 may be correct. The copper-plates of Thomas Cana, if recovered, will certainly help us in ascertaining his date. Will the name of the Patriarch Yustêdius given above help us?

Tradition says that a copy of the muniment granted to Thomas Cana was about the same time inscribed on a large granite slab and set up at the Northern gate of the Cranganore temple for the information and guidance of the public. Some time before 1781, Adriaen Moens, the Dutch Governor of Cochin, tried his best to discover this stone, but in vain. On the 12th of February, 1924, the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., our modern Yule, who was touring Malabar in eager search of pre-Portuguese Christian antiquities there, discovered in Cranganore a big stone slab 6 ft. x 3½ ft. with about 19 lines of inscription in ancient Malabar characters. This, like the philosopher’s stone, suddenly became the supreme object of attention of the Malabar Bishops and Christians. For they thought this was the reputed lithe counterpart of the Thomas Cana plates. I have, however, partially deciphered the last three lines of the record, of which three alone I got an estampe, and have found that the record says that the Queen of Perumattam, perhaps of the Cochin royal family, made arrangements for the daily supply of a specified measure of rice to the temple at Kâññûr.
There is a small, endogamous group of ancient Christians in Malabar, called Tekkum-pákär (literally, those of the Southern side), or Southists. They have scarcely any marriage relations with the Northists, the rest of the St. Thomas Christians. The appellations Northists and Southists came into existence because, it is alleged, in the new town of Mákótayar Paṭtānam founded by Thomas Cana, 400 shops of the former were constructed in the northern 9 row and 72 of the latter in the southern. There are several points of difference between the Northists and the Southists in customs, manners and physical features. (Ittúp’s History, op. cit., pp. 92–94.) Foreign characteristics like blue eyes and brown facial hair are noticeable in some of the Southists, while there are others among them who do not differ at all from the Northists in bodily features.

Cana in ‘Thomas Cana’ is not, I think, the place Cana of Galilee where Jesus Christ turned water into wine. (John, II. 1.) To my mind, Thomas Cana means Thomas the merchant. The Syriac root kno means to get, to buy, and kunóge, one who gets or buys. The old annals and songs of Malabar state that the four hundred 10 foreigners who colonized

7 The terms Sudists and Nordists derive from French writers, from ‘Nordistes’ and ‘Sudistes.’ Sudists with two d’s is highly objectionable, as it tends to hide its origin. [The Latin term is Genus Sudistico.—T.K.J.]

8 Do Couto (Dec. 12, 1, 3, c. 4, Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 271–273) has a very curious itinerary for St. Thomas, taken from the Chaldean books of the Serra. Taking leave of St. Thaddaeus at Edessa, St. Thomas sells his body to a merchant and visits in turn Sokotra, Melinde and Cafaria, the kingdom of Paces and Zanine (by do Couto identified doubtfully with Ampazes and Moçambique), finally Marhozaya, which bishop P. Roaz, at do Couto’s request, identified with Maleca. Another passage in the Chaldean books sent St. Thomas to Persia, Samarkand, Sokotra and Malabar. Can copies of such books still be found in Malabar? They would solve certain difficulties and would prove missionary endeavours or Syrian trade on the coasts of Africa in pre-Portuguese times. We have to account for the occurrence of the cross among South African tribes

I think that Marhozaya is Mahuza, (perhaps Makóta or Mahodaya Pattanam, i.e., Cranganore), whence, according to Jacob of Sarug, either St. Thomas made a start for India or whence merchants had come to fetch him for Gondophares. Schrötter could not decide, as the copies of Jacob of Sarug’s poem were incomplete. Cf. Medlycott, pp. 218, 249. We have a similar difficulty for the MSS. of the Syriac Acta of St. Thomas. Cf. Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 180. We do not know yet what place is meant in Jacob of Sarug by Mahuza. Assamani, Bibl. Ort., T. III, Part II, p. 761, mentions two Mahuzas, but neither appears to be appropriate for St. Thomas’ story, as neither is a harbour on the sea. One is near Ctesiphon, and is called Carcha, Corch, or Carch; the other is called Ariana. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas in letters to me asserts that Mahuza or Mahasa means simply ‘town’ and that the Syrians applied it to Cranganore. If that were so, might it not have been applied also to Mylapore? St. Thomas in the Hymn of the Soul mentions a dear friend, a native of Mahshin, the companion of his travels, whom I identify with Usans, the son of King Massai. If Mahshin is not a mistake for Mallán, Mylapore, might it not stand for Mahosa and still apply to Mylapore? The idea of the Syrians was that Gondophares lived at Mylapore, and that idea seems to be shared already by Jacob of Sarug (a.d. 500–521). [Malabar tradition, at least in its recent form, knows no such name as Gondophares or Kundappara. Māhōsā or Māhūsā in Syriac is the name of a small town somewhere in south-west Asia.—T.K.J.]

9 Did not a division into Northists and Southists prevail in Mesopotamia at one time? I find something to that effect in Monseïrate (1570). Something akin to the division between the right-hand and left-hand parties of S. India, but sprung from religious divisions. I believe there is such a division as the right-hand and left-hand party in Abyssinia among the Christians.

10 De Conti has a reference, I think, to some 20,000 washermen in the army of the King of Vijayanagar. I have sometimes thought there might be question of Syrians, who were great fighters in those days. The other day, I came across a passage speaking of numerous Syrians fighting in the Bissana army, but I cannot now trace it again. [The mercantile community of Belgaum, N.E. of Goa, “had already at the beginning of the 13th century included foreign settlers from Lala, i.e., Lata (Gujarat) and the Malayalam country,” as evidenced by an inscription. See A.S.I.A. Report, 1916–17, part I, p. 19. Could these Malayalis have been St. Thomas Christians, the mercantile community par excellence, of Malabar? Abdur Razak (15th century) speaks of Nimesh Pezir, Christian minister to the king of Vijayanagar.—T.K.J.]

May not the Southists who came with Thomas Cana have been dyers and fuller, as many Christians in Persia were, who took Christ for their patron.” Cf. As. Researches, X, 1898, p. 82. The Syrians were great weavers and dyers, I think, in the Near East.
Cranganore, belonged to 72 families from 7 septs\(^{11}\) or clans. They do not now survive as such. Nor are there family traditions about their original identity, as in the case of several families who occasionally came as individual emigrants and settled in Malabar in the last four or five centuries. All these have merged in the vast mass of indigenous converts of Aryan and Dravidian extraction. Only a small section, the Southists (see ante), have any separate identity. But here too the distinction is, so to speak, a social or communal one, not racial or religious. Tradition says that the elite among the Semitic colonists brought by Thomas Cana freely intermarried with the local high caste Christians, while the foreign proletariat consorted with the indigenous low caste converts. Thomas, it seems, had children by two women, one a wife of his own nationality, and the other a mistress from the Hindu washerman caste. There is, however, no clan extant that claims descent from Thomas Cana and his Semitic wife.

[P.S.—On folio 526r, 87r of a MS. vol. in the British Museum, a.d. 1604, Bishop Roz says (according to Rev. H. Hosten’s translation), “The copy of the olla which the said Xaram Perumal gave to Thomas Cananeo . . . . says faithfully this:—‘May Coquaragon be prosperous . . . .’ On fol. 525v, 86v of the same volume the prelate speaks of ‘their ollas, the copper original of which was taken to Portugal by the Religious of St. Francis, a copy of them remaining here.”

This copy—which Bishop Roz ‘faithfully’ translated—he knew Malayalam—must have been an impression of the plates, or a transcript in the Malayalam characters of those days, prepared, perhaps, by the Jew who, according to Fr. Lucena (Hist. da vida do P. Fr. de Xavier, Lisboa, 1600, p. 163, col. 10), “though with much trouble, translated it into Portuguese.”

Where is this copy, and where the Jew’s translation? Perhaps in the above MS. vol. of 1604. This copy and translation also ought to be discovered.]

_Literal translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 1).\(^{12}\)_

The emblems of dignity and honour belonging to the Malabar Nasrānī (Christian), and the manner in which the city of Cranganore came into existence.

When Paṭṭanam\(^{13}\) was the city (prob. capital), on Knāyittomman (Thomas Cana) the Nasrānīs requesting, “Give me half the country,” 1380 kōḷ\(^{14}\) (rods) of land in the form of a square, as measured by the elephant kōl,\(^{15}\) were granted in accordance with the order of the Perumal\(^{16}\) of Chēramān Kōyil\(^{17}\) on Tuesday the 9th of Kaṟkkiṭakam (July), the 8th day of the moon being combined with the asterism Rōhini.\(^{18}\) Also\(^{19}\) the Vedic College at Irīnālakkutṣa (eight miles N.E. of Cranganore), the Great Palace at Tiruvaṅkikulam and the Church at Cranganore. That day, at sunset the day-time lamp, walking-cloth, crown, (and several other insignia) were granted, with libation of water and flower, to Knāyittomman the Nasrānī.

\(^{11}\) Mgr. Alexander Chulaparambil, The Romo-Syrian Bishop of Kottayam, a Southist, told me that the 72 families which came over with Thomas Cana belonged to the following septs: Baji, Belkouth, Hadai, Kujelic, Khoja, Majmouth, and Tejmouth. Do these names survive in Mesopotamia as distinctive Christian names? [For the names of some of these septs see Thurston’s _Cases and Tribes_, article on the Syrian Christians. But these names I have not found in any old document.—T.K.J.]

\(^{12}\) Communicated by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., St. Joseph’s College, Darjeeling, at whose instance this work was undertaken by Mr. Joseph on 18th November 1923. The notes also are by Mr. Joseph.

\(^{13}\) Paṭṭanam: Mahādeva Paṭṭanam, an old name for Cranganore, or a portion of it, or some old town close to it. Most probably it is the city founded by Thomas Cana. In the Tamil classics it appears in the form Makōṭal and in Sanskrit as Mahōḍaya Puram.

\(^{14}\) Another document (Iṭṭūp’s _History in Malayalam_, Cochin, 1869) gives 244 kōḷs, or the space over which ‘one para measure of paddy can be scattered.’ _Op. cit._, p. 90.

\(^{15}\) One kōḷ = 28 inches. An elephant kōḷ = 4 kōḷs. 16 King.

\(^{16}\) The name of the king’s palace. The site is even now known as Chēramān Kōvilakam. It is close to Cranganore.

\(^{17}\) Iṭṭūp’s _History_ gives another date for the grant of land and privileges: Saturday, 29th Kumbham (March), 7th day of the moon, Kaṟkkiṭakam rāśi (sign Cancer). _Op. cit._, p. 91. I doubt whether any reliance can be placed upon these details or those given in the above translation.

\(^{18}\) Perhaps these three were witnesses.
With the knowledge of the sun, and the moon that rises at night, that know this as witnesses. The handwriting of the then younger prince Kuru Perumālar.

If any one contradicts and questions this grant, let him turn over and refer to the documentary granite stone that lies at the northern gate of the temple at Cranganore. ¹¹

Literal translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 2). ²²

When of yore to immigrate to Malāṅkara ²³
The gentleman Tomman Knāṅ ²⁴ essayed,—Verily. ²⁵
The king's sons belonging to seventy-two families—
These good citizens, four hundred,
Embarked by the grace of the Catholicoos.—Verily.
The foreigner who came entered Cranganore,
He entered, and when he visited the Chēra King, in plenty
He presented gold and coral and pearls and obtained the country.
He came, at an auspicious time endeavoured, and gained his end.—Verily.
That his greatness may be manifest in all the world around,
He gave him marks of honour—the fivefold band, the eighteen castes. ²⁸
The horn, the flute, the peacock feather fan, the couch, the canopy,—Verily.
The gold crown and all other good ornaments.

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20 I remember having read in the Gazetteer of Malabar that this stone has not yet been discovered even after diligent search. Was it one of the stones taken away by the Portuguese at Goa? This is Burnell's statement in his little pamphlet A few suggestions as to the best way of making and utilizing copies of Indian inscriptions (Madras, 1870): "The Portuguese at Goa took some inscriptions on stone to their native country." Cf. Indian Antiquary, II, 183. By this I understand that they took inscribed stones, not copies of inscriptions on them. Some of these may have come from Malabar. (For Moens' search, see Dutch in Malabar, pp. 172, 173.)

21 The extract is from the footnote on pp. 11 and 12 of Ancient Songs (Malayalam), Kottayam, 1910.

22 Communicated by the Revd. H. Hosten, S.J., St Joseph's College, Darjeeling, at whose request "his work was done by Mr. Joseph on 7th December 1923.

23 Malāṅkara is Malabar of the Arabian travellers, bar being equivalent to the Malayalam kara, coast.

24 Tomman Knāṅ, Thomas Cana, Knāţi Tomman are three forms of the same name.

25 'Verily' indicates a pause in the song and forms the chorus.

26 'King's sons' is the title Māppila (son-in-law) granted to the Christians in Malabar by one of the old Chēra kings. There are the Sudras of Malabar, called Nairs, who have the title piḷa (child). Guvea, I am told, translates this title Māppila as king's son. (He does. Cf. Jornada, fol. 4v: "With these privileges joined to those which Xārañ Perumal had granted them, the Christians of Malavar became much more accredited, being held in such account that the name by which they are still called to-day in the kingdoms beyond the Mountain of the Pande is sons of kings".—H.H.)

27 Fivefold band: two varieties of drums, cymbals, trumpet, and gong.

28 Eighteen Hindu low castes. Or, bodyguards versed in the eighteen feats of arms.

29 A musical horn, producing a monotonous protracted note.

30 For blowing.

31 See Travancore State Manual, II, 139; 'pavilion.'

32 A tall peaked crown of gold was until lately in use for bridegrooms. I remember to have seen it worn by my elder brother on the occasion of his wedding. Bridegrooms generally are allowed all these privileges and marks of honour.
He gave him marks of honour: the walking-cloth,\textsuperscript{33} the day-time lamp.\textsuperscript{34}
The seven kinds\textsuperscript{35} of royal musical instruments, and three lingual cheers.\textsuperscript{36}—Verily.

Drums and lingual cheers\textsuperscript{36} and all good pomp
The king with pleasure gave,
And all these did Tomman Kinän accept.—Verily.
He got also the copper-plate deed fittingly engraved.
The marks of honour which the Kings' King\textsuperscript{37} gave
Last for all the days of the existence of the sun and the moon.—Verily.

For all the days of the existence of the sun and moon.\textsuperscript{38}

\textit{(To be continued.)}

\textsuperscript{33} Cloth spread on the way, for walking along without touching the ground. Our bishops and bridegrooms still enjoy this privilege. For its use in 1916-17 in Ceylon, see Annual Report, A.S.I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 25. "Lengths of white cloth were enrobed along the road for the elephant to walk over."

\textsuperscript{34} Lamp lit during the day. This is now done when our bishops go in procession from one church to another.

\textsuperscript{35} Perhaps, three kinds of drums, two kinds of cymbals, gong, and trumpet. See Trav. State Manual, II, 139, for this number ‘seven’. Also Ind. Anti. for April, 1925, p. 69.

\textsuperscript{36} Lingual cheers. Women produce the sound \textit{ululululul...} briskly and continuously with the tongue until they are nearly out of breath, covering the mouth with one hand hollowed out in the form of an arch and leaving spaces above and below the lips for the unulation to pass out freely. This is repeated thrice, like the cheers of the Europeans. Men, on the other hand, shout \textit{̣ặp̣p̣p̣p̣ặ} and \textit{p̣ọỵịṃp̣ọỵiṃ} at the top of their voice during the processions of our bishops. These lingual cheers are given by women at the birth of a child or at other joyful occasions. This, I think, is peculiar to Malabar, Guzerat, and Turkey. See Trav. State Manual, II, 139, where "'whistling' is not correct.

\textsuperscript{37} The Chêra king, as overlord of several feudatory princes.

\textsuperscript{38} This is one of the old songs sung by South Christian women when the bride and bridegroom return home from church after marriage.

There are four distinguished persons connected, in tradition, with Knāyi Tomman’s emigration. They are: (1) the Catholicos or '5th Patriarch' of Jerusalem; (2) Yustédíus, Patriarch of Antioch; (3) Mār Joseph, Bishop of Edessa, who accompanied Tomman to Malabar; (4) Chērāmān Perumal, king of Malabar, the Chêra country, whose proper name is not known. Can we get some clue from these to the date of Tomman’s emigration?

[Not unless we have many more materials to form our judgment on. I look with much suspicion on the introduction of so many high personages into this story, persons separated from one another by considerable distances and all for the sake of the dream of Joseph, Bishop of Edessa.—H.H.]

Another song (see No. 3), used on the same occasion as No. 2 above, specifies the date 345 by the cryptogram \textit{Șòdış} thus:

"The king went, saw the land and gave it away
In the year Șòdîl after the birth of the Lord,
And honoured Knāyi Tomman received the copper-plate document."

From the language of these three lines I conclude that, like No. 2, it is of the 17th-19th century. Besides, the advent of the Portuguese and the burning of Cranganore City and the building of the Church at Kaṭṭamutturutti (Carturte of the Europeans) in about A.D. 1500 are all alluded to in the song. This dating in terms of the Christian era, as well as the dates A.D. 52 etc., found in the song of St. Thomas of which you have a translation, came into vogue in Malabar, I presume, only after the Portuguese connection. So the cryptogram cannot be supposed to have been handed down from very ancient times. Am I right?

[These dates in terms of a Western era indicate indeed that at least changes were made in the songs after the Portuguese connection. It is quite possible that some of the songs were composed under the influence of the Latin Missionaries or revised under them. But we cannot argue yet that these songs are not in ancient times much older or that new additions have not been made to them. The study of these songs is barely begun.—H.H.]

Does Fr. Peter Maffeis, who in his Latin History of India, II, 210 sqq., refers to a song and dance in honour of St. Thomas, give a translation of it?

[I cannot say, as I cannot consult the book here. If he alludes to a song in honour of St. Thomas, quite possibly he refers to the contents, and this would help us to fix the special song he alludes to, as also the antiquity of that song. The Jesuits of Cochin and Quilon, and even more perhaps the Fathers of Vaiśpićott, seem to have done not a little to stage some of the incidents of the history of the St. Thomas Christians. There was a play in which they represented the story of Ballarte, or the king of the St. Thomas Christians.—H.H.]
HISTORICAL BIAS IN INDIAN HISTORY.

By the Late S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O.

and Prof. H. L. O. Garrett, I.E.S.

We imagine that our colleagues to-day will deal with many aspects of the subject of bias in historical writing from Macaulay to Herbert Paul. We are concerned with that portion of the subject with which we are mainly in contact, namely, the History of India. At the outset we should like to quote a sentence from a book on "Mughal Rule in India" of which we are the joint authors and which is now in the press. "The student of Indian History should be warned to use contemporary authorities with great caution. The manipulation of historical facts to suit the particular angle of vision of the author is unfortunately all too common. But it is nowhere worse than in India, and in many cases there has been (and is still unfortunately to-day) a deliberate distortion of facts before which the political bias of a work like Macaulay's History of England pales into insignificance."

The earlier portion of Indian History—generally known as the Hindu—may be left out of consideration. So much of it rests upon vague tradition and so scanty are the authorities that there is little room for exhaustive examination. What we have is mainly the work of travellers and is valuable for its descriptive detail. Megasthenes, for example, gives a very fair and unbiased account of the court and government of Chandragupta Maurya. Then there are the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Huen-tsang and so on. But when we reach the Muhammadan period it is a different story. Take the first great Muhammadan invader, Mahmud of Ghazni. The accepted version of Mahmud is that of a ruthless invader animated by the bitter hatred of any other faith than his own. His very name in history—Bdt Shikin, the iconoclast—perpetuates this view. But whereas this is a fair estimate of his character, it is not accepted by Muhammadan historians. Only recently I published a small book in which a sketch of Mahmud occurred. For this I was severely taken to task by a Muhammadan scholar who declared that the proper view, as set forth by Muhammadan historians, was that he invaded India not to persecute the Hindus and destroy their temples, but because he was invited into the country to restore order.

Take again Muhammad Tughlak, that "strange mixture of opposites". But for the fearless external evidence of a non-Indian historian—Ibn Batuta—we should not really know the full story of the combination of bestial cruelty, patronage of learning and megalomania which distinguishes the reign of that monarch. With the earlier Mughals we are on safer ground. Babur and Jahangir reveal themselves so clearly in their own diaries that we can almost see the men themselves. But pass on to the last of the great Mughals—Aurangzeb. The battle over this monarch and his character rages as fiercely as the struggle over the body of Patroclus. Hindu scholars will tell you that he was an inveterate bigot and that his policy of intolerance ruined the Empire. Muhammadan writers stoutly deny this and praise his orthodoxy as contrasted with the free-thinking of his predecessors. In the dust of the controversy the truth is obscured. While the Emperor undoubtedly was intolerant and his intolerance was certainly one, but only one, of the causes contributing to the disintegration of Mughal sovereignty, the fact has carefully been overlooked that he did not initiate a policy of intolerance and religious persecution. There are instances of it in the reigns of both his predecessors—Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The former in his diary gloats over the destruction of a famous Hindu shrine. But all this is passed over in order that Aurangzeb may bear the full odium of a policy, which he did not invent but only carried in more active form to its logical conclusion.

It is probable that Aurangzeb's sardonic and joyless temperament contributed largely to the detestation felt for him by his Hindu subjects, and may partly explain the antipathy displayed towards him by most modern Hindu historians. The cold and calculating spirit has never been a favourite with the people of India, and the sinner who smiles upon the world

1 This paper was originally prepared by us to be read at the Anglo-American Historical Conference in 1928, but was not read owing to pressure of time. This accounts for its somewhat peculiar form.—H.L.O.G.
around him, who is 'bon camarade', who can show timely emotion or deftly touch the chords of popular imagination, stands a far better chance of ultimate 'canonisation' than the most impeccable ruler, who wears the armour of severe righteousness and holds himself coldly aloof from the foibles of mankind.

So far we have dealt with the Muhammadan rulers. We will now turn to a Hindu—the famous Shivaji. This individual has recently gone through a lengthy process of 'whitewashing' at the hands of various authorities. What are the facts? That he was a robber chief in a wild and mountainous part of India. That he made his way to the front by his audacity and bravery. As to his famous murder of the Muhammadan General sent against him, it seems to have been about six of one and half-a-dozen of the other. But its treatment by rival historians is instructive. On the one side Shivaji only anticipated similar treachery on the part of his adversary; on the other the Muhammadan commander was the innocent victim of the blackest treachery. That he carved out of the dying Empire a kingdom of his own and that he set up a rough form of government which only survived him a few years. But all this has undergone a transformation. Shivaji is now the pure-minded high-souled patriot called by Providence to the liberation of his motherland. His childhood at his mother's knee is like the boyhood of Alfred the Great.

A torrent of abuse has been directed against a writer who mildly suggested, on unequiva-

tional authority, that Shivaji had two mistresses, or in other words that of the eight wives whom

he is recorded as having married, two were probably concubines. One would hardly have

supposed that such a statement regarding an Indian chieftain of the seventeenth century, in a

country where the moral standards of Exeter Hall had not yet penetrated, would have roused the

Brahman press of Poona to a fierce declamatory frenzy. But the statement was obnoxious to the

Poona press as it does not accord with the modern Shivaji myth, which has been seduce-

iously cultivated in Western India for purely political purposes during the last twenty years.

The exponents of the myth are at pains to declare, often without adequate evidence, that

Shivaji combined in himself the asceticism of St. Anthony, the military genius of Napoleon and

the imperial presence of Cecil Rhodes.

That is Shivaji to-day after the modern historians have done with him. We await with

interest his next biography written from the Mughal point of view.

But the stream of "alteration" flows on. We now come to an episode familiar to all—

"The Black Hole of Calcutta". The site of this tragedy is now believed to have been identified.

There is plenty of corroborative evidence,—e.g., Admiral Watson's—to support Holwell's

narrative of the massacre. Even Macaulay believed it. But recently an ingenious attempt

has been made to prove that the tragedy never took place, that Holwell was a liar, and that

the so-called victims of the Black Hole were really killed in fair fight earlier in the proceedings.

The next step is the elimination of the episode from Indian History as taught in schools.

Turn again to the Mutiny. The old king of Delhi, Bahadur Shah II, explained the whole

episode by saying "I suppose my people gave themselves over to the devil." There is no

doubt as to the old man's guilty participation in the outbreak. The evidence given at his trial

is perfectly conclusive. But this is not enough for the historian with a bias. The newest

theory now put forward is that it was the East India Company who were at fault, and that the

Mutiny was a just retribution for disobedience to their overlord of Delhi, and that the punish-

ment meted out to the last of the Timurids has rankled in Indian minds ever since. As regards

the first part of the theory, we were able, in a paper published in the Journal of the Royal

Historical Society to demonstrate that it was completely at variance with the facts as revealed

in the official records of the Punjab Government. As regards the second, we make bold to

say that we do not consider that the extinction of the Timurids made or has made any more

stir in India than the final extinction of the Western Empire in 476 or the renunciation of his

title by Francis II in 1806 did in Europe. But we are not out of the Mutiny wood yet. We
ourselves have heard the theory advanced that the massacre at Cawnpore was grossly exaggerated, if it ever took place, and we think in all probability we shall see this theory developed in our generation and a convincing alibi set up for the Nana Sahib.  

We fear we have been somewhat lengthy. Indian History is only a small section of history and this Conference is representative of many histories of many peoples. But we do wish to urge the need of caution in dealing with the established facts and episodes of the history of India, particularly in the light of the "bias" which is so common to-day, and which is frequently due to the fact that historical students cannot dissociate their academic inquiries and conclusions from the taint of current Indian politics. Established facts in the history of any country are like well-known landmarks. To remove them or destroy them without good cause renders the offender liable to the penalties set forth in the Commination Service.

THE GUHILA KINGS OF MEWAR.

BY R. R. HALDER.

For some time past I have been meditating on the real origin of the princes of Mewar. My desire for a solution of the problem was increased by some letters, which showed that other people were equally interested in the subject and, like myself, were much perplexed about it. Colonel Tod in one place speaks of the Mewar rulers as "Children of the Sun"; "Sun of the Hindus," etc.; and in another place complicates the issue by over reliance on other historians. Even a scholar like Vincent A. Smith has called Guhila, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewar, a Nâgar Brahman and almost believed in the connection of his lineage with the Râjas of Valabhi.  

In one or two inscriptions, again, some of the rulers of Mewar are said to be Brâhmaṇas.

It is *prima facie* surprising that this ancient dynasty, the rulers of which belong to the same line and have ruled in the same lands where conquest placed them for a period of about 1400 years, who claim descent from Kusa, the elder son of the deified Rama, the patriarch of the solar race, thereby commanding universal homage in India;—should be represented as losing even the ordinary prestige of the Kshatriya race—not to speak of the patronymic *Suryavarnâh*—and as being merged in the Brâhmaṇa caste.

Let us see what Colonel Tod writes on the matter:—"At least ten genealogical lists, derived from the most opposite sources, agree in making Kanakse the founder of this dynasty; and assign his emigration from the most northern of the provinces of India to the peninsula of Saurashtra in s. 201, or A.D. 145. We shall, therefore, make this the point of outset; though it may be premised that Jai Singh, the royal historian and astronomer of Amber, connects the line with Sumitra (the 56th descendant from the deified Rama), who appears to have been the contemporary of Vikramaditya, A.C. 56 . . . .

"By what route Kanakse, the first emigrant of the solar race, found his way into Saurashtra from Lohkot, is uncertain: he, however, wrested dominion from a prince of the Pramara race, and founded Birnagar in the second century (A.D. 144). Four generations afterwards, Vijayasen, whom the prince of Amber calls Nushirwan, founded Vijayapur, supposed to be where Dholka now stands, at the head of the Saurashtra peninsula. Vidarba was also founded by him, the name of which was afterwards changed to Sihor. But the most celebrated was the capital, Valabhipura, which for years baffled all search, till it was revealed in its now humbled condition as Walai, ten miles west of Bhamnagar. The existence of this city was confirmed by a celebrated Jain work, the Satrunjaya Mahatma. The want of satisfactory proof of the Rana's emigration from thence was obviated by the most unexpected discovery of an inscription of the twelfth century, in a ruined temple on the

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2 Since this paper was written I have come across another new distortion, namely that the attack on the Lucknow Residency was never really taken seriously by the mutineers who could have taken the place any day that they wished!—H.I.O.O.  

3 Smith's Akbar, p. 84.
tableland forming the eastern boundary of the Rana’s present territory, which appeals to the ‘walls of Valabhi’ for the truth of the action it records. And a work written to commemorate the reign of Rana Raj Singh opens with these words: ‘In the west is Sorathdes, a country well known: the barbarians invaded it, and conquered Bal-ka-nath; all fell in the sack of Valabhipur except the daughter of the Pramara.’ And the Sandrai roll thus commences: ‘When the city of Valabhi was sacked, the inhabitants fled and founded Bali, Sandrai and Nadol in Mordar des.’ These are towns yet of consequence, and in all the Jain religion is still maintained, which was the chief worship of Valabhipura when sacked by the ‘barbarian’. The records preserved by the Jains give s.b. 205 (a.d. 524) as the date of this event.

“The tract about Valabhipura and northward is termed Bal, probably from the tribe of Bala, which might have been the designation of the Rana’s tribe prior to that of Grahilot; and most probably Multan and all these regions of the Kathi, Bala, etc., were dependent on Lohkot, whence emigrated Kanaksen; thus strengthening the surmise of the Scythic descent of the Ranas, though now installed in the seat of Rama.”

“Besides these cities, the MSS. give Gayni, as the last refuge of the family when expelled Saurashtra. One of the poetic chronicles thus commences: ‘The barbarians had captured Gajni. The house of Siladitya was left desolate. In its defence his heroes fell; of his seed but the name remained.’

“Of the prince’s family the queen Pushpavati alone escaped the sack of Valabhi; as well as the funeral pyre, upon which, on the death of Siladitya, his other wives were sacrificed. She was a daughter of the Pramara prince of Chandravati, and had visited the shrine of the universal mother Amba-Bhavani, in her native land, to deposit upon the altar of the goddess a votive offering consequent to her expectation of offspring. She was on her return, when the intelligence arrived which blasted all her future hopes, by depriving her of her lord, and robbing him, whom the goddess had just granted to her prayers, of a crown. Taking refuge in a cave in the mountain of Malia, she was delivered of a son. Having confided the infant to a Brahmani of Bira Nagar named Kamlavati, enjoining her to educate the young prince as a Brahman, but to marry him to a Rajputni, she mounted the funeral pile to join her lord. Kamlavati, the daughter of the priest of the temple, was herself a mother, and she performed the tender offices of one to the orphan prince, whom she designated Goha or ‘cave-born.’ The child was a source of perpetual uneasiness to its protectors: he associated with Rajput children, killing birds, hunting wild animals, and at the age of eleven was totally unmanageable: to use the words of the legend, ‘How should they hide the ray of the sun?’”

This much Colonel Tod asserts in support of his view that Goha or Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhilot dynasty of Mewar, was descended from Siladitya VI of Valabhipur. He then attempts to connect the Ranas of Mewar, and for this purpose quotes the following authorities:

“Let us see what Abu-l Fazl says of the descent of the Ranas from Nushirwan: ‘The Chief of the State was formerly called Rāwal, but for a long time past has been known as Rāna. He is of the Ghelot clan, and pretends to descent from Noshirwān, the Just. An ancestor of this family through the vicissitudes of fortune came to Berār and was distinguished as the chief of Narālah. About eight hundred years previous to the present time Narnālah was taken by the enemy and many were slain. One Bāpa, a child, was carried by his mother from this scene of desolation to Mewar, and found refuge with Rājāh Mandalkh, a Bhil.’

“The work which has furnished all the knowledge which exists on the Persian ancestry of the Mewār princes is the Maasiru-l-Umara, or that founded on it, entitled Bistu-l-Ghanim written in a.H. 1204 [a.d. 1789]. The writer of this work styles himself Lachumi Narayan Shāfīk Aurangabadi he goes deep into the lineage of the Ranas of Mewār.”

2 Sorath or Saurashtra.
3 Mārwār.
quoting at length the *Massiru-i-Umara*, from which the following is a literal translation: ‘It is well-known that the Rajas of Udaipur are exalted over all the princes of Hind. Other Hindu princes, before they can succeed to the throne of their fathers, must receive the khushka, or tilak of regality and investiture, from them. This type of sovereignty is received with humility and veneration. The khushka of these princes is made with human blood; their title is Rana, and they deduce their origin from Noshirwan-i-Adil (i.e., the Just), who conquered the countries of, and many parts of Hindustan. During his lifetime his son Noshizad, whose mother was the daughter of Kaiser of Bum, quitted the ancient worship and embraced the ‘faith of the Christians,’ and with numerous followers entered Hindustan. Thence he marched a great army towards Iran, against his father Noshirwan; who dispatched his general, Rambarzin, with numerous forces to oppose him. An action ensued in which Noshizad was slain; but his issue remained in Hindustan, from whom are descended the Ranas of Udaipur. Noshirwan had a wife from the Khakan of China, by whom he had a son called Hormuz, declared heir to the throne shortly before his death.

“In A.H. 17 Abu Musa of Ashur seized Hormuz, the son of the uncle of Yazdegird, whom he sent with Yazdegird’s daughter to Imam Husain, and another daughter to Abubakr.

“It is also told, that when the fortunes of Yazdegird were on the wane, his family dispersed to different regions. The second daughter, Shahr Banu, was married to Imam Husain. The third daughter, Banu, was seized by a plundering Arab.

“Of the eldest daughter of Yazdegird, Maha Banu, the Parsis have no accounts; but the books of Hind give evidence to her arrival in that country, and that from her issue is the tribe Sesodia. But, at all events, this race is either of the seed of Nushishad, the son of Nushirwan, or of that of the daughter of Yazdegird.

“Thus have we adduced, perhaps, all points of evidence for the supposed Persian origin of the Rana’s family. The period of the invasion of Saurashtra by Nushishad, who mounted the throne A.D. 531, corresponds well with the sack of Valabhi, A.D. 524. Khusru Parvez, grandson of Nushirwan the Great, and who assumed this title according to Firdausi, married Marjan, the daughter of Maurice, the Greek emperor of Byzantium. She bore him Shirauah (the Siroes of the early Christian writers), who slew his father. It is difficult to separate the actions of the two Nushirwans, and still more to say which of them merited the epithet of *adil*, or ‘just.’

“According to the ‘Tables’ in Moreri, Nushishad, son of Khusru the Great, reigned from A.D. 531 to 591. This is opposed to the *Maasiru-i-Umara*, which asserts that he was slain during his rebellion. Siroes, son of Khusru (the second Nushirwan) by his wife Marjan, alternately called the friend and foe of the Christians, did raise the standard of revolt, and met the fate attributed to Nushishad; on which Yazdegird, his nephew, was proclaimed. The crown was intended for Shirauah’s younger brother, which caused the revolt, during which the elder sought refuge in India.

We have a singular support to these historic relics in a geographical fact, that places on the site of the ancient Valabhi a city called Byzantium, which almost affords conclusive proof that it must have been the son of Nushirwan who captured Valabhi and Gajni, and destroyed the family of Siladiya; for it would be a legitimate occasion to name such conquest after the city where his Christian mother had had birth. Whichever of the propositions we adopt at the command of the author of the Annals of Princes, namely, ‘that the Sesodia race is of the seed of Nushishad, son of Nushirwan, or of that of Mahabanu, daughter of Yazdegird,’ we arrive at a singular and startling conclusion, viz., that the ‘Hindua Suraj, descendant of a hundred kings,’ the undisputed possessor of the honours of Rams, the patriarch of the Solar race, is the issue of a Christian princess: that the chief prince amongst the nations of Hind can claim affinity with the emperors of ‘the mistress of the world’.

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5 It is really a town called Vajayanti in Decau.
"But though I deem it morally impossible that the Ranas should have their lineage from any male branch of the Persian house, I would not equally assert that Mahabau, the fugitive daughter of Yazdegird, may not have found a husband, as well as sanctuary, with the prince of Saurashtra; and she may be the Subhagna (mother of Siladitya), whose mysterious amour with the 'sun' compelled her to abandon her native city of Kaira. The son of Marian had been in Saurashtra, and it is therefore not unlikely that her grand-child should there seek protection in the reverses of her family."

Such is Col. Tod's account of the princes of Mewār. It is needless to discuss every passage in his writings. A few facts only will suffice.

As regards the sack of Valabhi, the Śatruṇāya Māhadāmya on which Tod relays seems to have been written in or later than the twelfth century A.D., for; it contains an account of the ruler Kumārapāla (1142 to 1173 A.D.) of Gujarāt. It, therefore, does not appear very reliable. Secondly, the inscription, the unexpected discovery of which is spoken of by the author, is really the Bejolīya inscription7, dated Saṅvat 1226 (A.D. 1169), of the time of Sōmēśvara, which speaks of the Chauhāna king Viṣaladēva IV of Ajmer, whose fame is said to have spread even in the streets and turrets (Valabhi) after his conquest of the territory extending as far as Delhi and Hansī in the Punjab.

Lastly, the discovery of the Sāmāṇī inscription8 of Siladitya of Mewār, dated Saṅvat 703 (A.D. 646) finally settles the matter. From the Afnā copper plate inscription, dated A.D. 766 of the last Siladitya of Valabhipur, we know that he was the ruler of the Valabhi kingdom at least up to the date of the inscription, i.e., the latter half of the eighth century A.D. The final overthrow9 of that kingdom must have taken place later on, in or about A.D. 776. As the date of Siladitya of Mewār is Saṅvat 703 (A.D. 646), that of Guhadatta, his fifth10 predecessor, should fall in the latter half of the sixth century A.D., assigning an average rule of at least twenty years to each ruler. Thus Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār, had established his rule in Mewār long before the break up of the Valabhi kingdom. Hence, it is impossible to call Gōha or Guhadatta a descendant of Siladitya VI or VII11 of Valabhipur.

Next, we have to consider the connection of the Rānas with Persia. It may be noted that in the second century A.D., Saurāśtra (Kāṭhiāvād) was under the Western Kṣatrapas12 and not under Kanakṣen, as Tod asserts. Noshirwān Ādil ascended the throne of Persia in September 532 A.D., and, after a glorious reign of about forty-eight years, died in February 579 A.D. His son Noshizād hearing that his father was seriously ill, rebelled about 551 A.D. He was, however, not executed, but merely rendered ineligible for the throne by a slight facial disfigurement. Yazdegird was the last sovereign of the House of Sassan, a dynasty which ruled Persia four hundred and fifty years. He was defeated by the Arabs in the battle of Nahavand (A.D. 641) and was afterwards murdered in the neighbourhood of Merv in 651 or 652 A.D. After the overthrow of the Persian empire, the family of Yazd-gird escaped with their lives and sought a safer refuge in the fortress of Haft-Ajar, the home of their ancestors. One daughter Meher Bānu (Māha Bānu) sought and

8 Preserved in the Bājūpāñā Museum, Ajmer.
9 Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 171.
11 Ind. Ant., vol. XXXIX, p. 188, Inscription No. IV.
12 Dr. Fleet designates Silāditya VI as Silāditya VII. In fact, Silāditya II, of his table did not ascend the throne, hence Silāditya VII in the table ought to be Silāditya VI. See Gupta Inscriptions, p. 41. (Preface).
13 Rudradamā was the ruler then, as shown by his inscriptions, dated Śaka Saṅvat 52 or A.D. 130 (Ep. Ind., vol. 16, p. 23), and 72 or A.D. 150 (Ep. Ind., vol. 8, p. 36).
obtained relief in the stronghold of Gorab. Tod gives the date of the sack of Valabhi as A.D. 524; so, according to this date, the death of Siladiyita VI. of Valabhipur and the subsequent retreat of his queen Pushpavati to Mewar, where Goha or Guhadatta was born, took place before Noshirvān Adil sat on the throne of Persia. How could then "the period of the invasion of Saurashtra by Noshishad correspond with the sack of Valabhi in A.D. 524." In fact, the actual period of the fall of Valabhi in A.D. 776, as already shown, neither corresponds with the foundation of the Guhila dynasty in Mewar, nor with the accession of Noshirwān, Yazdegird, etc., on the throne of Persia.

Let us now consider the inscriptions—(1) In the Atapur inscription16 of Sānsvat 1034 (A.D. 977), Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila dynasty, is called a Brāhmaṇa (Mahādeva).

(2) In the Chitor inscription,16 dated Sānsvat 1331 (A.D. 1274) of the time of Rawal Samarasiṁha of Mewar, Bāpā, a scion of the Guhila family and [eighth] in descent from Guhadatta, is said to be a 'Vipra' (Brāhmaṇa).

(3) The inscription,17 dated Sānsvat 1545 (A.D. 1488) of the time of Mahārāṇa Kumbhakarna's son Rāyamala, also speaks of Bāpā as a 'divīja' (Brāhmaṇa); and so also does the Ekāliga Māthma, also called Ekāliga Purṇa, of his time.

Now, as regards No. (1), we notice that in the sixth verse of the same inscription, king Naravāhana, a descendant of Guhadatta, is spoken of as 'Kshtrakshetra,' i.e., a place of origin of the Kshatriyas.

Regarding No. (2), it is found that the same Nāgara Brāhmaṇa Vēdāsārmā, who composed this record, says in another inscription,18 dated s. 1342 (A.D. 1285) that Bappaka (Bāpā) obtained from Hariṣṭārshi the qualifications of a Kshatriya (regal qualifications) after he had bestowed on the sage those of a Brāhmaṇa (priestly qualifications), and that the princes, who were born in his race shone like the regal duties in bodily form.

From the version of this inscription, it appears that the predecessors of Bāpā performed the duties of a Brāhmaṇa (priestly duties) and that it was Bāpā, who first renounced that practice. This is in accordance with Muhnot Naïnsy's story written at the end; the difference only lies in the fact that Bāpā was eighth in descent, and not tenth from Gōhā or Guhadatta (Guhila).

In respect of No. (3), we have to state that in an inscription,19 dated Sānsvat 1557 (not 1597, as wrongly printed), of the time of the same Mahārāṇa Rāyamala, Guhadatta (Guhadatta), Bappaka (Bāpā), Khumān, etc., are called Śūryavanśīya.

Besides these, there are many other inscriptions which show the princes of the Guhila family to be Śūryavanśī Kshatriyas. Among them, the following may be noted:

(a) In the inscription,20 dated Sānsvat 1028 (A.D. 971), of the time of king Naravāhana of Mewār, the priests of the temple of Ekāliga are spoken of as having diffused

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18 Bhāmangar Inscriptions, p. 78.
19 Bhāmangar Inscriptions, p. 118.
20 Bhāmangar Inscriptions, p. 141.
the fame of Raghuvanaśa from the Himalayas to Rāma's bridge (a ridge of rocks at the southern extremity of India), that is, throughout the length and breadth of India. As the priests of the temple are the religious preceptors of the kings of Mewār, who are the donors of large estates to the temple, the word 'Raghuvanaśa' must refer to the Gūhila family, to which the kings of Mewār belonged.

(b) The inscription, dated Sānita 1335 (A.D. 1278) of the time of Samarasinha, while speaking of the Guhilot king Siṅha, calls him a Kshatriya.

(c) In the inscription on a well built by Mahārāṣṭra Mōkala in Sānita 1485 (A.D. 1428) at Śṛṇga Rīshi, six miles from Īkaliṅgaja in Mewār, Mahārāṣṭra Kshetrasinha, grandfather of Mōkala, is said to be 'Maṇḍanamaṇi' (jewel) of the Kshatriya family.

Now, the question arises: how is it that Bāpā and others are called Brāhmaṇas in some of the inscriptions. The story narrated in Muhnot Nainsy's khyāta explains this deviation. The purport of the story is given below:—

After the death of her husband, the mother of Guhilōt (Guhila) prepared herself for the pyre to become a Sati in her state of full pregnancy, and as such was prevented by the Brāhmaṇas from doing so. She was soon delivered of a son, whom she handed over to a Brāhmaṇa named Vijayāditya, who was praying for a son in the temple of Kōṭēśvara Siva. The latter, however, refused to take charge of the child, remarking that, as the infant was the son of a Rājput, it would, contrary to the duties of a Brāhmaṇa, kill men, animals, etc., when it would come of age. On this, the queen assured him, on her honour as a Sati, that the child and its progeny would perform the duties of a Brāhmaṇa up to ten generations.

The child was accordingly adopted by the Brāhmaṇa and brought up by him. Thus, according to the legend, the child and his descendants performed the priestly duties for ten generations and were called Nāgā (Nāgara) Brāhmaṇas. This son of Vijayāditya belonged to the Solar race and was called Guhilōt(Guhila) Sōmadata (Sōmaḍitya), after whom came Śīlāditya, and others.

It seems, therefore, that some of the old writers (mostly Brāhmaṇas) have based their conception on this or a similar story, and have, either through ignorance of the real fact, or to gratify their vanity by identifying a prince of the blood royal with their own caste, called Bāpā and others Brāhmaṇas, in opposition to the writings of the Jain scholars.

From what has been said above, we conclude that the Guhila dynasty of Mewār was established about two centuries before the fall of Valabhipur. The Persian dynasty was also reigning about the same period. But there is no connection between the house of Valabhi and either Mewār or Persia. Also there is no evidence that Nushīzād came to India; nor is there any real evidence of the Persian descent of the Rāṇas. Col. Tod himself writes in one place that 'the prince of Mewar is universally allowed to be the first of the thirty-six royal tribes'; nor has a doubt ever been raised respecting his purity of descent.

In the case of inscriptions too, we see that, while one or two writers of one age have called Bāpā and other princes of the family Brāhmaṇas, there are many others who have called them Kshatriyas. In fine, neither did the kings of Valabhi owe their origin to the royal family of Persia; nor did the princes of Mewār owe theirs to that of Valabhi.

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22 'Īkaliṅgā-ka-Diwān' is the common title of the Rāgas of Udaipur.
23 B̄īgvañjī R̄uvaṇapati, p. 189.
24 Unpublished Inscription at Śṛṇga Rīshi.
27 Ibid., p. 278, n. 2.
28 Ibid., p. 247.
29 About 2,000 silver coins bearing the legend 'Śrī Gūhila' were discovered near Agra (Cunningham's A.S.R., vol. 4, p. 95). From these as well as the Chaṭā inscription of Bālāditya (Ep. Ind., vol. 12, p. 13), it appears that Gūhila and probably his descendants were ruling over the territories extending up to Agra in the north-east.
30 For a previous discussion of the origin of the Gūhilōta, see C. V. Vaidya, History of Medieval Hindu India, vol. II (1924), pp. 89-90.—JOINT EDITORS.
BOOK-NOTICES


This monumental work of untold labour, which is of the greatest value to all students of the doings of the great East India Company, is based chiefly on the records at the India Office, placed at the disposal of the author. Right good use has he made of the liberality shown him, to produce a work which all must consult who wish to know the details of the work of the English in China in the early days. There are unfortunate gaps in the records up to 1775 for reasons the author, perhaps wisely, does not explain, and like all gaps they occur just at the right time. One gap from 1705 to 1711 covers the periods of the amalgamation of the London and East India Companies—a period of special interest—and another of 20 years (1754-1774) covers important events like “The Seven Years’ War and the North American Acts—the Stamp Act and the Tea Tax.”

Despite the defects in the records an immense amount of information is placed at the disposal of students, from the days of single ships under super-cargoes, who were sometimes the Commanders themselves, to the yearly Council of Super-cargoes, superseded in 1786 by the Select Committee. The trade was essentially an English trade, in which a number of Scotchmen were engaged, and was carried on by means of a small amount of goods and a great amount of dollars for investment in a not large selection of the products of China. It was carried on under enormous difficulties, and the records given in the book show an astonishing amount of human nature on its worst, the greedy side. The first volume of the Chronicles (1635-1774) shows the Chinese merchant, who might otherwise have been honest enough from old trade association, under the thumb of a new Tartar aristocracy, which had no knowledge of the ethics of commercial dealings, and only the readiest and crudest notions of filling their own pockets. That any trade was carried on at all is evidence of English tenacity.

The volume commences with a new view of Weddell's voyage to Canton in 1637 for the Courteen Association. From the delightful pages of Peter Mundy's account we have what may be called the social and travelling sides of that venture. In this book we get the commercial side, which shows that the Courteen venture did more harm than good. Then the narrative goes on steadily in great detail showing the strenuous and ceaseless struggle between the English adventurers and the Chinese Officials. Here and there, by the way, the reader learns, through Dr. Morse's clear exposition and admirable notes, how the various commercial habits and terms, now obtaining and used, came one by one into existence. It is not a book to review, but it tells the searcher things about the Anglo-Chinese trade and those who carried it on, which he could not possibly learn otherwise. The book, however, is strictly a chronicle, and the searcher will have to find out for himself the story of any particular institution, e.g., of the Hoppo, but he will find that the whole of it is there. It is, indeed, a true mine of information and Dr. Morse shows himself to be a guide that can help the student to explore it successfully.

The second volume carries on the story to 1804 and gives a chronicle of the same class of endless trouble as heretofore, but the scene of course over varies as the trade progresses and customs become established. In 1788 there was an attempt—the first of its kind—to settle matters with the Chinese Imperial Government and Colonel Cathcart of the Bengal Army was sent out as ambassador, but he died on the way and never reached China. In 1793 took place the celebrated embassy of Lord Macartney, which eventually failed in its purpose of obtaining "a modest charter for the English trade," secured later on only by force in 1842. The trade, however, went on again in the old way—trade trouble in China, wars in Europe. Opium became important as a commodity, and continued to be very troublesome as an article of trade through all the Company's days. Dangerous incidents from time to time occurred, partly owing to the difference between English and Chinese customs and ideas in regard to justice. One such incident was the very serious affair of the Lady Hughes in 1784, when a Chinaman was accidentally killed in the firing of a salute. Chinese custom demanded vengeance for the death whether accidental or otherwise, and a highly dangerous situation arose. In 1799 there was a similar incident over the Providence, which, however, brought out the great value of Sir George Thomas Staunton's knowledge of Chinese. In this way, the Chinese trade was liable to entirely unforeseen disturbance over mere accidents and misunderstandings, to say nothing of political troubles, such as the sudden death of an Emperor in 1799, to be succeeded by another who reversed what he could of his predecessor's acts, not necessarily however with evil effect. The risks of carrying on trade were as great as ever.

Volume III takes the tale to 1820. Between 1805 and that date piracy had become a burning question and the opium trade still gave grave trouble. In 1807 occurred the case of the Neptune, presenting the usual type of dispute where Chinese and Englishmen were concerned, and leading to a celebrated trial of English sailors before a Chinese Court. In 1808 the English temporarily occupied Macao in the course of the war and generally current between European nations—a proceeding that did little good to the English trade with the Chinese. On the whole, however, trade proceeded during the period 1805-1820 with perhaps less friction than before. In 1816 there took place
another Embassy to the Emperor—that of Lord Amherst, when there occurred the famous dispute about the Kotow and the eventual repentence of the Chinese authorities. Incidentally the courage of the English traders in a great difficulty comes out clearly: “A firm and decided tone will generally carry a point in China provided the grounds are just and reasonable” are the words of the Select Committee on this occasion—which may well be remembered. Affairs thereafter ran fairly easily for a while.

The last volume opens with the affairs of the Emily and the Topaze in 1821. The Emily was an American ship and the dispute was the old story of a more or less accidental killing of a Chinese by a white sailor. The result was trouble that endangered the American trade. The Topaze was an English Man of War and an affair arose because the killing in this case was only alleged. In 1822 there was a disastrous fire in Canton which included the English and all the Foreign Factories, but it did not destroy the trade even temporarily, which thereafter proceeded as usual with the same old troubles, sometimes aggravated by the action of the Company in England.

On 31st January 1831 the English Factories moved to Macao and a dispute commenced with the Chinese authorities, in which one can see the commencement of the troubles that led to war later on. On p. 292 Dr. Morse sums up the situation thus: “We see on the one hand a Chinese mandarin carrying out an imperial rescript, accustomed to acquiescence in any order he might give and to implicit obedience as long as he was in sight, resentful and impatient at the least hesitation or opposition to his will. He visits the factory attended by a rabble of undisciplined soldiers and runners, eager to forestall his slightest wish. On the other hand we see a body of English, who have recently emerged successful from a great war, in which they swept their enemies from all seas; whose (literally) brothers and cousins are administrators and rulers of the Indian Empire; who are fully conscious of their superiority over those who, for their part, assert their own superiority; and who have now reached the stage of having determined that they shall enjoy in Canton on the same freedom and the same privileges as would be enjoyed by Chinese in London. Between two such diverse views, conflict was inevitable. What the Chinese did not see was that the irruption of the foreigner was not to be kept out by any artificial dams; what the Committee did not realize was that only military force could make the Chinese yield to their demands.” And there is left the situation of the Trade with China under the East India Company.

R. C. Temple.

This excellent little book, of which the second title “Notes on Historical Methodology for Indian Students” shows its purpose, is written entirely in the right way. It shows the student what history as a science is and then in what ways it should be studied, dividing the “science” into four parts: heuristics (collection of documents), criticism, synthesis and exposition, leaving archeology, the study of old monuments, buildings and ruins, as a subject apart. The author then gives us a long list of “the best works” on Indian History, which is one of the finest I have seen—a list worth the while of the most serious student to keep always by himself.

Subsidiary studies analogous to the main subject are not neglected, e.g. pictography as the study of old paintings and here again we are given a valuable bibliography. To numismatics is added a still better list of books and the same may be said of sigilography or the science of seals. To the study of tradition, the Jesuit letters, private diaries and letters and accounts of travel, court chronicles, State Papers, and so on, are attached a series of bibliographies of the highest value. Then follows some sage advice as to criticism, with a definition of that horrible “scientific” term hermeneutics—the effort to discover the reliability of documents. Still sager advice is given as to the constructive part of the historian’s work after he has collected his facts and digested the result. Altogether Father Heras has put together the results of his careful study of Indian History so well and so usefully that I as one student at any rate will keep the work by me for reference. I have, however, been much interested in his describing (p. 2) the statement as to Mahmud Baigara’s having been a “poison man” as an “individual fact.” The story—it is told also by Varthema who was in Cambay in 1504—seems to me to be folklore and reminiscent of the old tales about the “poison maiden.” But the quotation given on p. 3 from Mirat-i-Sikandari as to his eating habits account for the description of him as a man of great grossness of body.

R. C. Temple.

Lord Mahavira, a Short Sketch of the Life of Bhagwan Mahavira, by Harisatyu Bhattacharya of Howrah, the Jain Mittra Mandel, Delhi, 1926.

This is a short tract on the life of the founder of Jainism from the Jain point of view. It is Tract 43 of the Delhi Jain Society and is useful for letting scholars have an insight into the Jain ideals of their religion and its founder. The existence of these tracts that are being constantly issued is a sign of the renaissance of Jainism and the anxiety of its followers that their tenets may become generally known.

R. C. Temple.
THOMAS CANA AND HIS COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

(Continued from pages 121—128 and 147—155.)

Additional Remarks.

Page 121, note 1.—The bulk of the first Malabar converts to Christianity consisted, according to tradition, of Namburi Brahmins or Nairs.

The Nairs are Dravidians, like the vast majority of the population of South India. They differ from the dark Dravidians of the East Coast, because of free admixture with the Aryan Nambru Brahman immigrants to Malabar. The wives of all the male members of a Nambru's family, except the father and the eldest son, are Nair women, not Nambru women, because, according to custom (now slowly changing), only the eldest son of a Nambru family can take a Nambru woman to wife. The children of the Nair wives of Nambru belong to the Nair caste, not to the father's caste. Such free hybridization did not take place on the East Coast. Hence, the Malabar Dravidians are fairer and taller than the other Dravidians of South India.

The Dravidians, according to most authorities, came to India from the East Coast of Africa or from somewhere between that coast and India, through the N.W. passes of India. They were Africans rather than Parthians.—T.K.J. [Some, like Schott in his Periplus, hold rather that the movement was in the contrary direction, from parts of Asia near India to Arabia and Africa.—H.H.]

Tardeicalmainquenar = Taritāykkal Nāyikkannar, i.e., Christians of the Nāykkar caste. Cf. the word Nayaka or Nayika of Madura.

Covilinar = Čōvīḷinar, people of the ruling caste, almost like Kahaṭriyas.

Bramenas = Brāhmānas. Beḷḷālas, those of the agricultural class, something like the Śūdas.

Tarrītāykkal (Malayalam and Tamil) is from the Syriac Triaθ (orthodox), from which Taris and Tarsa are also derived. 'Taris Church' of the Quilon copper-plates means 'Orthodox Christian Church' (orthodox, according to the personal estimate of the Christians of the Quilon Church in question), the Persian Christians who built the church were perhaps Nestorians.—T.K.J.

Page 122, note 5.—Jack-wood (Artocarpus integrifolia) and ebony (Diospyros melanoxylon) are used for crosses in Malabar. The former is yellow, and the latter jet black, and both take a high polish.—T.K.J.

Page 125, note 15.—Mahādeva Panṭṭanam was the same as, or part of, the Christian quarters at Cranganore. It means the city of Mahādeva, i.e., of Śiva, the Hindu god. Literally, Mahā-deva means the great god. That is why the British Museum MS. of 1604 has 'the city of the great idol' (god) in the translation of the Thomas Cana Copper-plates.

The oldest form of the name is Makōtaī. Makōtaibar = he of Makōtaī, the king of Makōtaī. His paṇṭṭanam (=town) is Makōtaibar paṇṭṭanam, which later became Mahādeva paṇṭṭanam, with a different meaning. In Sanskrit it has become Mahādāyana Puram = the city of great prosperity, puram being but a synonym of paṇṭṭanam.

The derivation of the oldest form Makōtaī is uncertain. Could it be from Mahāsā, or Mahāsū, the well-known name of a town in Mesopotamia, from which immigrants perhaps came and colonized Cranganore?

The modern Malayalam form of Makōtaī is Makōta.—T.K.J.

Can it be proved that the name Mahādevarpāṭṭanam did not at one time mean 'the city of the Great God,' i.e., the God of the Christians?

[The Rev. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D., a Syrian, identifies Sandarokk, to which somehow he adds Mahōsa, with Cranganore. He states further that Mahōsa is Syriac for 'town'. Cf. his A brief Sketch of the History of the Syrian Christians, Trichinopoly, 1924, p. 4. If that were so, Cranganore and Mylapore might have been called Mahōsa, and perhaps the Maishan of The Hymn of the Soul, which St. Thomas sang in the land of the Indians, is Mylapore.—H.H.] Mahōsa does not mean ' town '; it is the name of a town.—T.K.J.

The Mauhuza mentioned by Jacob of Sarug (A.D. 500–521) in connection with the meeting of Habban and St. Thomas, must have been in Mesopotamia: for Thomas objected to going to India. Asserian (Bibl. Orient., t. 3., para. 2, p. 761) distinguishes two Mauhuza in Mesopotamia: one a suburb of Bagdad, called Caramu, Coreh or Coreh, the other, called Archena, in Assyria or Adiabene. A. Miguna, The Early Spread of Christianity in India (reprinted from The Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library, vol. 10, No. 2, July 1926, p. 69), has a Karka de Maishan, ancient capital of the Meene (Maishan) towards Basrah. The Malabar accounts which bring St. Thomas from India Basrah would seem to have identified Jacob of Sarug's Mauhuza with Perath-Maishan near Basrah, which had a bishopric in A.D. 225. Cf. Miguna, op. cit., p. 61. The Mawum Kali Song, for which Mr. T. K. Joseph consulted two Kottayam editions, one of 1910, and an earlier one having a colophon with the date 1732, brings Thomas and Habban from 'Mahōsa,' the earlier edition spelling it Mahōđa. Ittup's Malayalam History of the Malabar Syrian Christian Church, Cochin, 1889 (2nd ed., Kottayam, 1906, consulted by Mr. T. K. Joseph) has Mahōsēn in Yusee (sic., p. 768). The Thomas Parum of 1601 makes St. Thomas and Habban embark in Arabia. In an itinerary of St. Thomas, do Couto gets the name Mauhoya, and states that Bishop Francisco Roz, S.J., was of opinion it was Malacca. Cf.
Do Couto objected that no ships went direct from Mozambique to Malacca and that St. Thomas came to India from Maranhaya.—H.H.

Page 125, note 16.—I know of no records in which a Cranganore era is used. There are many in which the Vypin era, counted from the almost sudden formation of the island of Vypin during the extraordinary flood of A.D. 1341, occurs. It is known as the putu-vippu (new deposit) era in Malayalam. Vypin (Malayalam Vaippe) is an island 13 miles long and one mile broad, on the north side of Cochin.—T.K.J.

Page 125.—"The copy of the ola . . . . . . says faithfully this." This statement has led me to think that Bishop Roz writing in 1604 had before him the Jew's (p. 149 infra) transcript of the original inscription, or at least a copy of that transcript, from which the prelate made his faithful Portuguese translation. Bishop Roz knew Malayalam fairly well.

Is this transcript or its copies still extant? It may be among the old Portuguese MSS. from Malabar, and a search has to be made for it in the British Museum or in one of the archives on the continent.—T.K.J.


Page 127, note 28.—[Esta escriptura sedi[a] e tam[b]a afortunada. This must be a translation of the usual phrase 'khejeputtu Śrī,' occurring at the end of old inscriptions. It means literally 'handwriting. Prosperity.' 'Śrī' (कलक्ष) is the goddess of prosperity or luck, and the word is usually written at the beginning of any kind of writing (letters, documents, etc.) as an auspicious symbol, and sometimes at the end, as the signature of a person. In the present instance it is the signature of the royal donor.

By sedi[a]ta does the translator indicate that a sign or seal is put in the plate just before Śrī?—T.K.J.

The date when the Thomas Cama copper-plates were executed is not given. The seven kinds of musical instruments, the five kinds of tribute, and the limits of the property assigned to Thomas Cama are not enumerated. Shall we say that there were other copper-plates specifying these points, or that the translator omitted the specifications? What shall we think of the following tradition which I have never found referred to by the Portuguese? "One Kerala Ulpati (i.e., legendary history of Malabar) of the Nasrains, says that their forefathers . . . built Codangalur, as may be learned from the granite inscription at the northern entrance of the Tiruvanjeelam temple." Cf. Dr. Gundert, in Madras Journal, XIII, 122, quoted in Hocson-Johnson, s.v. Shinkali. In January 1924, I spoke of this text to the Dewan of Cochin, who believed that the inscription had been buried near the temple on the arrival of Tipu Sultan in Malabar. I went to Tiruvanchikulam in February 1924, inquired, was disappointed, but was shown instead, at some distance from the temple, half-buried under a bamboo clump in a private garden, an enormous stone with an inscription, which has since been read by Mr. T. K. Joseph.—H.H.]

At the instance of C. W. E. Cotton, Esq., C.I.E., L.C.S., of the Indian Historic Records Commission, this stone now known as the Vaṭāṣṭri Śtome was more than a year ago acquired by the Cochin Government and removed to the Tiruchirapalli Museum, in Cochin. The inscription on it seems to be the earliest known record relating to the Cochin "royal house." Paleographically it is, I think, of circa 1000 A.D.—T.K.J.

[We must suppose that Mgr. Roz secured a copy of the Portuguese translation made by the Jew mentioned by Lucena (p. 149). Roz declares that he copied faithfully what he had before him. Do Couto probably obtained his copy from Roz, and changed it in a few points which to him appeared of little consequence.—H.H.]

Page 127, note 30.—Sandarukh alias Andropolis, was certainly outside India. So, it cannot be Cranganore. Please scrutinize the Acts again.

[Answer.—Mr. T. K. Joseph may have been impressed by Dr. J. N. Farquhar's paper "The Apostle Thomas in North India" (reprinted from The Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library, vol. 10, No. 1, January 1920). There we find, pp. 19-20, Dr. Farquhar identifying with Andropolis (sic), a town at one day's sail up the Nile from Alexandria, the Sandarūk and Andropolis of the Acts and the Andranopolis of the Passio. Andropolis was situated on the left bank of the Nile, and is now Chabur or Shaboob. Is that satisfactory? The only reason we might have to make St. Thomas come by the Red Sea is that Habban is made to meet St. Thomas at Cäsarea in the Passio; but, considering Jacob of Sarug and our Indian authorities quoted above, to which we could add other Indian authorities, we might suspect that Cäsarea is a mistake for Baarah or Maishan. Be that as it may, Sandarūk must be identified with Cranganore.

Habban takes Thomas homewards to India in a ship, to the royal town of Andropolis and from there goes to the cities of India, whence he reaches Gundaphar. Cf. M. R. James. The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford, 1924; Greek Acts, s. 366, s 3; p. 371, s 16. In the De Miracles the town is not named. Thomas was often commissioned by the Lord to visit Citerior India. Habban comes and takes him to the first city of India, in Citerior India, the voyage having lasted only three months, though it always took three years. St. Jerome says that the journey by the Red Sea would take a year, and that six months was fast.) From this unnamed city in Citerior India, where Thomas assisted at the marriage-feast of the
king's daughter, the feast being mentioned under Sandaruk and Andrapolis in the Acts, Thomas soon leaves for Ulterior India, the king and many of his people following after him to be baptised, and the king becoming a deacon. Cf. Bonnet, Acts Thomae, Lips., 1883; De Miraculis, pp. 97, 98, 101. In the Passio Habban comes by ship to Casisarea, and in 7 days takes Thomas by ship to Andrapolis; after the marriage feast of the king's daughter, both sail away, and reach Gundaphar. Cf. Bonnet, op. cit., pp. 133, 135, 139. In the Syriac Acts we have: "a certain merchant, an Indian, happened to come into the South country from...

_(the British Museum MS. being injured here, the name of the place is not legible)." Cf. Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 4. The Berlin and the Cambridge MS. have: "a certain merchant came from the South country." The missing word in the British Museum MS. is perhaps Hindustan, as Burkitt thought, cf. *ibid.*, 190. I propose Maluza with Medlycott, and suggest that the South country from which Habban came was for the author South India, Malabar or Mylapore, since none of our four earliest authorities seems to know that Gundaphar reigned in the North-West, while Indian and Mesopotamian accounts, from at least Barbeaues (1246-50) place Gundaphar at Mylapore. Possibly Jacob of Sarug does the name (a.d. 500-521). I cannot consult him, but I know that he makes Habban ask of Gundaphar whether it is possible to build without foundations in the sea. The Malabar accounts have brought Habban from Mylapore to Maluza and back to Mylapore.

[My reasons for identifying Sandaruk with Cranganore are: (1) The name Anayen (Andrew) given by the Thoma Parum of 1601 to the king of Tiruvanchikulam (Cranganore). Compare it with Andrapolis, Andrapolis, Adrianopolis, and note that, as Sandaruk or Sanadrak of the Edessan Syriac Acts is the name of an Edessan king, the third after Abgar, i.e., Sanatruce or Sanotrugh, Abgar’s sister’s son, the form Sandaruk or Sanadrak is least reliable, unless like the other names it can be connected with some name like Andrew or Anrayos. The ending šak must be compared with šak in Cosmas Indicopleustes’ Mangaurth (for Mangalur, Mangalore). (2) The Malabar tradition assigns to Cranganore the marriage-feast of the king’s daughter, which in the Acts and Passio takes place at Sandaruk, Andrapolis or Andrapolis. The De Miraculis, as we have said, places it in the first town of India, in Ulterior India, where Thomas first landed, thus agreeing with our other three sources. (3) The author of the Passio says (Bonnet, op. cit., p. 139) that, soon after, Thomas sent a priest to Andrapolis to take charge of his church, and that in his own time the See of Thomas was still there, with a great multitude won over to Christ. The first bishop appointed to Andrapolis by Thomas was Dionysius, the king’s son-in-law. In the Thoma Parum we find that the son-in-law (T.K. Joseph translates by ‘nephew’) of the king of Tiruvanchikulam, i.e., Cranganore, is called Bishop Këppa (Peter). The Dionysius of the Passio is therefore the Peter of the Thoma Parum. Possibly, one gives his heathen name, and the other his Christian name, or the name he took on becoming a bishop. As neither the Acts nor the De Miraculis has a name for Dionysius, and the name in the Passio differs from that in the Thoma Parum, the Thoma Parum is independent, while both the Passio and the Thoma Parum confirm each other.

[The Thoma Parum is also independent of our earliest authorities for the name Andrew given to the king of Tiruvanchikulam. The Passio gives him no name; the De Miraculis neither; but the latter says, on the occasion when Sifur, Mazda’s general, meets Thomas, that present at the meeting was St. Thomas’ deacon, the king of the marriage-feast celebrated at the first town in India where Thomas had landed. In the Acts the deacon present on the same occasion, to whom Thomas entrusts the people of the place, is called Xanthippus (Syriac Acts), Xenophon (Greek Acts). We must conclude that the deacon Xanthippus-Xenophon is no other than the deacon-king of Andrapolis. The meeting between Sifur and Thomas must therefore have taken place at Andrapolis; for the deacon-king must have returned to Andrapolis with his people after pursuing Thomas in the direction of Gundaphar’s kingdom, perhaps to Gundaphar’s capital, chiefly as Thomas remained at least two years in Gundaphar’s dominions. The Thoma Parum is independent of our other authorities in that it calls the king Andrew, and does not allude to his becoming a deacon. It is independent in other matters as well. Shall we say that the Thoma Parum borrowed the name from the name Andrapolis, or Andrapolis or Sandaruk, when it calls Andrew king of Tiruvanchikulam? Shall we not say rather that the name Andrew is represented in Andrapolis or Andrapolis and is older than the Greek Acts? The name for Sandaruk, if it can be connected with a name like Andrew? We have then the very curious fact that the following Greek names Xanthippus, Xenophon, Andrew, Dionysius, Pelagia (the name of the king’s daughter), Andrapolis, Andrapolis, Adrianopolis, all refer to Cranganore. Compare this with the Greek influence from Alexandria and perhaps Mesopotamia exercised on the Malabar coast in the first two or three centuries of our era, and with the fact that we have at Kuravallangaad, in Malabar, a Christian bell with an inscription of which we suppose the characters to be Greek rather than anything else. Note also that the Passio states that an inscription on the tomb of Pelagia declared in Greek and in the Greek character: "Here rests Pelagia, the spouse of Bishop Dionysius, who was the daughter of Thomas the Apostle."

[The Passio agrees in so many matters with the Thoma Parum alone, while yet differing from it in substantial points, that we must say both have preserved details older and more reliable than the Gnostic Acts we now have. The Passio is quoted by Isidore of Seville (d. 636) and in the Mozarabic liturgy. It is
older than the De Miraculis, which borrows from it, but only partly, in one point of importance, the scene in the Temple of the Sun. The De Miraculis itself is quoted by St. Gregory the Great (d. 610), and it cannot be by Gregory of Tours (d. 593–594), for the simple reason that it represents the removal of St. Thomas’ relics in the lifetime of Manauli, whereas Gregory of Tours, who knew the Passio, says it took place after a long time. If the Passio were of a.d. 495, it would still be of respectable antiquity. It vouches for the hierarchy, deacon, priest, and bishop, established at Cranganore by Thomas and its continuity until as late as a.d. 450, the date we suppose. It does so in a manner clearer than any other document we have. In turn, the Malabar tradition vouches for the apostolicity of the Mylapore Church and for Thomas’ death and burial at Mylapore. We now see that, with the See of Thomas at Cranganore up to a.d. 450, it can do so authoritatively. The St. Thomas question is solved for Mylapore, and solved on the most satisfactory lines, those of the Malabar tradition.

(It matters little now if the Thoma Parnan is suspect in certain matters. It would be invaluable, had it kept only the name Andrew of the king of Andrapolis and the name Kepha of his bishop son-in-law.—H.H.)

Andrew and Këppâ of Thomas’ Rambun’s song of a.d. 1601 are mere fabrications, I suspect. The song is entirely unfounded, although it is said to be based on a MS. of the 1st century. I have altogether ignored the song. It is a pious fraud, if I may say so.

These are my chief reasons for regarding the song as spurious:

(1) The author says that this song is an abridged version of an account written in the first century a.d. But none other than he has heard of or seen such an important historical document—neither Barbaro, De Barros, Correa, Menezes, Gouvea. Ros nor any other person eagerly searching for documents relating to the history of the Malabar Church. The first-century document that suddenly manifested itself to Thomas Rambun (=Thomas the Monk) in 1601 a.d.—where has it gone?

(2) This song, which the author himself says was composed in a.d. 1601, is in point of style and language more modern than another well-known Malayalam song of a.d. 1732, called the Mārga-Kali Song.

(3) The song gives a good many astounding minute details—for instance, the names of Anrayës (Andrew) king of Cranganore, of Këppâ (Cephas, Peter) his nephew consecrated bishop, and of Paulōs (Paul) king of Mylapore also consecrated bishop; the amount of time the apostle spent in each place; the respective numbers of Brahmanas (6800), Kshatriyas (2500), Vaisyas (3700), Sudras (4250) and Jews (40) that he converted; the number of the kings (7) that he ordained priests, of the chiefs (21) that he made trustees of the common fund, of the dead (29) that he raised to life, and of the diseased (1260) that he healed. But not even a single one of these details is found either in the traditions of the respective localities in Malabar, or in other records in Syrian or Malayalam. That means that from the first century a.d. until the discovery of the song about twenty years ago—i.e., for about 1830 years—the details recorded therein had no existence in the world of actuality.—T.K.J.

REMARKS BY T.K.J.

(1) Even before Dr. Farquhar wrote his paper mentioned by the Rev. Fr. Hosten, I was under the impression that Andrapolis (Sandarkk) was outside India of the present day. But whether it is the Andrapolis pointed out by Dr. Farquhar, I do not know.

(2) The earliest versions of The Acts of Thomas—the Syrian and the Greek—say that the apostle first landed in Andrapolis (Sandarkk), a royal city, and then came into the cities of India and went away—to appear before King Gudnaphar. From this most scholars have inferred that Andrapolis (Sandarkk) was outside India.

(3) Of the later versions the Passio gives us to understand that Andranolis was only a seven days’ sail from Casarea, and that the apostle had to sail further to reach India. So the Passio agrees with the Syrian and Greek versions in this respect.

(4) According to another later version, De Miraculis, Habban takes Thomas to the first city in Citerior India, and thence they leave for Ulterior India. About the time when De Miraculis was written Citerior India meant even the lower extremity of Arabia.—(Medleyott’s Thomas, p. 178). Ethiopia was India Interior (loc. cit.), or the Indies—(ibid., p. 172). Arabia Felix also was the Indies—(ibid., p. 177). To Rufinus (about 345–410 a.d.) India the Farther was Abyssinia.—(ibid., pp. 182, 188). And “at least in Sasanian times” (226–651 a.d.) “and doubtless earlier, there prevailed an idea of an India in the west as well as an India in the east.”—Cambridge History of India, 1, 325. See also Mingana: Early Spread of Christianity in India, reprint, 1926, pp. 11–14.

So Citerior India of De Miraculis was outside modern India.

(5) It is clear therefore that all the four early versions of The Acts place Andrapolis (Sandarkk) outside modern India. It is only in the later Malabar and foreign recensions or adaptations (in Syrian, Portuguese, etc.) that we find Andrapolis identified with Cranganore, and Gudnaphar with the Chola king of Mylapore. And it has to be specially noted that these recensions or adaptations are later than the latest of the first four versions already referred to by at least half a dozen centuries. Like Thomas Rambun’s Song of
1801 A.D. they appear to have received sudden inspiration. Barhebrants (1246–86) seems to be the earliest writer (baring, of course, the Syrian and Greek martyrologies of c. 700, which mention Calaminus, i.e., probably Chinnamalai, near Mylapore) who connects St. Thomas definitely with South India. Cosmas (c. 535) says nothing about St. Thomas in Male (Malabar).

(6) As already shown Thomas Ramban's Song is spurious, and must be ruled out of court.

(7) "Thoma Parvam of 1601." Thomas Ramban's Song of 1601 A.D. is not the same as Thoma Parvam, another Malayalam song about St. Thomas. The song of 1601 and 'Carmen Thome Ramban,' used in Zaleski's The Apostles Thomas, Mangalore, 1912, are the same.

(8) "The name Ḥaray (Andrew) given by the song of 1601. The Māryum-Kali Song (in Malayalam) about St. Thomas, which was the sole, undisputed authority for all Malabar Christians until the publication in 1916 of the song of 1601 A.D., and is still jealously regarded as such by the South Indian section claiming descent from Thomas Cama, call the king not Andrew, but Pōl. I think we need not hesitate to affirm that both these songs got the names from Andrapolis, the Māryum-Kali Song taking the latter half, and the song of 1601 the former. Both the songs seem to be adaptations of the Passio or De Miracula. (See Remark No. 13 infra).

(9) "Son-in-law." The word in the original (marumakan) has the senses of son-in-law and nephew.

(10) "Thoma Parvam is independent." Correct Thoma Parvam into Thomas Ramban's Song of 1601, as indicated in Remark No. 7, ante. The song of 1601 seems to be, on the contrary, dependent on, and in fact an adaptation of the Latin versions of The Acts, interlarded with a large number of details seemingly invented by the author. (See ante, p. 180).

(11) "The Malabar tradition vouches," etc. I beg to submit that we should say 'the Malabar tradition of recent centuries.' But was Malabar tradition of the first, second, third, fourth and the succeeding two or three centuries, identical with that of subsequent centuries? We do not know, because the early Malabar tradition has not come down to us in written form. (See my "St. Thomas in South India," Ind. Ant., December, 1926). Traditions grow and are constantly pruned and grafted. The St. Thomas tradition of Malabar must have been no exception.

(12) "It would be invaluable, had it kept only the name Andrew." As already pointed out in Remark No. 8, the Māryum-Kali Song which, unlike the upstart song of 1601, is still religiously treasured by the Malabar Christians as an invaluable possession, calls him Pōl, not Andrew.

And, be it noted that this Māryum-Kali Song makes Thomas land first in Mylapore, then takes him to Pōl's daughter's marriage feast (at an unnamed place outside the Mylapore king's territory) and to other countries including Malaca and China, back again to Mylapore, thence to Crangane and other places in Malabar, from which country he goes again to Mylapore in obedience to the king's indignant summons and is later killed in a riot at the temple of the goddess Kāli.

On the other hand, the song of 1601 makes Thomas land first in Crangane in A.D. 30, and without allowing him to preach in other parts also of Malabar, hurries him away to Mylapore, whence he proceeds to China and returns to Mylapore. At the invitation of a nephew of the king of Malabar he sails back to Crangane, establishes churches in that kingdom, goes back to Mylapore on foot, returns to Malabar on foot (across the Ghats) with the help of angels and goes back again to Mylapore, where he is killed.

(13) Pōl, king of an East Coast territory, mentioned in the Māryum-Kali Song, and Andrew of Crangane on the West Coast, mentioned in the spurious song of 1601 can easily be traced to Andrapolis of The Acts, the name of a city.

Thomas Ramban, the author of the latter, though unscrupulous, seems to have been the more learned of the two bardic. For he recognised that Andrapolis could mean Andrew's city, and so christened the king Andrew. While the other called him Pōl, most probably because he mistook Andrapolis for a personal name, of which the latter half was to him a surname.

(14) A close study—comparative and analytic—of all the available versions of our Malabar tradition has convinced me (a) that they are not faithful, consistent reproductions of contemporary tradition, but confused essays, studies, or embellishments based on the materials that the authors could lay hands on, and (b) that the tradition in its modern form contains two layers. (1) the purely indigenous story of the saint who lies buried in Mylapore, and (2) the story of The Acts of Thomas. T.K.J.

Page 182, note 31.—Barbosa mentions two churches at Crangane, which must have been burnt down when the Christians fled to Kattutturmi and built a church there. When? Before 1590. I must see the Parav inscription. I write to the Vicar.—T.K.J.

Page 148, note 44, supra.—We find that before A.D. 1510 there was at Crangane a Church of Our Lady of Mercy, and another of St. Thomas. This latter was destroyed in 1536. Mgr. Roz (cf. text ibid.) states that a Syrian MS. of 1507 mentions at Crangane three churches: Our Lady's, St. Thomas' and St. Quire's. In a Syrian MS. of A.D. 1301, the deacon Zechariah, a relative of Mar Jacob, director of the Church of Christian India, states that he writes in the Church of the martyr Mar Cyriacus of Shingala (Crangane).

\[66\] Not having seen Mr. Joseph's rejoinder before it was in printed proof form, I reserve my answer for a future number of the Indian Antiquary.—H.H.
Cf. Mingana, op. cit., reprint, p. 69. Mar Jacob, Metropolitan of India, wrote another Syriac MS. in the Church of St. Thomas of Shingala, in A.D. 1510. Cf. ibid., p. 70. Do Couto states that, after building a church at Cranganore, that of St. Thomas, still existing in do Couto's time on the same site, but renewed, Thomas Cananeo built two others, those of Our Lady and of the martyr St. Cyriacus. The Church of St. Thomas at Cranganore existed probably in A.D. 988, when we hear of one Mar Johannes, Metropolitan in Malabar. The name and the date are found in a relation dated Trichur, Cochun, 1820, and were taken from a Syriac MS. of the Cananoe Code, now Quilon. Cf. The South India Christian Repository, Madras, II (1838), p. 195. This Mar Johannes of A.D. 988 may be the Mar Johnan of Cranganore mentioned by Bishop Roz of Cranganore (p. 147 supra).

[Probably the Christians of Cranganore suffered whenever the Jews of Cranganore were the object of attack. Zeireddien Muhkdom, an Arab, Egyptian, or Turk, who was sent to help Calicut and the Muhammadan princes against the Portuguese, and whose account ends in A.D. 1580 (cf. Asiatick Researches, vol. V: "Historical Remarks on the Coast of Malabar" by Duncan, p. 22) says that in A.D. 931 (A.D. 1524-25) there was a Jewish settlement at Cranganore, which the Muhammadans attacked fiercely, killing the Jews and destroying their houses and synagogues. Many then fled to Chenotta or Chenammangalam. After that, Cranganore was to them distasteful. In 1663, on the occasion of another war between the Samorin and Cochun, they fled to Cochun, where their first leaders were David Baleha, Samuel Castil, Ephraim Salih, and Joseph Levi. In 1667 they had completed their synagogues and some other buildings. Cf. Germania, Die Kirche der Thomaskristen, Gutesloch, 1877, pp. 255-256.—H.H.]

Page 128, note 32.—These names seem to be Kottur, Kottanul, Oumamurtur, and Namrattum; but I am not sure at all. I must enquire. These are all names of places now existing; but there is a rich family by name Kottur, which is now in possession of the lands of the old Villyavarttam king or the king of Malabar Christians.—T.K.J.

[I understand that these are names of families which came from the Mypadore side, perhaps on the occasion of the persecution launched by Manicka Vašačar. A Malabar Christian MS. of c. A.D. 1800, which Mr. T. K. Joseph wrote to me about, places in 293 the flight of Christians from Kāvedriptačam to their brethren in Malabar, and in 315 the arrival of Manicka Vašačar at Quilon. These dates are remarkably close to Geiger's date 315 for Manicka's supposed visit to Ceylon, and to the date 270 in V. A. Smith. Ittu's History refers to the arrival of a Manichean of Persia before this persecution of Manicka Vašačar. The Malabar accounts also state that the Christians of Mypadore were persecuted by Manicka. Though he is now held to have been a Sāvite, he may have been himself a Manichean. The people of Vepor or Bepor, on the Fishery Coast, who, according to Mgr. Roz and do Couto, recollected still that they were of the caste of the Christians, may have been apostates. It was the opinion in Malabar in 1599 that some of the Mypadore Christians had fled to the Todamala or Mountains of the Todas, in the Nilgiris. Two expeditions were sent soon after to reconnoitre. The first brought back favourable news; the second, returning from the buffalo-worshipping Todas, spoke adversely. We now discover on the eastern slopes of the Nilgiris scores of stones with a cross, which in my opinion can be nothing else than Christian.

[Do Couto speaks of the Cortali Christians of Paru (Parur), who said that the first Indian city where St. Thomas landed was Mahādāvarpaštacanam. Compare the name Cortali with the name Kottur.—H.H.]

Page 128, note 35.—The proper Malayalam pronunciation is Kottutturutti.—T.K.J.

Page 128, note 36.—Cottete is Kottayattē (ë as in 'her,' 'father'), the locative of Kottayam.—T.K.J.

Page 128, note 36.—There is a place Kottanul, north of Kottayam. But did Menezes, coming from Diampur, even north of Kottanul, retrace his steps to Kottanul from Kottayam? Gouvea must be consulted.—T.K.J.

The itinerary in Gouvea's Journal is: Diampur, Cottete, and Comamuli, in the country of the king of Porca. On the way from Cottete to Comamuli, de Menezes was met by the Queen of the Teacunutes. From Comamuluru (a new spelling), de Menezes organised a mission to the Mallees, who were supposed to be apostate Christians. Two Cassans of Deramullur (read: Comamullur) went, and met the Archbishop later at Angamale. While de Menezes was at Comamullur (new spelling), the king of Porca came up the river with about 100 boats to celebrate at Comamullur, as he did every year, his birthday. From Comamullur de Menezes went to Diampur. Cf. fol. 78r-85r.—H.H.]

My identification of Comamullur seems to be correct.—T.K.J.

Page 128, note 37.—It seems to be Turaivur (ë as in rat), north of Kottayam.—T.K.J.

Page 147, note 38.—The earliest mention of the vision and the body of emigrants, that I have seen occurs in Bishop Thomas' Syriac letter of A.D. 1721 to Carolus Schoaf of Leiden. The Syrian priest Mathew's Syriac account of about the same time (cf. Ind. Ant., March, 1927—'Land's Anecdota Syriaca') refers to the vision and the body of emigrants. The song for the dance referred to by Fr. Hosten is the Māram Kali Song of A.D. 1732, of which he now has a translation of mine. Other short songs about Thomas Cane, sung along with this song of 1732, are of about the same time.
I have found no reason yet to think that the vision and the emigration were not in the Malabar tradition when Monseurart, Gouvea and others wrote their accounts. Are de Barros and Gaspar Correa also silent on the matter?—T.K.J.

Page 147, note 40.—I have heard of Jewish colonists in Pālavūr (= Pāḷūr), but not of Armenians. I must enquire.—T.K.J.

Page 147, para. 2.—Thomas Cananeo among the saints. No, he was a merchant.—T.K.J.

Page 147, para. 2.—A wife and a concubine. Thomas Cananeo is even now said to have had a wife of his own nationality, and a concubine belonging to the veluṭṭaṇ or washerman caste of Malabar. We know that concubinage is a regular recognised institution among the Jews (those in Malabar too) and other Semitic people. Until recent times it was often so among the indigenous Malabar Christians also, the concubines in this case, as in the case of the Malabar Jews, being women converts from low caste Hindus, who are usually retained as maid servants. The offspring of these Christian concubines are Christians, contemptuously termed rāṭukar, and are put very low in the social scale. To call a pure-bred, high caste Malabar Christian a rāṭukan may cost the offender his life. Family tradition tells which Christian is of high caste and which a Vatukan. The distinction is now-a-days vanishing.

The Malabar Christian system of concubinage was condemned at the council of Diamper in 1599 (Act 7, decree 13).—T.K.J.

Page 147, note 41.—Bishop Mar Giovanni, before the arrival of the Portuguese in A.D. 1498.

This may be Bishop Mar John's sent to Malabar in the year 1801 of Alexander (= A.D. 1490) by the Catholicos Mar Simon, Patriarch of the East. In a letter from Malabar written a year after the year 1814 of the Greeks (= A.D. 1503), he is described as "still alive and hale." The letter must have been of A.D. 1504. There is another Mar John of A.D. 883 (cf. p. 181, no. 44 of p. 148).—T.K.J.

Page 148, para. 1.—The Cranganore Church of St. Cyricus was in existence in A.D. 1301, for the colophon of a Syriac book (Cod. Syr. Vat., N. xxii), containing a church Lexicon of the Pauline Epistles, says it was finished in that Church on a Wednesday, in June, of the year 1612 of the Greeks (= A.D. 1301).—T.K.J.

Page 148, para. 2.—Patna is Māhdāvarpaṭṭaṇam, Cranganore.

"This king was a Christian." No, he was a Hindu.—T.K.J.

Page 148, para. 2.—Coula is Quilon in Travancore.

"In many things their memory." Many things in memory of their antiquity !

"Pardon." The reference must be to the public copy on stone of the Thomas Cana plates.

"Temples." Better, Churches.—T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 4.—"They presented them to the Governor." 'They' means the Malabar Christians.

But where did Faria y Sousa get the following specific details ?

"In the year 1544 came to Cochin, Jacob, a Chaldean bishop of Cranganore, where being dangerously sick, he sent for the treasurer, Peter de Sequeyra, and told him necessity had obliged him to pawn two copper plates" [those of Thomas Cana] "with characters engraven on them, which were original grants and privileges bestowed on the Apostle St. Thomas" [no, Thomas Cana, the merchant] "by the sovereigns" [better, sovereign, singular] "of those countries, when he preached there" [Thomas Cana did not preach, but carried on trade] "that he desired him to release them, lest they should be lost if he died, for if he lived, he would take them out himself. This prelate found the only way to lose them, was trusting the Portuguese; for Sequeyra paid the two hundred Royals they were pawned for, put them into the Treasury, and they were never more heard of."—Portuguese Asia, II, 506.

Perhaps the Governor, Dom Affonso took them away in A.D. 1545—T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 4.—"Writing already almost spoiled by age." That would show that the plates were much more than a thousand years old in 1544. For the Jewish plate of 1085 A.D. is still as good as new, and the Quilon Church plates of circa 880, though broken to pieces, have the characters quite deep and legible. Of course, we assume that these three sets of plates being considered very valuable, were carefully preserved by the owners under similar conditions of safety.

1544 minus say 1100 = 444, which makes the year 345 A.D., assigned by tradition to the Thomas Cana plates, very probable.—T.K.J.
Page 149, para. 4.—"To the Apostle St. Thomas." No, to the merchant Thomas Cana. The Apostle Thomas is in Malabar called Mār Tōmmā. The merchant Thomas also can be called Mār Tōmmā, Mār, meaning Lord, being applicable to Christ, the Apostles, Patriarchs, Bishops, masters, and other respectable men. Carolus Schraaf, of Leiden, is addressed as Mar Carolus in the Syriac letter of 1721 previously referred to.—T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 4.—"A Temple and a Church." Thomas Cana and his Christian followers had no use for a temple.—T.K.J.

Page 149, last para.—A.D. 886. This date may perhaps apply to the Quilon Church plates of about A.D. 889, granted in the reign of Chēramān Perumāl Sthaṅbu Ravi. Chēramān Perumāl simply means the Emperor of Malabar. It is not a proper name, although many take it as such. One of these emperors became a great Śaivite saint and is always known as Chēramān Perumāl Nāyanār, and not by his proper name, which is unknown. (See also page 149, foot-note 56).—T.K.J.

Page 150, para. 1.—"Chronogram Shovala," pronounced Śovālā. Generally, it is only significant words that are used as chronograms. But Śovālā is meaningless in Malayalam, or Tamil, or Sanskrit. It may be that the author of the chronogram was not able to find a word which would at once give sense and indicate the date. But Śuvōlō (Śuvālā) in Syriac has a meaning (question or enquiry).

Since the date is given in the Christian era, it is evident that the chronogram was made in Malabar after the Portuguese advent in A.D. 1498. For that era was not in vogue in that country prior to that date. The era of the Greeks was in use among the Malabar Christians in pre-Portuguese times. The date then must have been (345 + 311 =) 656 anno Græcorum.—T.K.J.

Page 150, para. 2.—"Franciscans." The Malayalam name for the Portuguese was (and is) Paruniki (Feringhee). Did the Jesuit writer of 1604 mistake Paruniki (the Portuguese) for the Franciscans?

Should we not search for the priceless plates in Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa’s house? Mar Jacob, though he apprehended death in 1544, died only in 1549. He did not however recover the plates as expected, not because he did not care or endeavour to do so, but because the Parunikis (Portuguese) had taken them away to their country.

Page 151, note 60.—The Syrian MS. of the Canancode Church, near Quilon, to which I referred above (p. 182, n. 44 of p. 148) states that Marzabore and Ambroat (sic for Gouves’ Mar Xabro and Mar Podro) “landed at Craganore in company with the merchant Towris (sic) in Kollam era 1, or A.D. 825.” That MS. should be rediscovered. The Kollam era, as suspected by Yule, must be a Christian era, and so may the Śālvāhaya era be a Christian era.—H.H.

Page 151, para. 4.—"They count the year of the foundation of Coulão." It can now be regarded as certain that the Quilon (or Malabar) era began with the foundation of the city of Quilon in Travancore in A.D. 825 by the foreign merchant Sabriṣo mentioned as a very important personage in the famous copper-plates of the Quilon church.

In many old Travancore inscriptions we find the expression “such and such a year after Kollam tōnsi” i.e., after Quilon ‘came into being.’ This coming into existence must have been the result of Sabriṣo’s activities, for we find one of the Quilon Church plates (of circa A.D. 880) describing him twice as innakaram kungā, i.e., ‘he who established or founded this city.’

A Kēralōṭpattī (legendary history of Malabar) version has the following: “Previously there was no Quilon (era); there was only Kali (the era) to know the year. As this was not understood by all, the year in which the Brāhmans of the 64 villages, the kings of Malabar, and the Quilon merchant together dug a lake” (probably a harbour for Sabriṣo’s ships) 

“. . . in that year the temple was finished. From that time (the) Quilon (year) has been put before (the position of) Jupiter. (The) Kali (year) is not known to all; only astrologers know it. (The) Quilon (year) everybody can know. So (the) Quilon (year) and (the position) of Jupiter are used together” [Translation].
The Quilon merchant mentioned in this Hindu tradition must be Sabriño. Probably there was a sitting up of the Quilon harbour prior to 825 A.D., and also a destruction of the city by an encroachment of the sea. (See foot-note 60.) Quilon has now a fast receding sea coast. That must have been the case in old times also. For according to local tradition the church of St. Thomas, the famous marble pillar on the Quilon coast and several other structures are now said to be in the sea. (See also Paulinus: *Voyage to the E. I.*, pp. 115, 127)—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 1.—Ollas, properly ḍālas. ḍĀla in Malayalam is palm-leaf. Leaves of the palmyra palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*) and the talipot or fan-palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*), were and even now are used in writing. ḍālas of copper means copper-plates in the shape of ḍālas.

These copper plates seem to be none else than the existing plates of the Quilon church. The language of the inscription on these plates is old Malayalam (almost Tamil) with some names in Hebrew, Pahlavi and Arabic, and the characters used are (1) Grantha, (2) Vaṭṭeluttu, (3) Hebrew, (4) Pahlavi and (5) Kufic.

Having heard of copper-plates in a house in Tēvalakkara, I made enquiries, but was told that no such things existed. Probably they exist, but, as usual, the owners are not willing to let others see them. I know of several other copper-plates actually in existence, and have been long after them in vain. The owners, being ignorant, narrow-minded, and suspicious, are afraid of taking them out. In course of time these plates will be destroyed or melted for making brass vessels.—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 1.—Gadejagal stands for kūḏākāl, saints.—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 4.—The Queen of Changanate is the queen of Quilon. Gundara is Kūṇṭāra near Quilon.—T.K.J.

Page 153, para. 4.—"Three big copper ollas." The Quilon Church copper-plates, Set I, consisted of three plates, the last of which is now missing. This set is of circa A.D. 880. Each plate of this set is 8.8 in. × 3.2 in. ("two palms × four fingers").

The Quilon Church plates, Set 2, of c. 880, originally had four plates (first plate now missing), each 9.1 in. × 3.3 in. The rings of both these sets are now missing.—T.K.J.

Page 153, para. 1.—"Written on both sides." No, the obverse side of the first plate of Set 1 is left blank, as usual. The "iron ring" is now missing.—T.K.J.

Page 153, last para.—"13 versions." They are mere hearsay versions widely differing from the Portuguese translation of 1604.

True, these versions are not genuine. But we can get some nuggets of value out of them by careful crushing, washing and sifting.—T.K.J.

Page 153, note 63.—"Sanskrit version", i.e., a version in Malayalam language and characters.

On analysis I find that du Perron's version is a medley of the inscription on—

The Quilon Church plates,

(1) Set I, plate 1, reverse.
(2) Set II, ... 2, observe.
(3) ... 2, reverse.
(4) ... 3, observe.
(5) ... 3, reverse.
(6) Set I, plate 2, obverse.
(7) ... 2, reverse.
(8) ... 3, observe and reverse, and
(9) Of a hearsay version of the Thomas Cana plates.

—T.K.J.

Page 154, para. 1.—"Contents valuable." Yes, because it gives us the names of witnesses engraved on the now missing plate 3 of the Quilon Church plates, Set I.—T.K.J.

Search for the Thomas Cana Copper-plates.

[After I had written my article on the Thomas Cana copper-plates, I sent a copy of it to Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Agent to the Governor-General, Madras States, Trivandrum, who wrote to Lisbon, asking that a search for the plates be made in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon. On March 28, 1926, Mr. C. W. E. Cotton wrote to Mr. T. K. Joseph, Trivandrum (No. 1166-25):—

With reference to your letter, dated 11th June last, I have the honour to inform you that the two copper-plates characterized as the ' Magna Charta ' of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar are not in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon. His Majesty's representative in Lisbon.

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also advertised in a widely read newspaper stating that any information as to the whereabouts of the copper-plates would be welcomed. The appeal, however, though published several times, has not evoked any response.

"2. As regards the two plates which you allege to have passed into the possession of the English when the Cochin Fort was surrendered to them, I have ascertained that there are no records bearing on the subject in the Madras Record Office."

[A copy of this letter was communicated to me. Towards the end of 1926, I received in addition from Mr. C. W. E. Cotton a typed copy of an article in Portuguese on the Thomas Cana copper-plates published in the *Epoca* by the Rev. P. J. Monteiro de Aguilar. I am now recovering that article from a priest in India whom I supposed erroneously to be the author, and trying to get into touch with the author in Portugal. The article would be worth translating for the *Indian Antiquary*.

[On January 19, 1926, Mr. T. K. Joseph wrote to me: "All day on Dec. 23, a friend of mine in Lisbon, Mr. K. M. Panikkar, M.A., Bar.-at-Law, had the Torre do Tombo ransacked, but Dr. Antonio Baião, the Director-General, could find no copper-plates. My friend is making a search through the Ambassador H. E. Veiga Simoes."

[We should not give up hope yet. If a new search is made, we might begin with the State Archives of Goa, which are now being put in order.—H.H.]

**SOME SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINS.**

BY R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR, M.A.

I. Some Old Maratha Coins.

**FANAMS OF RĀMA RĀJA.**

A FIND of two hundred coins was reported in 1908 from the village of Kiltāyanūr, Tirukkovilur Taluk of the South Arcot District, Madras Presidency. They were then acquired for the Museum by the Government of Madras; sixty five of them were distributed among different Provincial Museums and 134 sold to the general public and numismatists. These coins were then wrongly identified as Kāli *fanams*.

Kāli *fanams*, or as they are sometimes called Kaliyngarâjan *fanams*, were current in Kērala or North Malabar in the early centuries of the Christian era. Elliot in his history of South Indian coins says that there were two kinds of these, one issued by Kōlātunad or Chirakkal Rāja and the other by the Zamorin of Calicut, who, to distinguish this issue from earlier ones, called them *pudiya* (new) *fanams*. Both these coins though accepted and used as a medium of exchange in Kērala or North Malabar, were not recognized as legal tender even in the contiguous province of Travancore. So in the early centuries when the means of communication was so small and the country was divided into several principalities each under separate and independent administrations, it is not probable that these coins came to the eastern district and were current there. We may fairly conclude that Kāli *fanams* were never accepted or used in places other than Kērala.

Vincent A. Smith in his *Catalogue of Coins* in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, vol. I, has included this as the coinage of Travancore State, and has brought them under gold *fanams* of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On page 316 he has described them as follows:

Obverse—a kind of dagger and other marks.
Reverse—characters not read.
This coin is figured as item 10 in plate XXX (page 324).

Later, in 1918, there was yet another find of eighty similar coins from Katţāmbatṭi, a hamlet of the village of Kannalam in the Gingee taluk of the same district. In design, shape, size, weight and the character of the metal used (inferior gold 13 carats fine) these are exactly like those of the 1908 find. They are almost all of them round varying from 2 to 22 of an inch in diameter and cup-shaped. They are almost of a uniform
SOME OLD MARATHA COINS.
weight from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Of these latter eighty, thirty-eight have one side blank [No. 4 in Plate]. All the eighty have on one side a figure formed by lines and dots, with the sun and moon on either side of it. On the reverse side of forty-two there is a legend ‘Rāma Rau’ (रामराज) [No. 2 in Plate] in Devanāgarī script—Rau is apparently intended for Rao.

Rāma Rao, as the title Rao indicates, is a Marāthā name and the term (Rao) is affixed to the names of persons eminent as soldiers, clerks, etc. The title is purely a Marāthā term generally applied to a ruling chief or king. Palæographical evidence clearly shows that these coins were neither Pallava nor Chōḷa ones and we know that they were not of the Vijayanagar empire, for they do not resemble any of the Vijayanagar coins that we know in design, shape, weight or quality of the metal. No viceroy of Vijayanagar appears to have issued coins in his own name. Moreover no viceroy with the name of Rāma Rājā appears to have ruled over these parts where these coins were found. The genealogy of Gingee chiefs that is available from inscriptions, Nos. 860 and 861 in Appendix B of the Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1917, gives the names of several chiefs from Khēmu to Rāmabhadrā Nāду who is said to have ruled in Śaka 1593 (A.D. 1671). Twenty chiefs appear to have ruled between Khēmu and Rāmabhadrā Nāду, and even allowing twenty-five years for each chief, Khēmu, the first chief, would take us down to 1093 Śaka or A.D. 1171. Further, palæographically the age of these coins has to be put later than the sixteenth century. It must therefore be concluded that these do not belong to the Vijayanagar period. The Mughals conquered the parts, where these coins were found only at the latter part of the seventeenth century. We know that the Dutch at Negapatam and the French at Pondicherry issued coins of exactly the same description as the coins of the 1908 and 1918 finds, and they were current on the east coast before the Mughals overthrew the Marāthās and assumed sway over their territories. Having thus eliminated all the other dynasties that ruled over these parts we have the Marāthā period left as the only period to which we can ascribe the origin of these coins.

Gingee, which is very near the two places, from where we had two of these finds, was during this period a seat of Government and was considered a place fit enough for a viceroy to reside and rule, and there is no other place near about these villages in the district which was at any time a seat of Government. So these must have been issued from the mint at Gingee, and we have also on record that Rāma Rājā, the second son of the famous Sivāji who captured the fortress of Gingee in 1677, had continued to rule here as king and that he had issued a firman to the Hon’ble the East India Company, who in 1690 entered into negotiations with Rāma Rājā, the Marāthā king of Gingee, for the purchase of a small fort at Dēwānāmpatnam, near Cuddalore, on the site of the existing Fort St. David, and which both the French and the Dutch had previously endeavoured to buy. The firman runs thus:—that the sole Government and possession of the same shall be in the said English Company and their Governors, etc., so long as the sun and moon endure, to be governed by their own laws and customs both civil and martial and criminal and to coyn money either under our Royal Stamp or such other as they shall judge convenient, both in silver or gold . . . . . . This clearly shows that Rāma Rājā himself had a mint of his own and issued coins in his own name. This Rāma Rājā is the same as Rāma Rau (रामराज) that is referred to in the legend on the coins under reference. The fact that some of these coins do not have any legend may go to show that Rāma Rājā himself had copied the design from coins that were current earlier, or that he himself issued them first without the legend and later on added the legend to impress his own power and importance. In any case there can be no doubt as to the fact that these are of Marāthā issues, and that they have no manner of resemblance or relation to Kāli janams as was erroneously supposed.

1. Gazetteer of South Arcot District, p. 42.
Rāma Rāja as he was called Rājarām by the Marāthās was the second son of Sivāji by Sōyerā Bāī. When Sivāji died Rājarām was ten years of age. Sōyerā Bāī wanted to set aside the claims of Sambhāji, the first son of Sivāji, and to place Rājarām on the throne. She did so but Sambhāji captured by force the fort of Raigarh where Rājarām was, made him a prisoner and ascended the throne in 1650 A.D. Sambhāji continued to rule, but the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb marched to reduce the South of India to his rule, and having blotted out Bijapūr and Gōlokoḍa turned his arms against the Marāthās. Aurangzeb was gradually closing in upon the Marāthā country and suddenly captured Sambhāji and put him to death. Then the Marāthās unanimously declared Rājarām, Regent during the minority of Sivāji, the son of Sambhāji who ruled subsequently as Sāhu. Aurangzeb was pushing on his campaign and was taking fort after fort when Sāhu and his mother were taken captives. Rājarām now thinking that his personal safety was in danger decided to proceed to Gingee which was their stronghold, wherefrom he could conduct the administration of his kingdom securely and not fall into the hands of Aurangzeb. As soon as he reached Gingee, Rājarām was formally seated on the throne, and he established a court on the plan of his father. The new court began to exercise all the powers of Government. Gold bangles, cloths, shawls and letters announcing the event were secretly forwarded to all the principal Hindus throughout the Marāthā kingdom, and ināms and jādërks bestowed, by which acts the sympathy of all Marāthās was secured. It was from Gingee that the whole administration of the Marāthā country was conducted. It is therefore clear that Rājarām did occupy the throne, but some of the Marāthās "jealous of the right of the elder branch do not admit that he ever sat on the throne, but they say that he sat on the gadee merely as regent holding the powers of the State in trust for his nephew." Whatever it may be, he was virtually ruling the Marāthā country and was in power. It was with this king that the authorities of the East India Company in Madras negotiated to purchase the fort of Dēvanāmpatṇam. The firman which he issued to the East India Company was drafted for his signature by the writers of the Company at Madras, and it begins thus:—"Whereas we Rām Rāja by the Providence of God king of the Chengie kingdom and territories have at the desire of the Honourable Elihu Yale Governor and Council of the city and castle of Maddras." Here he is styled as Rām Rāja, and so it is clear that Rām Rāja is no other than Rājarām, the second son of Sivāji. In the records of the East India Company he was styled Rām Rāja.

Gingee was under the sway of Sivāji and his son Rām Rāja between 1677 and 1698. In 1698 it fell into the hands of the Mughals. These coins were therefore issued by Rām Rāja during the period from 1683 to 1698. These may be called Rāma Rāja faṇâms as their weight is the same as that of other known faṇâms of South India.

The lines and dots on the obverse side of the coins may at first sight appear to represent a dagger but from a knowledge of coins generally we know that the dagger is not usually used alone. But it is sometimes used in seals on grants with other emblems of royalty, with the sun and moon to denote eternity. We know also that in ancient times these lines and dots were in some cases used conventionally to represent some figure or other. So I think that the lines and dots on the coins now being discussed may represent only the figure of the Rāja, and this view receives confirmation from the Dēvanāgarī legend on the reverse side. We learn that coins similar in design were minted by the French at Pondicherry and by the Dutch at Negapatam with their respective bile mark on the reverse. The figure

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3 James Grant Duff's History of the Marathas, p. 371 note.
4 South Arcot District Gazetteer, p. 41.
5 Ibid., p. 390, and foot-note under.
is similar to that found on coins struck at Pondicherry by the Dutch during their occupation of it from 1693 to 1698. It was thought by Colonel Pearse to be Kāli or Śūli of Tanjore. It is also stated that this design was found anterior to 1693 in the coins of Negapatam and the Dutch copied this design from them. He states without quoting any evidence that this design was extant as early as the second century of the Christian era during the period of the Guptas; but from the existing literature on the coins of Guptas we do not find any such design on record. Therefore this appears to be a later design, but current in the Eastern Districts at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the French, the Dutch and the Marāthās have copied it from that earlier design.

II. Some Chola Coins.

A treasure-trove consisting of twenty-one gold coins was found in survey No. 169, Parla village, Kurnool District, on 2nd December 1918. These gold pieces were discovered during the removal of stones from a field.

Under the provisions of the Treasure Trove Act, the find was declared ownerless and was acquired for the Government Museum, Madras.

The treasure comprises fourteen varāhas, six Kadamba fāyams and one-quarter Kadamba fāyan. It is with these fourteen varāhas that the present paper deals.

The fourteen varāhas are all round and are of the well known Chānukyan type called Padmaṇantaka. They preserve their cup-shaped form in almost all cases. One of them is thinner and larger than the others. They show various punch marks on the surface, the most prominent of which are the two auspicious symbols ‘Śri’ in old Telugu-Kannaḍa script on either side of the periphery at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At one extremity of the vertical diameter is found in Telugu-Kannaḍa character the name or title of the king who issued the coin, and at the other end is found a hook attached to a spear bearing the sun and moon. There is also a stroke below the hook. The other symbols are the figures of a lion or tiger with open mouth, raised paw and twisted tail, very crudely represented by dots and lines. The central part is occupied by the figure of a lion. The reverse side of the coin is blank. Ten of the coins bear the legend [‘ṇṭaj]kaka,’ five of them bear ‘ṇnakiti’ another ‘A[ksha],’ another ‘kshada’ or ‘Ksha[pā],’ and one ‘ṇa.’ The legends are incomplete.

These fourteen varāhas are of five different types:

No. 1. This comprises ten coins. They are round but slightly bulging out on the four sides. [Nos. 14, 15 & 16 in the Plate.]

Size. Varying from 20/24 to 21/24 of an inch in diameter.

Weight. Varies from 54.25 to 55.5 grains.

Description. At the top of the vertical diameter is the legend [‘ṇṭaj]kaka’ in Telugu-Kannaḍa script, and at the other end there is a spear with a hook turned towards its proper left. The handle of the spear is turned towards the centre of the coin. There are two dots on the proper right of the spear, which probably stand for the sun and moon. The symbols ‘Śri’ are found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The inter-spaces are filled with pellets, dots or rows of dots which probably represent lions.

No. 2. Number. There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 17 in the Plate.]

Size. Round, 1 1/24 inches in diameter.

Weight. 54.5 grains.

Description. It bears the Telugu-Kannaḍa ‘ṇnakiti’ at the top of the vertical diameter. Right below at the opposite extremity we find an aukusa. The symbols ‘Śri’ are found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. There is a standing lion in the centre and along the border, and the inter-spaces between the four punch marks already described are stamped with the figures of standing lions.
No. 3. Number. There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 18 in the Plate.]

Size. Round but bulging out on four sides. The horizontal and vertical diameters are 20/24 and 21/24 of an inch.

Weight. 55 grains.

Description. The legend 'A[ksha]' in Telugu-Kannada appears at the top of the vertical diameter. Right below at the opposite extremity is found the spear with the hook turned towards the proper right. There are three dots on the proper left of the spear. The symbol 'Śrī' is found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The inter-spaces are filled with pellets, dots or rows of dots, which probably represent a lion.

No. 4. Number. There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 19 in the Plate.]

Size. Roughly round, varying from 19/24 to 20/24 of an inch in diameter.

Weight. 55 grains.

Description. A star surrounded by a number of dots with the moon, which is indicated by a dot within a circle, is found at the top of the vertical diameter. At the other extremity is found the legend 'kshada' or 'Ksha[pa]' in Telugu-Kannada characters. The symbol 'Śrī' is found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The inter-spaces are filled with figures of lions.

No. 5. Number. There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 20 in the Plate.]

Size. Varying from 20/24 to 21/24 of an inch in diameter.

Weight. 55-25 grains.

Description. The legend 'na' inverted in Telugu-Kannada is found at the top of the vertical diameter. At the other extremity we find the spear with the hook and three dots, as found in No. 3 described above. The symbol 'Śrī' is found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The inter-spaces are filled with figures of lions.

The several legends noted above are all incomplete and until more coins with sufficiently intelligible legends are forthcoming it is not possible to say what they mean. 'Nuṅkī' may probably stand for 'Punyakirtti,' and from the existing records we know of no king with such a name. There existed one Chōla chief Punyakumāra7 by name who is supposed to have flourished in the eighth century A.D. The coins are similar to the Telugu-Chōla coins of the Kōṇṭur Treasure Trove case and were probably issued by the Telugu-Chōla chiefs who were ruling in the Telugu districts in the thirteenth century A.D.

III.—Coins of Kavaliyadavalli Treasure Trove Case.

In September 1921, while some men were grazing their cattle on a hillock near the village of Kāvaliyadavalli, Ātmakūr taluk, Nellore district, they were attracted by the glitter of metal, and on close examination discovered some coins on a slab in a potsherid. They are sixteen in number, four big and twelve small ones. These form a hitherto unknown variety and are of some interest, and a closer study of them is likely to give valuable information to the history of Numismatics.

By size, shape and weight and the legend and other marks found on them they group themselves under different heads.

Class I. These consist of three big gold coins, which are nearly of the same diameter, only varying from 72 to 82 of an inch, and are of the same weight, 55 grains each. The metal is 16 carats fine. They are round-shaped and are of the well known Padmaṇaka type. They are cup-shaped and bear various punch marks on the surface, the most prominent of which is the symbol 'Śrī' in old Telugu-Kannada script on either side of the periphery at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At the top of the vertical diameter is found in old Telugu script a legend which reads as 'R[ā]yass' and a portion of 'ma' in coin No. 1; 'Yasamu' in coin No. 2, and 'Samu' in coin No. 3. [Nos. 5, 6 & 7 of the Plate.]

7 Epigraphia Indica, vol. XI, p. 344, noticed in Māleṇaṇa plates of Punyakumāra.
Putting these three together, we get a fairly intelligible and complete legend ['Rāyasaṃu.' At the bottom of the vertical diameter is found a symbol which may be taken to represent a crown. Besides, there are a few indistinct impressions in the interspaces which perhaps are intended to represent lions. The reverse is blank.

The term ‘Rāyasaṃu’ ordinarily indicates clerkship. Of course the legend cannot be supposed to mean only clerkship. So it should have a more appropriate meaning. We find that under the Vijayanagar rulers some viceroys had the title of ‘Rāyasaṃu.’ After the conquest of Udayagiri by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya it was made a seat of a Provincial Government. Rāyasam Timmarasayya and Rāyasam Kondamārṇasayya were viceroys there in succession. Venkatappa was a viceroy during the reign of Achyuta Dēva Mahārāya. Rāyasam Tirumalayya was a governor under Śrī Vira Pratāpa Dēva Rāya in Śaka 1490. Rāyasam Ayyappa was a governor at Kōṇḍavidju in Śaka 1433. Though all these viceroys enjoyed the title of Rāyasam, Kondamārṇasayya was the most powerful of them, so powerful that he was even addressed as Mahārāja. He planted the Vijayanagara colours on the Simhāḍri and Śrīkûr̥mam hills during Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya’s famous campaign in the north. He conquered the Reddis who ruled at Chunḍi and annexed their territory.

Again, the shape and size are so dissimilar to the extant Vijayanagar types and are more like those issued by the later Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Telugu Chōḷa chiefs who ruled in parts of the districts of Cuddapah and Nellore. Further, these coins bear a mark which is exactly the same as those found on coins of group X of the Kōḍūr Treasure Trove Case, which are ascribed to the western Chāḷukya king Jagadēkaśala. This mark was then thought to represent a temple, but on closer and more careful examination it seems to me to represent a crown. So far as our present knowledge goes there is no western Chāḷukyan king or Telugu Chōḷa chief who enjoyed the title of, or had the name, ‘Rāyasaṃu.’ So unless and until we get further evidence from inscriptions or records which may be discovered in future we cannot ascribe these coins either to the Chāḷukya kings or to the Chōḷa chiefs.

Ambadēva14 of the Kāyaśtha family was a feudatory of the Kākatiȳas. He defeated several Telugu chiefs and overthrew Śrīpati Ganapati. Ambadēva usurped the Kākatiya throne in the interval between the reigns of Rudrāmba and Pratāpa Rudra Dēva. After the overthrow of Śrīpati Ganapati, Ambadēva assumed the title of Rāyasahasramalla. It would be too far fetched to suppose that our legend ‘Rāyasaṃu’ was a contraction of Rāyasahasramalla [‘Rāya’ for Raya, ‘sa’ for Sahasra and ‘mu’ (taking it to be ma) for malla], and we know of no instances in which there have been such contractions in the case of legends.

Upon palaeographical grounds we have to ascribe these coins to the same period as that during which Ambadēva flourished. In shape, size, weight and in the quality of the metal used these are very much the same as the one under class II, which as

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9 Nellore Inscriptions. p. 1204.
10 Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency. vol. 1, pp. 7-8.
11 Nellore Inscriptions, pp. 478, 479 note.
12 The first point in regard to this view is whether Vijayanagar viceroys were allowed to issue gold coins. Secondly, whether the combination of the legend is valid. Raya, it will strike one is the terminal syllables of a Prakrit legend.—Ed.
will be seen later on, is identified as a Kākatiya coin which was current some twenty or thirty years before the period of Ambaśāṁ Kālakṛṣṇa. Hence it may be possible to hold that these coins were issued by Ambadēva who had for his model the earlier coins of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, or it may be that these legends were a second time impressed on the western Chālukyan coins that existed before.

These are some of the possible theories which may be advanced as to the date and origin of these coins. But nothing definite can be said about them until fresh and more assuring evidence is obtained.

Class II. There is but one gold coin in this class. [No. 8 of the Plate.] It is almost round and has a diameter of 1.81 of an inch and weighs 56.25 grains. The metal is 16 carats fine. The symbol Śri is found on either end of the horizontal diameter. At the top of the vertical diameter there is a legend [‘ka]ṭi’ and at the bottom, ‘Gaṇa’ in old Telugu script. The interspaces are filled by figures of what may either be a lion or tiger, with open mouth, raised paw and twisted tail, all these very crudely represented by dots and lines. The other side is blank.

There was a dynasty of Kākatiya kings very powerful in the twelfth century. Gaṇapati was the greatest of the kings of this dynasty. We read from Gaṇapēṣvaram inscription,¹⁵ that he conquered the entire country of Velanāṇḍu, which extended from the borders of the Guntūr district to the modern Ellore. After subjugating the north he turned to the south and extended¹⁶ his empire far into the interior of the Tamil country. This is evidenced by the fact¹⁷ that one of his Viceroy, Śāmanta Bhōja at Kānchi, granted the village of Kālattūr to Śāmuknāṭha temple at Kānchi for the spiritual merit of his master. From the Mōṭupalli inscription¹⁸ it appears that he extended his conquests as far as the east coast. Inscriptions of this king are found in the Podili and Dārasi taluks of the Nellore district and Ōṅgole taluk of the Guntūr District. Inscriptions of Pratāpa Rudra Dēva, another of the Kākatiya kings, are found in plenty in the taluks of Ātmakūr, Kandukūr and Nellore, all which abundantly prove that the Kākatiya empire embraced almost the whole of the modern Nellore district. Therefore the village of Kāvaliyadaṇḍi in which this coin was discovered was presumably within the Kākatiya kingdom.

It seems to be clear therefore that the [‘ka]ṭi’ of our legend is a contraction of Kākati and represents Kākatiya, and ‘Gaṇa,’ Gaṇapati, the most powerful of the Kākatiya kings. The name Kākatiya is derived from ‘Kākati,’ the name of the goddess, whom they worshipped. This coin ought to be identified as the coin issued by Gaṇapati of the Kākatiya dynasty, and between the years of 1199 and 1260 A.D., as from inscriptions 181, 196, 213, 220, 194 and 196 of 1905 noted in the Madras report on Epigraphy we infer that Gaṇapati reigned during that period.

Sir Walter Elliot in his History of South Indian coins says that in many of the seals of the grants and some coins of the Kākatiya dynasty he found a bull couchant between two candelabra with an umbrella above and a chowrie on each side. Unfortunately he does not mention the names of the kings whose seals and coins he had examined. We have not come across any coins of the Kākatiya dynasty answering to his description. In the seals of grants of Gaṇapati we do not find any bull, candelabra or umbrella. Instead, in the seal attached to the grant¹⁹ of the village of Kolavenu by Gaṇapati we find a boar with the sun and moon. In the copper-plate grant of the time of Gaṇapati noticed in page 122 of the Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras) for 1917, there is a seal which bears the emblems of a boar and a cow. Verse 13 in the Ēkāmranātha inscription states that the mudra

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¹⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. III, p. 82.
¹⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 21, p. 197.
The mudra of Pratāpa Rudra Dēva was a boar. On the east face of the pillar on which the Anumakonda inscription of Prōla, grandfather of Gana, is engraved we find a Jain figure flanked by a cow and a calf on one side and a dagger and a shield on the other. Thus the mudra of Prōla too contains a cow, and we nowhere find a bull among the seals of grants or inscriptions of any of these kings. It is not therefore easy to understand how Sir Walter Elliot came to make the statement that the emblem of the Kākatiyas was a bull.

However this may be, in the coin under investigation we find lions in and around the centre. From the foregoing discussion I have come to the conclusion that Gana's emblem was a boar. We usually find kings using on their coins the same emblems as they use for their seals in their grants, and therefore it is matter for consideration how lions came to be on Gana's coins. It is very likely that he accepted coins that were current before his time, and had his own name punched on them to indicate that he recognized them as legal tender. The formation of the punch marks on the coin and the fact that a portion of the legend overlaps a portion of the lion, show that the legends 'kati' and 'Gana' were punched on old coins of kings who had lions for their emblem.

**Class III.** There are twelve gold coins in this class. They are all round with diameters varying from 4 to 4.5 of an inch, weighing all alike 5.75 grains each. The metal is 16 carats fine. All these have the legend 'Śung' in old Tamil script on the obverse side. Just below the legend there is also a number in the same old Tamil script, which very likely denotes the regnal year in which each was issued. On the reverse there is a bow, a tiger in sitting posture and some other symbols which are indistinct and are incapable of exact identification. In the case of one coin there is a legend 'Kanchi' and some others have 'Nē' in old Tamil script. In some 'Nē' is in an inverted form. Therefore these coins have to be sub-divided into five different classes, as under:

Variety No. (1)

- **Obverse:** 'Śung.' [No. 9 of the Plate.]
- **Reverse:** Tiger, Bow, and indistinct marks, 'Kanchi.'

Variety No. (2)

- **Obverse:** 'Śung.' [No. 10 of the Plate.]
- **Reverse:** Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks, 'Nē.'

Variety No. (3)

- **Obverse:** 'Śung.' [No. 11 of the Plate.]
- **Reverse:** Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks. 'Nē' inverted.

Variety No. (4)

- **Obverse:** 'Śung.' [No. 12 of the Plate.]
- **Reverse:** Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks.

Variety No. (5)

- **Obverse:** 'Śung.' [No. 13 of the Plate.]
- **Reverse:** Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks and dots.

In the case of coins in which the number 31 appears there is also some mark which may be a simple line or a portion of the Tamil letter ṛ. In either case it appears to be something distinct from the numeral and was perhaps intended to represent some symbol which is unfortunately indistinct and cannot be identified.

The emblems tiger, bow, and something else indistinct and the legend 'Śung' appear on all the coins. It is evident therefore that these coins have been issued by some king or kings of a dynasty which had for its emblem, among other things, the tiger and bow. The legend 'Śung' was very probably intended to denote the particular king who issued them. There can be no doubt that 'Kanchi' denotes the place from where, or the mint from

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21 *Pratiparudrīga*, by Vidyānātha, Kavyaprakāra, verse 10.  
22 *Epi. Ind.* vol. IX, p. 257.
which, that coin was issued. Kanchi was the name of the modern Conjeevaram, which for many centuries was the seat of a king or viceroy. Hence the legend ‘Nē’ must also represent the contraction of the name of another place from which also coins were issued.

From the inscriptions and records we already possess we know that the tiger was the emblem of the Chōla dynasty, the bow the emblem of the Chērās and the fish is the emblem of the Pāṇḍyaś. In the seal attached to the Tiruvalangādu²² plates of Rajēndra Chōla I, we find the combination of all the three emblems. During the reign of Rajēndra Chōla we know that all the three kingdoms, Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya, were brought under one sway. It is perfectly reasonable therefore to suppose that the Chōlas have added the emblems of the Chēras and the Pāṇḍyas, to their own tiger, to proclaim the fact that they had conquered and annexed to their own, the territories of the Chēras and the Pāṇḍyas.

Chāḷukya Rājēndra was from A.D. 1061 the ruler of the Eastern Chāḷukya kingdom Vengi which had for its capital Rājahmundry. He was adopted by Rājēndra Chōla as heir to his throne. Thus Chāḷukya Rājēndra, who assumed the title of Kulōttunga Chōla Déva I, became in A.D. 1070 the virtual ruler of the whole of the Chāḷukya and Chōla empires extending from Vengi in the north to the extreme south. He held possession of the kingdoms of Kērāla, Pāṇḍya²⁴ and Kuntāla and extended his conquests as far north as Kalinga (modern Ganjam). He had his headquarters at Gangai Kōnda Chōlapuram (Trichinopoly district) and continued to rule for at least fifty years.

Kāvaliṣadavalli, whence this coin was discovered, was once under the sway of Kulōttunga Chōla I. During his reign he found that his subjects were groaning under heavy taxation and in order to give them relief abolished all ‘śungam.’ ‘Śungam in Tamil indicates taxes or tolls. His subjects were so much overjoyed by this measure of relief that they acclaimed their sovereign as Śungam-tavīrtta Kulōttunga Chōla Déva. From that time forward he was known by the name of Śungam-tavīrtta Kulōttunga Chōla I²⁵. The legend ‘Sung’ must be a contraction of Śungam-tavīrtta (who has abolished tolls). It can only indicate that these coins were issued by this Śungam-tavīrtta Kulōttunga Chōla, otherwise the legend will be absolutely inexplicable.

I have already said that Kanchi represents Conjeevaram, the place from which the coin was issued; ‘Nē’ must indicate Nellore. From inscriptions found in the district of Nellore we find there are frequent references made to a coin called ‘mādai.’ Mention is made of ‘mādai’²⁶ from the interest of which a lamp was maintained in a temple during the 35th year of the reign of Kulōttunga I. From another inscription²⁷ we learn that there existed coins called ‘Nellore mādai,’ for we find that in the 3rd year of Allam Tirukkāḷatti Gaṇḍa Gōpala Déva grants of ‘Nellore mādai’ were made to a temple. From the above it is clear that at one time or other there was a mint at Nellore. So the legend ‘Nē’ must represent Nellore.

The numerical figures 27, 31 and 34 are evidently the regnal years of the king Kulōttunga who issued them, for we know that coins of the Gaṇḍa dynasty of Kalinganagara bear the impress of the regnal year in which they were issued.

We can therefore safely conclude that the coins in this class were all issued between the years A.D. 1070 and 1120, by Kulōttunga Chōla I and that they were minted, some at Kanchi and others at Nellore. These coins have brought to light that the Chōla king Kulōttunga had mints at Kanchi, or Conjeevaram, and Nellore.

In weight they are very much equal to other South Indian faṇams that we know of. Only these are a bit larger, but thinner. Probably these were also called faṇams in those days.

²² South Indian Inscriptions, vol. III, part III, p. 413, see plate attached.
²₄ Nellore Inscriptions, page 826 ff.
²₅ Nellore Inscriptions, page 835.
COPPER-PLATES WANTED.
Can any body tell me where the following copperplates are preserved ?

I. Valabhi Plates.
I have not yet been able to trace anywhere the following Valabhi plates which have never been published but have been noted in the following way —
(1) A grant of Sam. 291 Aśādāha Śudī 3, found in Bhādarāpara near Baroda, noted by the late Dr. H. H. Dhrurasu in his book "Baroda delegates at the VIIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Stockholm and Christiania in 1889."
(3) & (4) Two grants of Sam. 322 and 326 referred to by Dr. Bühler in Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 73.
(5) A grant of Sam. 332 referred to in Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 92, and in Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 73. It records the grant of the village Pedhapadra. As it is noted that the plates were in the possession of the Chief of Morvi, I personally went to Morvi and made enquiries but got no clue of them whatsoever.
(6) A grant of Sam. 378 Mārgasāra Śudī 15, referred to by Dr. Kielhorn in his List of Northern Inscriptions, No. 492, as "from impressions supplied by Dr. Burgess."

The following plates are published but the whereabouts of the originals are not known:

Of Dhrulasena I —
Sam. 207 Kukada Ind. Ant., V, p. 204
216 Vala IV, p. 104
221 Vavdia Jogia, Wiener Zeitchrift, VII, p. 299

Of Guhasena —
Sam. 240 Vala Ind. Ant., VII, p. 66
245 ? V, p. 206

Of Dhrulasena I —
Sam. 252 Jhar, Ind. Ant., XV, p. 187
269 Vala VI, p. 9
370 Alinā VII, p. 70

Of Dhrulasena II —
Sam. 320 Nogawa, Ep. Ind., vol. VIII, p. 188
321 ? VII, p. 194

Of Dhrulasena IV —
Sam. 330 Alinā Ind. Ant., VII, p. 73
330 ? XV, p. 335

Of Khararghna II —
Sam. 337 Alinā Ind. Ant., vol. VII, p. 76

Of Śāhāditya III —
Sam. 365 (?) JASB., vol. VII, p. 96

Of Śāhāditya IV —
Sam. 372 Bhavnagar, Ind. Ant., vol. V, p. 207
441 Lunavād, VI, p. 66
447 Alinā VII, p. 79

II. Malvā Paramāra Plates.
Of Vākapati Māna —
Sam. 1031 Indore, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 51
1036 Ujjain, XIV, p. 160

Of Bhogadeva —
Sam. 1078 Indore, VI, p. 53

Of Harisandhavravarman —

Of Udayavarman —
Sam. 1256 Bhopal, Ind. Ant., vol. XVI, p. 254

Of Arjunavarman —
1270 Bhopal, JASB., vol. VII, p. 32
1272 Bhopal, VII, p. 25

III. Gujarāt Chaulukya Plates.
Of Māhārāja —
Sam. 1030 Pātana, noticed in Wiener Zeit, vol. V, p. 300
1043 Kadi, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 191

Of Bhim —
Sam. 1098 Radhanpur, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 193
1093 Cuteh, XVIII, p. 108

Of Kumārapāla —
Sam. 1213 Naḍol, Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 202

Of Ajayapāla —
Sam. 1231 Kadi, Ind. Ant., vol. XVIII, p. 80

Of Bhim —
Sam. 1263 Kadi, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 194
1264 Timana XI, p. 337
1266 Kadi XVIII, p. 112
1283 VI, p. 199
1287 VI, p. 201
1288 VI, p. 203
1295 VI, p. 205
1296 VI, p. 207

Of Javantinahadeva —
Sam. 1280 Kadi, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 196

Of Tribhuvanapāladeva —
Sam. 1299 Kadi, Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 208

Of Viśāladeva —
Sam. 1317 Kadi, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 210

D. B. Dinkalkar.

MORVI PLATE.

In reply to Mr. B. F. Gharda's query, Ind. Ant., vol. LIV (1925), p. 140, as to the whereabouts of the Morvi plate, dated s. 585. I have to write that it is preserved in the office of the Diwan, Morvi State in Kathiwad.

D. B. Dinkalkar.

BOOK NOTICES.

Oriental Conference, as well as the papers read before the various sections, constitutes a valuable addition to the literature of Indian antiquarian research. It is impossible within the limits of a short review to do more than call attention to a few of the subjects which figure in the papers read before
the Conference; but it may be said without fear of refutation that Indologists will here find matter to suit various tastes and various lines of research. Mr. N. B. Pavjee's paper, in which he maintains that the famous Soma juice was not liquor, is as interesting in its way as Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi's thesis on the relation of two dramas, Dāmadeśa and Tāvāsākrama, to the published dramas of Bhasa. Dr. Daruwalla contributes a critical survey of the political social and religious condition of Iran in the time of Ardeshir Bāpak, while the rather obscure development of Buddhism known as Vajrayāna, associated with the name of king Indrabhuti of Orissa, is discussed by Mr. B. Bhattacharya, who incidentally corrects some of the identifications of places suggested by Waddell.

The Dravidian languages and literature of Southern India from the basis of several good papers, including a lengthy one on “The Aryan affinities of Dravidian pronouns” by R. Swaminatha Aiyar, another by J. R. Pantulu on “Dravidian Lexicography,” and a third on the date of Silappadikāram by Pandit E. M. Subrahmanya Pillai, who gives reasons for dating the burning of Madura in A.D. 144 and the installation of Kamar in A.D. 149. A good deal might be added to Mr. G. V. Acharya’s brief paper on “Memorial Stores in the Bombay Presidency.” The writer of this review discovered a curious stone at Junnar in 1904, which recorded an eclipse of the Sun, and managed after some trouble to have it removed to the library of the B.B.R.A.S. Presumably it is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, together with the Silabara inscribed stones from Thana and Kolaba Districts. Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya has a suggestive paper on “Dionysus in Megasthenes”; Mr. B. Bhattacharya gives good reasons for assuming that a hitherto unidentified statue of in the Indian Museum represents Māhārī Tārā; and a learned essay by Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar on “The Earliest Monuments of the Pandya Country and their Inscriptions” will repay perusal.

Several good papers are included in the Section devoted to History, Geography and Chronology, and much learning has been expended upon the papers concerned with Oriental Philosophy. The author of a discourse on electricity and magnetism in Ancient India deals mainly with the origin of the common Indian superstition that one should never sleep with one's head pointing towards the north. I remember calling attention to the fact that the street-sleepers of Bombay City during the hot weather months invariably avoided lying with their heads pointing northwards, and was then informed by a local wissacare that it was owing to popular fear of the Pole star, and that the general opinion was enshrined in the adage; kīda mūlā dūtā hāi, par qubī bārgīs nāhīn. Rao Sahib R. K. Bhole invests the subject more fully. Professor K. Rangachar has contributed an interesting paper on “Gotra and Pravara,” and the veteran Iranian scholar, Dr. J. J. Modj, has a characteristic article showing that the Huns, who invaded India, were followers of the ancient religion of Iran. Professor M. Shah is the author of a sound account of the Nurkakshai sect.

The volume has been arranged and prepared for publication by the Secretaries of the Congress. Professors S. K. Aiyangar and P. P. S. Sastri, who are justified in regarding with satisfaction the production of a work which, compact as it is of learnings, is bound to attract the attention of Orientalists.

S. M. EDWARDS.

The Lady of the Lotus, by Ahmad-ul-Umrî, translated with Introduction and Notes, by L. M. Crump, Oxford University Press, 1926. This is an admirably printed work and the format is worthy of the Oxford Press. The illustrations also are extraordinarily good and interesting. The book tells the story of the well-known 16th century Rajput romance of Rupmati and Bāz Bahadur of Gujarāt, but although Rupmati is described as “Queen of Mandu” on the title page, it is pretty evident that she was in reality a dancing-girl and never really married to Bazīd Khan, t.e. Bāz Bahadur.

An immense amount of labour has been bestowed by Mr. Crump on the book, and his story of the discovery of a copy of the 17th century copy of Ahmad-ul-Umrî’s Ms., and of the pictures connected therewith is itself a literary romance of unusual attraction. He is to be congratulated thereon. He describes himself as being no scholar and though one may take it that this self-depreciation is rather over-stated, in some of his many useful notes there are errors in the spelling of personal names, and occasionally somewhat naive remarks as to classical allusions. But these are only minor blemishes in a work of much research.

Ahmad-ul-Umrî was a Turkoman noble of Akbar’s period and was obviously imbued with the exceedingly florid Persian style of his time. His prose is therefore trying to European readers in places, but nevertheless the spirit of it is well reproduced by Mr. Crump. Rupmati, among other things, has been credited with much popular verse, and Mr. Crump has been at great pains to unearth some of this and to turn it into English verse. She was not what one would call a great poetess, but it is of value to have what she is credited with before us in a pleasing manner. Altogether Mr. Crump has been successful in his efforts to bring home to Europeans a story and a literary style much appreciated by all Rajputs.

R. C. TEMPLE.
MAIYILARP\U.

BY PROF. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., (HON.) PH.D.

Professor Franklin Edgerton of Yale, the learned editor of the Panchatantra, wished to know, during his stay in Madras, whether I knew of any place which would correspond to the Mahilårōpya of the Panchatantra, as he suspected that it might be a place in South India. Having regard to the difficulty that he himself suggested, that the word did not look quite as a Sanskrit expression, I suggested to him that, as Sanskrit authors were sometimes in the habit of Sanskritising words of other Indian languages, Mahilårōpya may possibly be a Sanskritising from the word 'Maiyilāpu', which was the old name of Mylapore, and I put together the following note for his information. As the remarks may be of some use to others as well as to the learned professor, I am publishing it as a note in the Indian Antiquary. Should the possibility of a closer connection between Mahilårōpya and Maiyilāpu seem to me worth putting forward, I shall take occasion to send another similar note then.

The town or the ward which goes by the name of Mylapore in modern times, is hardly referred to in that form in Tamil literature. The form usually found there is Mayilai with various additions in the shape of affixes and prefixes of a more or less complimentary character according to occasion. The combination in which it usually occurs is Mallai and Mayilai in the period of Pallava ascendancy, Mallai standing for what we now know as Mahābalipuram and Mayilai similarly standing for Mylapore as we call it at present in the Anglo-Indian form of the name. But this Mayilai seems at one period of history, a pretty long period, to have taken the form of Mayilāpu in inscriptions, and even in literature, notwithstanding the fact that the ordinary form is Mayilai, as I stated already, is found in inscriptions ranging from the seventh year of Kampavarman, one of the last Pallavas in the ninth century, down to almost the end of the eleventh century. This occurs in inscriptions in various localities where flourished mercantile guilds or communities called Vaļanjiyar in Tamil, Basajigas in Kanarese, Balija in Telugu, corresponding exactly to the North Indian term Baniya. A community of 500, referred to as connected with Mylapore, entered into an agreement of a mercantile and fiscal character, along with matters of local government, in respect of the town. Some of these inscriptions belong to Tiruvottiyur, a northern suburb of Madras where the donor is described as coming from Mayilāpu, defined as belonging to the particularly smaller unit of its own name, and the larger division of the country, giving us to understand unmistakeably that what is referred to is the then little town of Mylapore. Thus we have inscriptive authority for the name Mayilāpu in inscriptions of Kampavarman datable to the ninth century, of Rājarāja datable in the early years of the eleventh century, and one or two others in characters generally referred to the eleventh century.

Maiyilāpu in Tamil falls into two parts, 'Mayil,' peacock, and 'ārupu,' an abstract noun or noun of action, from 'āḷ' to move, a movement indicating the peculiarly majestic strut of the peacock. In literature it is ordinarily described as a feature peculiar to the peacock dancing in this fashion, as it is a peculiar feature of the cuckoo to sing, as in Mayilāla and Kugil ahava, the two verbs, āḷa meaning to move, and ahava meaning to speak or produce sound. In the Prabandham of the Vaishnavas, in the section relating to Tripi in the work Tirumangai Alvār, the dancing of the peacock is described in general terms as a feature of Mylapore in

1 Tirumangai Alvār’s Periya-tirumōji, II, iii, 2, 9, 10. Nandikkalambakam, verses 1, 3, 24, 44, 51, 55 for Mayilai. Verse 69, however, shows the form Mayilapuri in some MSS, and this is only a variant of Mayilai. Verses 1, 9, 25, 34, 40, 46, 54, 72, 73, 75, 83, 88 for Mallai.
2 No. 206 of 1912 and section 25 of the Epigraphical Report for 1913.
3 No. 66 of 1910, 18th year of Rājarāja I, No. 189 of 1912, 7th year of Kampavarman.
4 Periya-tirumōji, II, 3, 7.
describing the shrine of Triplicane. That is so far indirect. But in the Téváram of Appar referable to the previous century, in the middle of the seventh century at the latest, there are two clear references where the place is referred to as Mayêlêppu. The last particle in the compound p is a case affix of the locative in Tamil. Therefore in the nominative it would stand Mayêlêppu. The second part of the word dappu is a permissible variant of the Tamil arpu, so that Mayêlêppu in the Téváram is the exact equivalent of the classical Tamil form Mayêlêppu. So from the seventh century to the eleventh or the twelfth, we have references in one way or another to the form of the name Mayêlêppu.

We may find justification for this interpretation of the name in the fact that these names are found associated with the names of the local deities usually. In the case of Mylapore there is a Vishnu shrine and there is a Siva shrine, both of them native to the town, and taken to have come into existence along with the town itself. While the goddess of the Siva shrine is Karpakambal, the goddess of the Vishnu shrine is Mayuravalli. The latter particle in the two words being merely honorific, we see that it is the Vishnu goddess that has the name Mayûra, the Sanskrit equivalent to the Tamil ‘mayil’. Probably she was regarded as the guardian deity of the town, and thus partook of the name of the locality. There is justification for this that in the decade devoted to the Siva shrine in Mylapore in the Saiva collection, the Téváram, the temple of Siva, Kapâlîchêharam (Kapalîsvarâm) is described as being in a part of Mayêlai, meaning thereby that while remaining in Mylapore, still it did not constitute the whole of Mayêlêppu proper, which would go to show that the guardian deity of the townlet proper must have been the Vishnu goddess, and thus the Vishnu shrine marks the core of the town known as Mayêlêppu.

The occurrence of the peacock feature in the St. Thomas’ legends associated with Mylapore only confirms, or is entirely in keeping with, the origin of the name as explained above. It looks likely that the name had been given to the place because of the large number of peacocks found in the place and the noise they were accustomed to make. In fact, very many of the names of localities in Madras, the names of the various wards of the town, take their origin from features of a physical character like this. To give but one instance, Chepauk is from Tamil Sélpâkkam, meaning the shore-hamlet where fish of the iël variety abounded. Vêpêry,7 Purasâvâkâkam,8 etc., would be other instances.

I shall not make any attempt to establish any connection between Mayêlêppu as such and Mahîlôppya of the Panchatantra as such. I am concerned only to show that Mayêlêppu was the recognised old name of what now goes by the name Mylapore, which after all is different from it only to the extent of a comparatively slight metathesis, a change commonly found in many other well-known names, from which, by Sanskritization, Mahîlôppya is possible of derivation.

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5 Appar, Koîlpakka-iruttântâkam, 1:

6 See stanza 4 in Sambandar’s Pambudvitirippadîkam, where Kapâlîchêharam (Kapalîsvarâm) formed a ward of Mayêlai:

7 Vêppu+êri = margosa tank.

8 Purasà + pâkkam = Pâvâranu or Purasà + pâkkam; Sea-shore hamlet of the Indian ‘fig with flowers’, or even Purasà (Butea frondosa). The former tree is a feature of the locality, the latter is not.
JEAN DE THÉVENOT'S ACCOUNT OF SURAT.

BY H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.

JEAN DE THÉVENOT was born and educated at Paris. His uncle Melchisedech was the author of a well-known collection of Voyages, and this may have inspired the nephew with a desire to explore the East. He set out in 1652, at the age of 29, and visited England, Holland, Germany and Italy. In 1655 he reached Constantinople, whence he explored the Levant and Egypt. He went on the Lenten pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visited Palestine, and returned home in 1659, after some exciting adventures with pirates. In 1663 he once more sailed for the East, and this time devoted his attention to Iraq and Persia. Landing at Sidon, he travelled through Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul and Bagdad. Near Kirmanshah, he met the celebrated Tavernier. In November 1665 he took ship from Basra to Surat in the Hopewell, reaching Surat in January, 1666. After a journey from Surat to Masulipatam via Golconda, he set out for home, but died from the effects of an accident with a pistol, near Tabriz, November 28th, 1667. An excellent orientalist and naturalist, Thévenot has left a lively account of what he saw and heard on his travels. Students of Indian history know all too little his Voyages aux Indes Orientales, a very rare book, the best-known edition being the handy little third edition printed at Amsterdam in five volumes, 12mo. 1727. It has only once been rendered into English,—a very bad translation by Lovell, London, 1687, now almost un procurable, and in any case, a sad example of bookseller's hackwork. It is a pity that, while the travels of Bernier, Tavernier, Chardin, Manucci and other foreigners have been duly rendered into English, Thévenot remains practically untranslated and almost unread. It is for this reason that I put before readers of the Indian Antiquary his account of the city of Surat, as he saw it the year after the first visitation of the Marathás. The narrative is full of interest, particularly as a commentary on Ovington and Fryer, both of whom evidently made use of it. Thévenot gives us a vivid pen picture of Sivaji,—"a little, swarthy man, with sharp, fiery eyes." Equally fascinating are his accounts of Father Ambrose, the famous Capuchin monk, whose influence over the Mughals was almost magnetic, and whose saintliness caused Sivaji to spare his monastery during the pillage, (because "these padres are all good men," as Bernier tells us); of Hugo Lambert, the picturesque French Corsair; of the tomb of the jovial Dutchman, with its stone drinking cup; and of officialdom at Surat and the corruption of the local Government. Tavernier's account of Sivaji, and especially of the first sack of Surat, is of great importance as a contemporary document. Altogether, Thévenot is a traveller who has been unduly neglected and will amply repay further study.

THEVENOT'S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER VII.

Surat.

The city of Surat is situated on the Tapti river, and its latitude is 21 degrees and some minutes. When I arrived there, it had only earthen walls, and even these were nearly all in ruins; but they were beginning to build brick ones: they made them a toise and a half thick [a toise = 6·39459 feet]: they did not allow more than this for the height either, and yet it was their intention to fortify the place as strongly as possible, owing to the incursion which had been made some time previously by a râjâh, of whom I shall speak hereafter: however, the engineer made a serious mistake in the alignment of his walls: he built them so close to the fortress that people in the city would be masked from the fire of the castle artillery, and that those defending the castle could easily be harassed by musketry.

These new walls make the city much smaller than it was previously; for they now exclude a considerable number of cane-built houses, which were formerly within the city area, and for which several interested persons claim good compensation. Surat is a medium-sized place,
and it is difficult to state the exact number of inhabitants, because they vary according to the seasons: there is always a large population all the year round; but, during the monsoon, i.e., at the time when vessels can arrive in and depart from India without danger, during the months of November, December, January, February and March, and even in April, the city is so full of people that it is a difficult task to find comfortable quarters, and the three suburbs are crowded.

The city is inhabited by Indians, Persians, Arabs, Turks, Frenchmen, Armenians and other Christians; however, its ordinary population is divided into three classes, which do not, indeed, include either the French or the other Christians, because they are so few in number in comparison with those professing other religions. These three classes of inhabitants are the Moors, Gentiles\(^1\) and Parsees. The term Moors is applied to all the Muhammadans, Mughals, Persians, Arabs or Turks in India, though they are not uniform as regards religion, some being Sunnis and the rest Shiah: I have dealt with this distinction in my second book. The second class of inhabitants is the Gentiles, i.e., those who worship idols, and these again are of different kinds. The third class consists of the Parsees, who are also known as Gaures or Ateshperest\(^2\), fire-worshippers. These profess the religion of the ancient Persians, and they took refuge in India when Caliph Omar subjugated the kingdom of Persia to the Muhammadan power. There are some extremely rich people in Surat, and a Bania named Vargivora, who is a friend of mine, is supposed to be worth eight millions at least. The English and the Dutch have their houses there, which are known as lodges and offices; these houses are very fine indeed, and the English have established the headquarters of their trade there. There are quite one hundred Catholic houses in Surat.

The castle of Surat has been built on the river bank, at the southern extremity of the city, to prevent the entry of anyone who might wish to attack it by coming up the Tapti. This fortress is of reasonable size; it is square, and is flanked on each corner by a stout tower. Its moats are filled with sea water on three sides, and it is watered by the river on the fourth side, i.e., to the west. Several cannon may be seen at the embrasures; this is where they keep the king’s revenues which are collected from the province, and they are never sent to him unless an especial order is given: the entrance is on the west side by a fine gate which is in the bazaar or maidan; the office of the head of the Customs is near by, and this castle has a special governor of its own, just as the city has its own governor.

The houses in this city, which have cost a considerable amount to construct, are flat, as in Persia, and tolerably well built; but they are expensive, because there is no stone in the district; as they are compelled to use bricks and lime, they also require much timber, and this has to be brought from Daman by sea, because the local wood, which is at some distance, is far more expensive owing to the item of transport by land. Bricks and lime, too, are expensive; and even a middling house cannot be constructed without using bricks to the value of five or six hundred francs, and more than double the value of lime. The houses are covered with tiles semicircular in shape, and half a finger thick, but badly baked; consequently they are still grey when used, and they last no time; for this reason the tilers lay them in double rows, in such a way that the one tile keeps the other up. Canes known as bamboos, which are split into two, serve as laths to which the tiles are attached, and the frame-work which supports all this, is made merely of pieces of wood, round in shape; dwellings of this kind are for the rich; but those which are inhabited by the lower classes, are constructed of canes, and covered by palm branches.

By the way, in India it is better to build during the rains than in fine weather; for the heat is so great, and the sun so fierce, when the sky is bright, that everything dries up before it has a chance to be joined firmly together, and buildings crack in a moment; whereas the rain tempers the heat, and as it prevents the sun from scorching, the masonry has time to dry.

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\(^1\) I.e., Hindus, as opposed to Moors, Muhammadans.
\(^2\) Gaur, Gabeur or Guebra, a Fire-worshipper (Atish, Fire). They landed on the coast of Gujarath, c. 720 A.C.
During the rains the workmen can spread oil-cloths over the masonry, but in the dry seasons there is no remedy: all that one can do, is to soak cloths and to cover over the work piece by piece as soon as it is done; but the cloths dry so quickly that there is no great advantage in it. The streets of Surat are wide and level, but they are not paved at all; and though the area of the city is large, there is not a single public edifice.

The Christians and Muhammadans of Surat usually eat the meat of the cow, firstly because in this district it is better than that of the ox, and secondly because the bullocks are used for ploughing the land and transporting the goods. The mutton eaten there, is tolerably good; but besides this, hens, chickens, pigeons, pork, and game of all kinds are available. The oil of the *Cnicus silvestris*, or cartame, is used for eating; it is the best oil in India, and that of the sesame, which is also common there, is not so good.

Grapes are eaten in Surat from the beginning of February until the end of April, but their taste is not very fine. Some think that this is because the grapes are not left sufficiently long to ripen: however, the Dutch, who leave them on the vine-stock as long as practicable, make from these grapes a wine which is so sour that it is impossible to drink it without adding sugar. These grapes, which are white, are large and fine in appearance, and are brought to Surat from a small town called Naapura, in the province of Balaghate, a four days' journey from Surat.

The local country liquor is scarcely better than the wine. That which is usually drunk is made from jagre or black sugar, which is put into water with the bark of the Babul tree to give it some strength, and then both are distilled together. Toddy liquor is also prepared, and this is distilled; but these kinds of liquor are not as good as ours, neither is that which they make from rice, sugar and dates. The vinegar which is used is also made from jagre and water. Some people put in spoiled grapes, when they have any; but to improve it, toddy is mixed with it, and it is then left in the sun for several days.

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CHAPTER X.

The Officials in Surat.

There are in Surat a mufri who is in charge of everything concerning the Muslim religion, and a kadi established for legal matters, to whom people have recourse in case of disputes. The Great Mogul also maintains another high official there, whom the French call Secretary of State, and whose function resembles that of our provincial intendants. He is called Vaka-Nevis, i.e., he who writes down and keeps a record of everything which takes place in the territory in which he is appointed. The king keeps one of these officials in each government, in order to keep him informed of all that happens, and the official is not dependent on any man in the State except on His Majesty himself.

There are two Governors or Nabads in Surat, who are in no wise dependent on each other, and who are responsible for their actions to the king alone. The one is in charge of the castle, and the other of the city; and they do not in any way infringe upon each other's rights or duties. The Governor of the city judges the civil court cases, and usually settles them speedily: if a man asks another man for money in payment of a debt, he must either show a bond, or produce two witnesses, or else he must take an oath: if it is a Christian, he swears on the Bible; if it is a Muslim, he swears on the Koran, and a Hindu swears by the cow: the oath of the Hindu merely consists of placing his hand on the cow, and saying that he is willing to eat the flesh of this animal, if what he says is not true; but most of them would rather lose their case than swear, because a man who swears is considered as infamous among the idolators.

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8 Navapur.
9 Jopri, molasses.
4 The country above the Ghauts.
6 The juice of the tadi palm.
7 An expounder of the Law (fatwa). His decrees are executed by the Kazi.
8 Vadi naaia, news-writer or intelligencer.
9 Nawab, a Viceroy's delegate.
When one goes to see the Governor for the first time, one places before him on arrival five, six or ten rupees, each one according to his rank; and the same thing is done in India with all those to whom one wishes to show great respect. This Governor does not interfere at all with criminal matters, which are dealt with by an official named Cotoual. This judge corresponds to what is known as the Soubachy in Turkey and the Deroga in Persia. He has the delinquents punished in his presence either by lashes of the whip or by blows with a stick, and the punishment is often carried out at his house, and sometimes in the street at the very spot where the offence was committed. When he passes through the city he is on horseback, accompanied by several archers on foot, some of whom are armed with sticks and large whips, and the others with lances, swords, shields and iron maces looking like large pestles, but all of them wear a dagger at their side. Nevertheless, neither the Civil Judge nor the Criminal Judge can condemn a person to death: the king has reserved the right of the death sentence for himself; for this reason, when anyone deserves death, a messenger is sent to obtain the king's sanction, and they never fail to execute the king's orders as soon as the messenger has returned.

The Cotoual is obliged to go about the city during the night, to prevent any disorder. He stations guards at various places: if he finds anyone in the street, he has him put into gaol, and will seldom let him out of prison without first having him beaten or whipped. Two of the men who accompany him beat two little drums at nine o'clock, whilst another man sounds two or three times a long copper trumpet which I have described in my Persian Travels. The archers then call out at the top of their voices: 

_Caberdar_ 12 i.e., take care; and those who are in the neighbouring streets respond with a similar cry, to show that they are not asleep. After that, they continue on their way always repeating the cry until they have finished their ordinary round. This round is made three times during the night, namely at nine o'clock, midnight and at three o'clock in the morning.

This Cotoual has to be responsible for all the thefts committed in the city, but as all those convicted for this offence are very clever, they always find a way of evading payment. During my stay in Surat, an Armenian merchant named Cogea Minias was robbed of 2,400 sequins: as two of his slaves had disappeared at the time of the robbery, they were naturally accused of it. All possible measures were taken to obtain information about them, but as no news could be gleaned either of the slaves or of the money, it was rumoured that these slaves had committed the theft, that they had taken refuge with some Muslim who was in collusion with them, and who, in order to take all the money for himself, had killed and buried them, such an event having previously taken place in Surat.

However, the Governor told the Cotoual that this money must be paid at the earliest possible moment, because, if the king were informed of the matter, all the blame would fall on them, and worse things might happen to them than having to refund to Cogea Minias the amount which had been stolen from him, and that therefore this Armenian must be called up, and be asked to state truly what had been taken from him. The Cotoual raised no objection to this, but at the same time he also asked permission to imprison the Armenian and to question him and his servants, so as to discover by means of the torture whether this money had really and truly been stolen from him, and at the same time to find out whether he had not perhaps been robbed by one of his valets. The Governor gave his sanction to this request, but no sooner had the Armenian heard the news than he ceased petitioning the Cotoual, and he preferred to lose all rather than endure to torments which were being prepared for him. This is the usual procedure of the Cotoual.

When anyone has been robbed, this official seizes all the people of the house where the robbery has taken place, young and old alike, and has them beaten mercilessly. They stretch

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10 _Kotoual_, Police-Magistrate, Chief of Police.
11 _Derogha_, Chief Constable.
12 _Khabaridr_.
them out on their stomachs, and four men hold the victim by the arms and feet, and two others have each of them a long whip made of a stout, round plait of leather; with this they strike the patient one after the other, after the fashion of marshals, until he has received two to three hundred strokes and is bleeding. If this person does not confess to the theft, they begin to whip him again the next morning, and they even continue this for some days, until he has confessed everything, or until the stolen goods have been recovered, and the strange thing about it is that the Cotonai does not send anyone to inspect either his house or his clothes, and if after five or six days he confesses nothing, they let him off.

There is in Surat also a Provost known as the Foursdar, who is obliged to keep the countryside free and secure, and who is responsible for all robberies committed there; but I do not know whether he is as dishonest as the Cotonai. When they want to arrest a person, they merely cry “Doa padcheha”; this cry is as powerful as that of “horo” in Normandy; and if they forbid a person to leave the place where he is, saying “Doa padcheha,” he cannot depart without constituting himself a criminal, and he is bound to give an account of himself at the court. This cry is used all over India; as a matter of fact, outrages seldom occur in Surat, and one can live there with a fair amount of freedom.

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CHAPTER XI.

Foul play against the French Company at Surat.

When I arrived in India, the Governor of Surat was making extensive enquiries regarding the French Company. As he had at first enquired of other Frenchmen, and especially those in whose interest it was that the Company should not be received in Surat, many bad things had been told him about the French; and thus he had formed a bad opinion of them owing to the artifice of their enemies. He was already thinking of asking the Court to banish them, when Father Ambrose, the Superior of the Capuchins, who had been informed of the matter, went to him to undeceive him, and to warn him not to trust the enemies of the Company, who were in league to ruin it if they could. He liked this Father on account of his uprightness; and for this reason he did not repel him: he only adjured him to tell him the truth about this matter without dissimulation, and to tell him whether the French who were to come were not pirates, as was rumoured throughout the land, and as several Frenchmen had already assured him.

This thought took hold of the minds of the inhabitants of Surat, as soon as it was known that people in France were intending to send vessels to India for trading purposes; and this slander was easily believed, because a certain Lambert Hugo, a Dutchman, who had had some Frenchmen on his vessel, and who was now remembered, had been in Mocha two years before with the French flag, commissioned by Monsieur de Vendôme, the Admiral of France at that time, and had taken some vessels. But what shocked people more, was the history of the boat carrying the luggage of the Queen of Bijapur, which was stranded near Socotra Island, situated at eleven degrees and forty minutes latitude, at the entrance of the Red Sea. This queen, who was on her way to Mecca, was out of reach of the attacks of the pirate vessel, as she had fortunately crossed in a Dutch boat; but having contented herself with one of her own boats for the transport of her luggage, Hugo came up with it, and

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13 Fauz dr, an army officer.
14 Gujarati doa padcheha = “he recites doa.” Duvâ is “a prohibition in the name of a Bâjâr or other high authority, implying an imprecation of vengeance in case of disobedience.” It is also a solemn appeal for the redress of a grievance, which is a sin to resist, like the Norman-French appeal Horo! Horo, vient a mon aide, mon Prince, which was effective in the Channel Islands till quite recently.
15 Bernier (p. 187) says that Shivaji spared the Capuchin monastery in 1664, saying “The Frankish Padry are good men and shall not be molested.”
knocked the boat with such violence that the Captain was compelled to let her run aground: as the pirate could not easily gain access to the vessel on the spot where she was lying, he did not lose courage, but waited patiently to see the result of the running aground: he did not wait in vain, for, as the Indians had been short of water for a long time, and could not find any at the place where they were in great suffering, they resolved, in order to save their lives, after having hidden in the sea all the gold, silver and jewels they had with them, to resort to the pirate himself, hoping that he might be satisfied with what remained in the vessel.

When Hugo had come up with them, he was clever enough to find out that something had been sunk into the sea; and a false brother told him only the carpenter and his son knew the whereabouts of the queen's wealth (for she had brought a heap of money, jewels and materials as presents for Mecca, Medina, the Great Sheikh, and other places, and she desired to do it handsomely). Finally, after having thoroughly tortured the Captain, the carpenter, and the carpenter's son, whom he threatened to kill in his father's presence, Hugo made them bring out all that had been sunk in the sea, and seized it as well as the rest of the cargo. This action had made such a stir in India that Hugo, who was taken for a Frenchman, was held in abomination in that country, and consequently Frenchmen as a nation also.

The Governor had a great deal to say about this pirate, and Father Ambrose had great difficulty in persuading him that Hugo was not French, as he had come under the French flag, and as it was certain that he had had many Frenchmen on board. Nevertheless, after much talk, he believed it; but he did not on this account excuse the French from the action in which they had assisted, and he still maintained that the desire of plunder was their sole motive in coming to this country. The Father denied that this was their intention, and said that they had only come with Lambert Hugo to avenge the affront that had been offered to some Frenchmen in Aden, a town in Arabia Felix, situated at 11 degrees latitude; and after that, he related to him what had happened to the French in that town some years before. He told him that a *putache* of Monsieur de la Melleraye was compelled by rough weather to separate from the large vessel, and to take refuge at Aden, and that the Sumnis, with unparalleled impiety, had all who set foot on land forcibly circumcised, though at first they had given them a good reception, and had promised to treat them amicably. He told him further that, in spite of this, the king of France had disapproved of the action of the pirate and of those Frenchmen who on board his vessel, just as much as the Indians did, because they had given his subjects a bad reputation, through the cunning of enemies of France; but that he wished to dispel this bad reputation, and that for this reason he had formed a Company to trade in India, with express orders not to commit any hostile action.

The Governor being satisfied with Father Ambrose's reply, requested him to write down in the Persian language all that he had said to him; as soon as this was done, he sent it to the Court; the Great Mogul had it read to him by his Dewan, and both he and his officials were satisfied with it, and they all desired the French vessels to land immediately; indeed, the Governor made much of Messrs. de la Boullaye and Beber, delegates of the Company, and told them that, after the testimony of Father Ambrose, he would render them any services that he could; the English president, too, an old friend of this Father's, did them all the honour that was in his power, after having sent them his carriage and his men to receive them, and he assured the Father that all his property was at their disposal; thus, on the strength of the credit that he had acquired in India, the Capuchin dispelled the bad reports which the enemies of France had sown against the French.

(To be continued.)

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16 A *tindar* or despatch boat.
NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

By Sir Richard C. Temple, Esq.

Prefatory Remarks.

Once again I take up the subject from notes thereon made long ago. In the interval much has been learnt about it, but as these notes were largely made on the spot they contain certain information not elsewhere procurable, and this is my reason for now publishing them.

In the previous articles I have carried the enquiry as far as the consideration in detail of the use by the Burmese of raw lump currency, i.e., of lumps of metal without any stamp or artificial marks on them to show fineness or intrinsic value. I now enter on a discussion of the last link between raw lump currency and coinage, viz., of stamped lump currency or lumps of metal stamped to show fineness and quality but not weight.

Before, however, commencing to note on stamped lump currency I would mention that I have previously (ante., vol. XXIX, pp. 29 ff.) noted the effect on the people where there is no coin of the realm and to the remarks made then I would like to add the following. Clifford in the Geographical Journal (vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 1 ff., 1897) speaking of the Malay State of Trengganu has an informing account as to how revenue is raised where money is scarce and the results of the process upon the populace. He is describing the raising of serah and calls it "a very well known manner of obtaining revenue. It is as much valued by the taxing classes as it is abominated by those upon whom devolves the duty of paying taxes. It is managed in one of two ways. Either a consignment of goods is sent to the village or to an individual, and a price considerably in excess of that current in the markets demanded in return for them; or else a small sum of money is sent, and a message conveyed to the recipients informing them that a given quantity of getah or jungle produce is demanded in return. On the receipt of a serah, a village headman calls his people together and enforces a public subscription to meet the sum required by the raja. The goods are then divided among the subscribers, but as the quantity of goods is altogether out of all keeping with the high price paid for them, and as the village elders usually insist on receiving the full value of their subscription, the weaker members of the community get little or nothing in return for their money. Money serah, in return for which jungle produce is to be supplied, is generally made to an individual, who has forsworn to betake himself to the jungle, the property of the district raja, who even goes so far as to enforce payment from the people for the tools supplied in order to enable them to perform this work. Owing to the impassable nature of the Kelemang Falls, the people living above the rapids in Ulu Trengganu are not required to work timber for the district raja, but they have to supply large quantities of jungle produce on terms which are very similar to those on which timber is worked by natives of other parts of the country."

Clifford adds that the Sultan makes money from "the coining of tin tokens," which shows that they were still in use so late as 1897.

I would also like to acknowledge here much kindly assistance given me in making the collection of coins and monetary objects on which these papers are based—aid given me by officials and others in Burma many years ago. Among Europeans they were Capt. Minchin, R.A., and Messrs. H. C. Noyce, Dawson and Betts; and among Burmans and Indians, the Taungwin Mingyi, Maung Law Yan, K.S.M., U Shwe Baw and Jahangir Baksh, all of which were practically no trouble to obtain.


2 I may as well note here that speaking in terms of lump currency Burmese oil-dealers in the bazaars called a "2½ tickal weight," hnaaht-kaal.

3 See Poole, Coins and Medals, p. 11.

4 See ante, vol. XLII, pp. 103 ff.
Mandalay. And lastly, the once well-known female dealer Ma Kin of the same city. In Rangoon I had the invaluable assistance of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., and Mr. Minus, the Parsi Collector of Rates and Taxes to the Municipality.

To keep the subjects of these my last notes on Burmese Currency and Coinage clear before the reader’s mind, I subjoin a list of them:—

A. Stamped Lump Currency:—Sycees.
B. Stamped Lumps of Metal other than Gold and Silver.
C. Oyster-shell Money (Silver).
D. Coin of the Realm.
   I. Coins of Bōdōp’ayā.
   I. (a) Symbolical Coins.
   I. (b) Historical Coins (including Kings of Arakan).
   II. Coins of Mindōn Min.
   III. Coins of Thībō (Thibaw).
E. Coin.
   I. Tokens.
   II. Taungbanni Coins.
   III. Irregular Tokens.
   III. (a) Shān Shell Money.
   IV. Majīzī Knuckle-bones.
   V. Shan Silver Majīzī.
   VI. Siamese Tickals.
   VII. Ancient Tokens.
F. Forgeries.
G. Siamese Porcelain Tokens.
H. Gambling Counters or Jetons.
I. Metal Charms.
J. King Mindon’s Mint.

A. Stamped Lump Currency.

Sycees.

An instance of stamped lump currency, well-known all over the Far East, is Chinese sycees, the use of which made it really a bank issue, as it was stamped with the name and description of the issuing Chinese banking firm, much after the fashion of the European bank note. With it may be compared longo intervallō the tickal of Siam and the larin or ‘hook’ money (silver) of Persia and Ceylon, specimens of which are still fairly common in Western Indian bazaars.

It has often been written about and explained, but the following information which I gathered may still be of use to students. Perhaps the best general introduction to sycees is to be found in the remarks of Terrien de Lacouperie, Catalogue of Chinese Coins (1892, pp. xxii–xxv), from which I extract the following notes: “The coinage of ancient China circulated always by weight for its intrinsic value. The weight and the various patterns were regulated by the State, and every one, including guild merchants of private and town communities, subject to these rules, was at liberty to issue his own coins, bearing his distinctive symbol (written characters) or name . . . .

“The shape that was commonly given to the ingots of gold and silver in ancient times is not described. The cubic inch of the regulations of the Tchou dynasty for gold, does not seem to have been continued for long, and the non-appearance of any special name for the unit of each of the two precious metals does not permit of any but a negative inference on
the matter. We may therefore surmise that the most common shape was no other than the simplest one, i.e., that of the crucible itself in its most convenient oblong form, which is still at present in use for the silver currency.\(^5\) The metal, while still hot and soft in the crucible, is impressed either with a stamp marked with a legend, or concentric circle-lines, or with several stamps inscribed. The stamping causes the metal to rise all round, and the result is to shape the ingot like a boat or shoe. In the middle ages the Chinese ingots of gold or silver in Central Asia were called tâlîsh or yêstok, both which words mean "a cushion," and although supposed by some to allude to this so-called shoe-shape, may perhaps refer to the loaf-shape, such as those of ancient Japan and of the Laocian States, which are exemplified in the numismatic collections of the British and other Museums. The previously mentioned shape of ingot is compared to a boat in descriptions of the gold imported from China to India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Tavernier, in 1676, says that they were called gold-schuyl by the Hollander, i.e., a boat of gold, and this word schuyl is supposed to have suggested the English term shoe, applied not long afterwards to the same ingots. The Chinese silver shoes in the Panjab in 1862, and in Kashgar in 1876, were called yambu, and compared to a deep boat. Kur was also a term used in the latter place.

"There is no reason to suppose that the present shoes of silver and gold in China do not preserve a form that was used in times anterior to the Han dynasty.

"Syce, Chinese, fine silk, is the general term for lump silver, and is explained as meaning that, if pure, it may be drawn out under the application of heat into fine silk-like threads. This is, of course, a script-etymology, and pure fancy, derived from the ideographical meaning inherent in the symbols, while the historical etymology must be sought for in a foreign term transmuted thereby. Yuenpou is the common name among foreigners for the silver ingot which bears some resemblance to a native shoe. There are a certain number of these silver shoes in the British Museum collection."

In 1834 Prinsep, Useful Tables, pp. 29-30 wrote thus on the subject: "Syce silver, in Chinese Wan-yin, is the only approach to a silver currency among the Chinese. In it the government taxes and duties, and the salaries of officers, are paid; and it is also current among merchants in general. The term Syce is derived from two Chinese words Se-se, "fine floss silk," which expression is synonymous with the signification of the term Wan. This silver is formed into ingots (by the Chinese called Shoes), which are stamped with the mark of the office that issues them, and the date of their issue. The ingots are of various weights, but most commonly of ten tael each.

"Syce silver is divided into several classes, according to its fineness and freedom from alloy: the kinds most current at Canton are the five following:

"1st. Kwan-heang, the Hoppo's duties, or the silver which is forwarded to the imperial treasury at Peking. This is of 97 to 99 touch. On all the imperial duties, a certain percentage is levied for the purpose of turning them into Syce of this high standard, and of conveying them to Peking without any loss in the full amount. The Hoppo, however, in all probability increases the percentage far above what is requisite, that he may be enabled to retain the remainder for himself and his dependents.

"2nd. Fankoo or Fan-foo. The treasurer's receipts, or that in which the land-tax is paid. This is also of a high standard, but inferior to that of the Hoppo's duties, and being intended for use in the province, not for conveyance to Peking, no percentage is levied on the taxes for it.

"3rd. Yuenpou, or Une-po, literally "chief in value." This kind is usually imported from Soochow, in large pieces of 50 tael each. It does not appear to belong to any particular government tax.

\(^5\) One, if not the most, curious form resulting from this process of manufacture is the châléon or châhbin-bâuk, the well-known Shan shell-money, which is the result of the natural efflorescence of silver under certain methods of smelting.
"4th. Yes, or Eem-heang, "salt duties." It is difficult to account for these being of so low a standard, the salt trade being entirely a government monopoly. This class is superior only to

"5th. Mut-tas, or Wuh-tas. The name of which signifying "uncleansed or unpurified," designates it as the worst of all. It is seldom used, except for the purpose of plating, or rather washing, baser metals.

The tael of Sycee in the East India Company's accounts is reckoned at 6s. 8d. sterling. When assayed in London, this metal is frequently found to contain a small admixture of gold. Mercantile account sales give the following average outcome of China bullion remittances to London, Calcutta, and Bombay:

100 taeles

of Sycee 3078 Sicca Rs. or with charges 3062 Rs. at Calcutta.
yield 3355 Bombay Rs. or with charges 3302 Rs. at Bombay."

Sycee is again alluded to by Staunton (Account of Macartney's Embassy to China, 1797, p. 97): "Silver is more properly among the Chinese a merchandise. None of it is coined, but large payments are made in lumps of it in the form of the crucibles in which it was refined and with the stamp of a single character upon it to ascertain its weight, mostly of ten ounces. The value of silver in the current coin varies according to the relative scarcity or plenty of that metal issued from the Imperial Treasury."

Sycee, as a term, was employed for both gold and silver stamped and certified lumps of currency metal, and regarding it that fine English merchant in the Far East, Lockyer, writing in 1711 (Trade in India, pp. 132-4) says in his informing way: "Gold makers [in Canton] (as they are commonly call'd) cast all the Gold, that comes thro' their Hands, into Shoos of about 10 Tale weight, or 12 oz. 2 dwt. 4 gr. of an equal Fineness. As one makes them 93 Touch, another is famous for 94, &c. A private Mark is stamp'd in the Sides, and a piece of printed Paper pasted to the middle of them, by which every one's Make is known, as our Cutlers, and other Mechanicks do in their Trades. Both Ends of the Shoos are alike, and bigger than in the middle, with thin Brims rising above the rest, whence the upperside somewhat resembles a Boat. From the middle, which in cooling sinks into a small Pit, arise Circles one within another, like the Rings in the Balls of a Man's Fingers, but bigger. The smaller and closer these are the finer the Gold is. When Silver, Copper, or other Metal is inclosed in casting, as sometimes you may meet with it in small Bits, the Sides will be uneven, knobby, and a Rising instead of Sinking in the Middle. Sometimes they make it not above 50 or 60 Touch, and gild it four or five times over; so that relying on our smooth Stones, you are liable to be imposed on. Therefore I look on the rougher ones that are used by the Banians of Indostan, with a Ball of Black Wax, to be the best. But for want of these raise the Sides with a Graver, or cut it half through with a Chisel, and break the rest; whence you may see the Colour and Grain, and easily detect their Fraud. Should you cut it quite thro', the Chisel will so draw the Gold over the Allay, that you can learn nothing by it. This they'll not willingly permit, but on the contrary, be affronted at a Request that shews so great a Distrust of them. Therefore the best way is to make a Bargain before you begin the Trial, and you may manage them afterwards as you will. They are call'd after the Makers' Names, or from the Places whence they come; but I think the former; for there is a great deal made at Pekin; but none of that Name. Chuija and Chuckja are 93 Touch. Tingza, Shing, and Guanza 94. Of these the former turn to the best Account. Sinchipoa and Chuckepoa are reckon'd 96 and 95 Touch. The Chinese in Gold and Silver (whom, for the Generality of the People, I look on as the best acquainted with, and most knowing in those Metals of any Nation in the World) always reckon one Touch finer than it really is, and will allow you so in the Receipt of Money. Gold in Bars or Ingots comes chiefly from Cochinchina and Ton-queen, and differs in Fineness from 75 to 100 Touch. Tis of several sizes, and easier much
than the Shoo's to be counterfeited; which the foregoing Rules may fortify you against." Lockyer had some experience of this currency for he says (p. 102): "We paid near 820 tale Sissee [at Canton]."

In view of the above quotations and the remarks made ante, vol. XLVIII, p. 107 f. on Burmese gold standards, it is worthwhile to draw attention to the following table extracted from Stevens, New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade. 1775, p. 71, where he gives a series of "Chinese characters, whereby you may form some judgement on the value of their gold." From this last statement can be extracted a table of recognised standards of Chinese gold, taking "syece" at par of 100 touch.

**CHINESE GOLD STANDARDS, 1775.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Percentage of &quot;syece.&quot;</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Twanzen (a bar wrapped in paper)</td>
<td>94½ to 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seong Kut or Seang Catt</td>
<td>90 to 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tungsee</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tungsee, Yenuee or Tingwan</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tooze or Tinjee</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Cheanzee or Swajzee</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Seong Pon or Soang Pon</td>
<td>93½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Yeuukzen, Seongyeux or Songyeux</td>
<td>94 to 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ponze or Seong Pon</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Chue or Chiya (in bars)</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Chaneze or Soarhzy (in shoes)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ongee</td>
<td>90 to 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Tooze</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Ponze or Seong Po (in bars)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Cutze or Songcatt</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Yeuukzen (shoes wrapped in paper stamped &quot;the double ring Chop&quot;)</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious, however, from an examination of the above table that it must be taken for what it may be worth, as the same name is made to do duty for varying standards. Obviously also both names and standards are taken from the reports of different merchants after testing with their own touch-neddles and quâ their appreciation of the Chinese words. It shows once more, then, the difficulty that the old traders had to encounter in their pecuniary transactions.

Writing of Siam, Bock, Temples and Elephants, 1884, p. 398 (footnote) says:—"The Siamese distinguish six qualities of gold: (1) Nopkun kow nam; (2) Nua paat; (3) Nua chet; (4) Nua kik; (5) Nua ha; (6) Nua see. These six grades date from olden times—as early as 1347—when gold was plentiful in Chiang Saan. Gold of the first two grades realizes in value from sixteen to eighteen times its weight in silver."

To return to Sycee, later on, Yule, Hobson-Jobson 1886, writing (pp. 628-9) on "Shoes of gold," said:—"Shoe of Gold (or of Silver). The name for certain ingots of precious metal, somewhat in the form of a Chinese shoe, but more like a boat, which were formerly current in the trade of the Far East. Indeed of silver they are still current in China, for Giles says: 'Sycee is] the common name among foreigners for the Chinese Silver ingot, which bears some resemblance to a native shoe. May be of any weight from 1 oz. and even less, to 50 and sometimes 100 oz., and is always stamped by the assayer and banker, in evidence of purity' (Gloss. of Reference, 128)."

"The same form of ingot was probably the bālish (or yāstok) of the Middle Ages, respecting which see Cathay, pp. 115, 481, etc. Both of these latter words mean also 'a cushion,' which is perhaps as good a comparison as either 'shoe' or 'boat.' The word now used in
Central Asia is yambū. There are cuts of the gold ingots in Tavernier, whose words suggest what is probably the true origin of the popular English name, viz., a corruption of Dutch Goldschuit.

"1566. . . . valuable goods exported from this country (China) . . . are first a quantity of gold, which is carried to India in loaves in the shape of boats . . . ." —C. Federici, in Ramusio, iii, 391 b.

"1611. 'Then, I tell you, from China I could load ships with cakes of gold fashioned like boats, containing, each of them, roundly speaking, 2 marks weight, and so each cake will be worth 280 pardoas.'—Coutu, Diálogo do Soldado Prático, p. 155."

"1676. 'The Pieces of Gold mark'd Fig. 1, and 2, are by the Hollanders called Goltschut, that is to say, a Boat of Gold, because they are in the form of a Boat. Other nations call them Loaves of Gold . . . . The Great Pieces come to 12 hundred Guilders of Holland Money, and thirteen hundred and fifty Livres of our Money.'—Tavernier, E.T., ii, 8."

"1702. 'Sent the Moolah to be delivered the Nabob, Dewan, and Buxie 48 China Oranges . . . . but the Dewan bid the Moolah write the Governor for a hundred more that he might send them to Court; which is understood to be One Hundred shoes of gold, or so many thousand pagodas or rupees.'—In Wheeler, i. 397."

"1704. 'Price Currant, July, 1704 (at Malacca) . . . . Gold, China, in Shoos 94 Touch.'—Lockyer, 70."

"1862. 'A silver ingot Yambu weighs about 2 (Indian) seers . . . =4 lbs., and is worth 165 Co.'s rupees. Koorooosh, also called Yambucha, or small silver ingot, is worth 33 Rs. . . . 5 yambuchas, being equal to 1 yambu. There are two descriptions of 'yambucha'; one is a square piece of silver, having a Chinese stamp on it; the other . . . . in the form of a boat, has no stamp. The Yambu is in the form of a boat, and has a Chinese stamp on it.'—Punjab Trade Report, App. cxix—xxvii. 1."

"1875. 'The yambu or kurs is a silver ingot something the shape a deep boat with projecting bow and stern. The upper surface is slightly hollowed, and stamped with a Chinese inscription. It is said to be pure silver, and to weigh 50 (Cashghar [Kashgar]) ser =30,000 grains English.'—Report of Forsyth's Mission to Kashghar, 494."

Lockyer, like other merchants of his time, was very close and precise in the matter of currency, as the following quotation from Trade in India, (1711), pp. 135-6, will show:—

"Formerly they used to sell for Siseco, or Silver full fine; but of late the Method is alter'd. 10 Tale of Gold 93 fine, sold for 94 Tale weight of Siseco Silver is 7 above Touch. 10 Tale of Gold 100 Touch, sold for 94 Tale Siseco Silver is Touch for Touch. 10 Tale of Gold Touch 94 for 100 Siseco, is 12½ above. To reduce Siseco into Currant Silver, multiply by 100, and divide by 94. The Hoppes divide by 93. All the Eastern People aly their Gold with Silver, therefore a Copperish Hue is Grounds for Suspicion. The coursest, or Gold of the lowest Touch is most, advisable: For, in a parting Essay you get all the Silver that is mixt, with it for nothing, viz. 50 Tale weight Touch 58, is 58 Tale of pure Gold and 22 Tale of Silver Allay, which you pay not a Farthing for."

In writing thus Lockyer was following the custom of his day. Witness the remarks of Stevens, Guide to East India Trade, 1766 (p. 125): 'At China they divide Things decimally, as in buying Gold or Silver, which is esteemed by the one-hundreth Part, and their Touching Needles (by which they generally try the Finess of the Gold and Silver) are marked and numbered accordingly. The finest Gold among them is one hundred Touch, called Sycee, that is, pure Gold without any Allay in it. So if a Shoe of Gold touch 93, then it hath 93/100 Parts fine Gold, and 7/100 Parts of Allay in it. Goldrissand falls in China according to the

6 This remark shows Lockyer's judgment in currency matters.
Demand for it. Gold bought at Touch for Touch, is when Ten Tale-weight of Sycee Silver is paid for One Tale-weight of pure Gold. Therefore Nine Tale-weights of Silver are to be paid for One of that mixed Mass, for ten times 9/10 is 90, the Sycee Gold there is in, when at 90 Touch. If it touch 96, then are 9-6/10 of Silver to be paid for one of Gold. If it touch 88, then 8-8/10 of Silver for One Tale of Gold, so that if you separate the last Figure of the Touch for a Decimal, and then multiply this Number by the Weight of the Mass, you will have the Weight of Silver to be paid for it."

Sycee was the regular currency in China itself in dealing with foreigners,7 for Lockyer (Trade in India, pp. 139–40) says:—"Ruppes pass current for Sisee, English Crowns for Current Silver . . . All the (silver) Money received for the Emperor's Customs is refined to Sisee and run into Shoos like the Gold . . . ."

Again Colquhoun (Across Chryse, 1883, p. 21) says: "At last we made up our minds, after sifting the evidence in regard to this question, to take Mexican dollars, new and chopped (i.e., stamped), for use on the river and to use sycee silver (stamped) for the Yunnan land-journey [in Southern Yunnan]."

Sycee was found to be currency also at a shortly earlier date, for Capt. Blakiston, writing in 1862 (The Yang Tze, ch. ix, pp. 146–7), tells us:—"We had hitherto paid in Mexican dollars, but, having run out of our supply of these useful auxiliaries, we were forced to make an inroad on our stock of sycee. Each of us carried 450 tael weight of silver in this form (i.e. in small lumps), equal to about six hundred dollars, and, for fear of loss from shipwreck or other mishap, we distributed the amount among our different packages. Mine was tied in old socks, and kept very various company . . . ."

"A money-changer was sent for, and came on board with his balance-scales, and after some little time rendered us a statement to a fraction of a cash—ten cash go to a half-penny—of the exchange, at the rate of 1720 per tael. The Sz'chuan tael was here in use, and is of greater weight than that on the lower river. The proportion is, 100 Sz'chuan tael equal 101-6 Shanghai, or 102-48 Hankow tael. Mexican dollars had been taken as far as I-chang, in the province of Hoo-peh, at 1000 to 1100 cash."

So high was the position of Sycee that Herstlet (China Treaties, 1896, vol. 1, p. 26) says: "Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and China, 26 June 1858: Article xxiii, Payment of Duties in Sycee or Foreign Money. Duties shall be paid to the bankers, authorised by the Chinese Government to receive the same in its behalf, either in sycee or in foreign money, according to the assay made at Canton on the 13th July, 1843."

The Sycee system had, however, its pitfalls for European Governments, as Chalmers, (Colonial Currency, 1883, p. 373) records an instance where the British Government was misled as to the orders it sent to Hong Kong: "The Home Government herein reckoned without the Chinese. In China, fine, or Hai-Kwan, Sycee, silver had always been reckoned not by tale but by weight, the standard measure being the 'Tael' weighing some 580 grains, sub-divided decimally into 10 mace or 100 candareens. Of the only Chinese coins (copper 'Cash'), one thousand (each weighing one mace) were originally equivalent to one tael of fine or Sycee silver. But owing to adulteration (with sand, etc.), and to illicit coinage, as many as 1,400 cash sometimes passed for a tael.

"Now, as for all but petty transactions the Chinese used silver and measured that silver by its fine weight and not by tale, the introduction of token British silver coins which

7 In Yule's Ann., 1858, p. 345, there is a very curious remark with reference to Chinese silver:—"A considerable quantity of silver is brought from China in the way of trade. It is imported by the Shans in a very pure state, made up into small slabs or flat plates, which are from five to ten ticks in weight. The silver which these men themselves use is nevertheless very impure, containing often fully 100 per cent. alloy."

8 There is much more information of the same kind in Parliamentary Papers, 1858, No. 287.
represent fractions of a gold sovereign, proceeded on a fundamental misconception; and the Royal Proclamation of 1844 remained a dead letter. All accounts (except those of the Government) were kept in dollars, and the sole instrument and medium of exchange, both at Hong Kong and at all the open ports (except Shanghai) continued to be the silver dollar, weighed in Hong Kong at 1,000 dollars to 717 tael, i.e., nearly 416 grains per dollar."

In Burma Syee was well understood and Anderson (Mandlay to Momein, 1876, p. 377) found that "all the coined money [at Bhamo] was exchanged for syee, or lump, silver, at the rate of one hundred rupees for seventy tickets of the finest quality, or seventy-three tickets and a half of the more alloyed which passes among the Kakhysens (Kachins)."

Coming to my own time, 1887 onward, on Fig. 15, Plate II, I show a piece of *myinkā* or saddle silver, which has been chipped for use. This is nothing but the well-known syee silver of former Burmese commerce and the old books. It had, however, become rare in Burma by 1889 and I only procured one specimen in Mandalay, where I stayed three years and made many enquiries. Nevertheless, it was a standing "product" of Upper Burma, and until 1885, at any rate, the only currency in Bhamo, where our political agents were paid in it. E.g., in 1868 Col. G. A. Strover drew his salary there in syee silver, while political agent, then and subsequently, though correspondence in 1889 failed to produce a specimen from Bhamo.

In reference to Col. Strover's experience there is a curious allusion to syee silver, characteristic of Burmese ways, in Sladen's *Official Narrative of the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo* in 1867: "All the money in my possession consisted of India-coined rupees, which it was said, could not pass current among Kakhysens (Kachins), or within the Shan States. The rupees must be changed for silver bullion of peculiar standard [syee], readily procurable and current everywhere. Such at least was the information tendered at Mandalay: and yet on arrival at Bhamo, silver had become, for some unaccountable reason, an unknown commodity altogether. I would gladly have changed 5,000 rupees. It was our all, but no amount of solicitation was of any avail in procuring as many hundreds in bullion. I importuned everyone. The Chinese said they were poor and did not possess silver. The officials excused the emptiness of their treasury by assuring me that remittances had only just been made to the capital on account of the previous year's taxes." All this was the result of organized opposition to Sladen's mission.

Later on Sladen writes that he "lost 30 per cent. on exchanging rupees for silver [syee] bullion, but this loss obviously had no bearing on the true relative value of the rupees and the bullion. But it is possible in these regions for even the locally current syee to be of small value." Thus Cooper, writing from "Tai-tsaa-loo, Western border of China" in 1868, says: "For the information of future travellers I should mention that beyond this place, as far as Lassa, money is at a great discount, two or three needles and a little thread, or a piece of Chinese cloth, procuring what money cannot . . . . Syee is used at a great loss."

As an instance of the commercial value of preserving the form of a currency, I may mention that in Rangoon in 1891 I purchased in the Municipal Market a piece of inferior silver (now in the British Museum) which came from Bombay and consisted of half a piece

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9 This seems to be the *bdilīgh* silver quoted by Yule, Hobsom-Johnson, *et al.*, *Shoes of Gold.*


11 See *British Burma Gazetteer,* vol. 3, p. 472.


BURMESE CURRENCY.

1

2

3

4

5

HORNIMAN MUSEUM, HOLLOWAY.
of imitation sycee, cut in the centre exactly like the piece in fig. 15, plate II, but stamped on the back thus:

![Sycee Stamp Diagram]

These words must stand either for some such words as By (rab Doss . . . . ) Doss [Bhairavdás . . . . dás], after the fashion of the Bombay nomenclature of firms, or for " . . . . Doss [dás] Byculla."

On Plate VI, figs. 4 and 5, are shown two pieces of Burmese silver of the sycee type, though not sycee, from the Horniman Museum at Forest Hill, London.

And then as to the eighteenth century in Burma we read in Sangermano, The Burmese Empire, ed. 1853, p. 167: "The Burmese have no coined money, but in their commercial transactions they make use of gold and silver bullion. Hence they are obliged to employ scales in all payments. The principal weight that they have, and to which all others are referred, is the ticale [tickal]; it is equal to about half an ounce. The gold and silver used is sometimes quite pure, but ordinarily it is mixed with some alloy; and of course its value depends on its degree of purity. But the inferior money of Amarapura and Rangoon is lead. Its value is not by any means fixed, but varies according to its abundance or scarcity. Sometimes a ticale of silver with a portion of alloy, is equal to 200 ticali of lead, sometimes to a thousand, and even to more. In Tavai and Mergha pieces of tins with the impression of a cock, which is the Burmese arms, are used for money."

The system of currency which culminated in gold and silver sycee is very old, as Yule's remarks show, that the sommo of Peglopliti was worth 5 duclates = 9½ s. × 5 = 47½ s. = say Rs. 24 at par about = the value by weight of an ordinary piece of sycee silver. Again in the above quoted passages the fixed alloy works out at 11 oz. 17 det., or 12 oz. fine silver, per sommo, and the varying weight therefore makes it practically certain that by the sommo the old travellers meant a lump of sycee silver.

I also gather that the pieces of gold mentioned by Goss (1605), in Yule's Cathay, vol. II, pp. 582, 583, 586, must have been stamped lumps of gold, i.e., gold sycee, and that the silver measured out to him in bulk must have been sycee silver.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT INSCRIPTION IN THE JHALAWAR STATE.

This Inscription of Vikram Samvat 746 was discovered by the Curator, Darbar Archaeological Museum, in the temple of Chandra-mauli Mahâdeva on the bank of the river Chandrabhaga, Jhalrapatan, in the year 1915. It belongs to the time of Râja Durag-gan of the Maura family. This temple now bears the name of Shitileshwar Mahâdeva. The supporting pillars are cylindrical in shape and are beautifully engraved. The roof of the porch seems to have been repaired lately, although a small portion of it has been left alone, which shows what the original workmanship was like. The supporting pillars have each a "Bajra Ghanta" fastened to chains engraved in stone. Before the idol of Shiva Nandi is seated, and a number of statues of various gods and goddesses stand in the corners. Near by, the river Chandrabhaga flows from west to east. It is held sacred and is visited by thousands of people who come to bathe in its holy waters in the month of Kartik, a fair being also held on that occasion. This place is some 18 miles from the Railway. The nearest station is Shri-chhatrapur on B. B. & C. I. Railway.

S. Chhiri.

—

14 Ticale, ticali are Italian forms of tickal.
15 I wonder what Sangermano's authority for this statement was.
Dictionary of the Car-Nicoberese Language, 
by the Rev. G. Whitehead, B.A., Rangoon, 
American Baptist Mission Press, 1925.

The chief sources of our knowledge of Nicoberese has hitherto been de Roepstorf’s Dictionary of the Natuny Dialect (Calcutta, 1884), and the works of E. H. Man and Sir Richard Temple; and now Mr. Whitehead has made a valuable addition to our information by the publication of this account of the Car Dialect. Although Car and Nanowry are certainly variant forms of the same Môn-Khmer speech, they differ so widely both in grammar and in vocabulary that it would almost be possible to class them, not as cognate dialects, but as separate languages not very closely allied to each other, Car is spoken by some 5,200 people out of the eight or ten thousand Nicoberese, while the number of speakers of Nanowry (Mr. Whitehead spells the word “Nankauri”) is about 1,165. The other dialects (Chowra, Teressa, and Shompen) share among themselves the remaining speakers of the language.

To his Dictionary proper Mr. Whitehead has prefixed an Introductory Chapter of about fifty pages in which he gives an account of the general features of the language. This does not pretend to be a formal grammar, but is rather a collection of notes of varying length dealing with the main particulars. The most important sections are those devoted to the sounds of the language, to the pronouns, and to the verb. While there is no list of numerals, there is an interesting catalogue of the numeral co-efficients that form an important element in the methods of counting employed by speakers of Indo-Chinese languages.

In the section on phonetics, the vowel sounds are treated with minuteness, the chief features of interest being the many diphthongs and semi-diphthongs, and the tendency of some vowels to change under the influence of a following consonant. As for the consonants, with a few accidental exceptions, there are no sonant stops (g, j, d, b)—in this differing widely from Nanowry—and no aspirated consonants. Two letters,—k and n,—are liable to become “clipped” when final. I presume that by this term it is meant that, as in Burmese and other languages, they are sounded without the off-glides; but this is doubtful, for the author mentions another sound, which he represents by r. This, he says is “a kind of modified (or clipped) r”, in which “clipped” can hardly have this meaning, especially as the sound is never final.

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th>Car</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>chā-ō, chīn</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>in, aiy-ya-ū (Ex.)</td>
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2 Car, like Nanowry, has no word for ‘father’ or ‘mother.’ It has only ‘male parent’ and ‘female parent.’

The pronouns are the only words that show inflexion. They have three numbers,—singular, dual (only when referring to persons), and plural,—and the pronoun of the first person has two forms each for the dual and plural, one including, and the other excluding the person addressed. So far as I am aware, the latter distinction is not found in Nanowry, which has, however, the three numbers. The comparative table below shows the principal personal pronouns in the two dialects. It illustrates at once the connexion and the difference between them.

As regards verbs, the author tells us little about conjugation, but gives a long and valuable list of suffixes (which he calls affixes) and prefixs that, as in cognate forms of speech, modify the root-meaning of the word. No information is given about tenses, and I presume that, as in Nanowry, present, past and future are all represented by the same form, the temporal significance being gathered from the context.

Similarly, we are given no information about the declension of nouns. It is true that in languages of this family there are no formal cases, but, to take an example, it would have been interesting to learn how the idea of the genitive is expressed. Does the possessor follow or precede the thing possessed? Is, for instance, “the house of the parent?” pa-ii (house) yen (parent), or yen pa-ii? From sentences given as examples of other syntactical uses, I presume that, as in Nanowry, the former, and not the latter, is the correct idiom, but it would have been well if this had been distinctly stated. Readers of Pater Schmidt’s Die Sprachfamilien and Sprachenkreise der Erde will remember how important from the point of view of anthropology is this question of the position of the genitive.

The Dictionary itself is admirable. It is no mere vocabulary, for nearly every entry is supplied with sentences illustrating the exact meaning of the word under examination. Considering the scanty word-tenant that would be possessed by an isolated and uncivilized tribe of only a few thousand people, it is astonishingly full, and the evident care with which it has been compiled, gives confidence as to its accuracy. I can congratulate not only the author on its successful completion, but also my fellow students who are struggling with the Môn-Khmer languages on finding ready to their hands a new and excellent weapon to aid their conquest.

G. A. G.
History of Burma, from the earliest times to March 10, 1834, the beginning of the English Conquest, by G. E. Harvey, with a preface by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bt., with seven illustrations and five coloured maps; Longmans Green and Co., London, 1925.

Although just over a century had elapsed since Lord Amherst was forced by the provocations of the Government of Ava to commence the first Burmese War, the average Englishman knows very little more about the history of Burma than he did at that date. Sir Arthur Phayre attempted to lift the veil of darkness which shrouded the annals of the country by the publication of a History of Burma in 1883; but, as Sir Richard Temple points out in a foreword to Mr. Harvey's work, Sir Arthur had no access to the inscriptions, which are numerous from the eleventh century onwards, and made no use of Chinese records. These valuable sources, coupled with the less trustworthy vernacular chronicles of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the Dutch and Portuguese records and certain unpublished state papers in the India Office, form the ground work of Mr. Harvey's history, which unquestionably supplies a long-felt want and is likely to be a standard volume of reference for many years to come.

His first chapter, which is devoted to the shadowy ages preceding the rise of the kingdom of Pagan in 1044, is necessarily brief and conjectural. The art of writing was probably brought from South India about A.D. 300 to the Pyus,—that strange, unknown race, which once occupied Prome, and gradually lost its identity and became merged in the local tribes of the Pagan kingdom after A.D. 800, but no inscriptions of an earlier date than A.D. 500 have so far been discovered, and the bulk of those included in Epigraphia Birmanica belong to a much later date. The general conclusion, at which Mr. Harvey arrives, is that the Burmese are a mixed Mongolian race, to which various Tibeto-Burman tribes—the Pyu, the Kauran or Arakanese, and the Thot or Chin,—have contributed elements, and with these have mingled the Talangs of Lower Burma, who were originally Hindu immigrants from Telingana on the coast of Madras. Immigration also took place from northern India through Assam, and influenced the religious ideas and architecture of Upper Burma in the fifth century; and the complete disappearance among the Burmese of their primeval Mongolian traditions is due to the fact that these Indian immigrants, whether from Northern or Southern India, were the only people who could read and write in those early ages and so keep tradition alive. Thus it comes that the tradition, folk-lore, and chronicles of the Mongolian Burmese are predominantly Indian in character.

Although Mr. Harvey in his treatment of the Pagan kingdom, which was practically paramount in Burma from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, frankly introduces matter which is pure legend or folk-lore, certain definite facts emerge from his combination of recorded fact, as embodied, for example, in the Myazedi inscription of A.D. 1112, with the romantic narrative of the chronicles. The dynasty, founded by Anawrahta in 1044, which lasted until the terrible Tartar invasion of 1287, managed to hold Burma together for more than two hundred years, built magnificent temples, and preserved Theravada Buddhism, which, in the author's words, "is one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known." Indeed, the tale of the Pagan rulers, though not free from the stain of cruelty, is on the whole more attractive to the modern reader than the long and dreary chronicle of wholesale murder, raiding, and rape which commences with Shan domination in 1287, includes the chequered history of the Toungoo dynasty, and ends, so far as Mr. Harvey's work is concerned, with the challenge offered by Bagyidaw of the Alaungpaya line to the Governor-General of India, Lord Amherst, whom the author incorrectly styles Viceroy of India. The title of Viceroy did not come into existence and use until after the transfer of the Government of India to the English Crown in 1858. Battle, murder, and sudden death fill the centuries succeeding the great Shan immigrations; here and there one catches a glimpse of a ruler endowed with greater nobility, personality, or administrative aptitude than the general run of Burmese kings. Such, indeed, were Queen Shin-sawbu (1436-72) of gracious memory; Thalun of the Toungoo line, under whose orders the first Revenues Inquest ever made in Burma was carried out in 1638; Bayinnaung, who commenced his martial adventures while still in his teens and continued fighting till his death at the age of 66; Alaungpaya, who rose from the position of village headman to be master of Burma; and Bodawpaya. But one looks in vain for any figure comparable with those of Aoka, of Samudragupta, of Harsha, and of Akbar in India. These rulers were quite as despotic as the kings of Burma, but they were more cultured, more civilized, and, so long as they lived, they maintained a tolerably efficient administrative organization. It was in this respect that the Burmese Court was a signal failure, and Mr. Harvey's references to the exceptional inefficiency of the government recall the worst days of the later Mughal rulers, when every official was a law unto himself and the injunctions of the pageant-emperor went unheeded.

Quite as valuable as the actual history of the various dynasties are the notes which Mr. Harvey has appended to his narrative. Among these one may call attention particularly to the notes on "The temples and their builders," "Massacre of the kinemen," "Thalun's inquest," which include illuminating paragraphs on slaves and captives, the ideas underlying prohibition of certain exports, and the organisation of society, and "Administrative
conditions." In several respects, particularly as regards official oppression and tyranny, conditions under the kings of Burma approximated to those existing in India under some of the less efficient rulers, both Hindu and Muslim; but it is doubtful whether any Indian potentate, except perhaps Sultan Ballaran or Muhammad bin Tughlak, was guilty of such sanguinary cruelty as that which characterized successive rulers of Burma. In his note on "Cholas in the Delta," Mr. Harvey rightly exposes Mr. Taw Sein Ko's error in attributing the erection of two stone posts at Pegu to Rajendra the Gangakonda Chola-Kidaram or Kadaram, which has been identified with Kedah in the Malay States, is identical with the Kaiyana of the Tiruvallangadu copperplate inscriptions and with the Kaiyana of the ancient Tamil poem Pattinappalai. The Rajah of Kadaram was also ruler of Sri Vishaya or Vijaya, which appears to have been Palenbug on the east coast of Sumatra. At page 320 there is an interesting note on "Myosadhu," the Burmese name for a human victim buried alive under a building—a custom which was once well-known in India also.

Enough has been said to indicate that Mr. Harvey's work is a valuable contribution to the historical literature concerning England's eastern possessions. It bears the impress of steady research and first-hand knowledge of the country; and as Sir Richard Temple writes in an excellent foreword, it "will form a starting point for searchers of the coming generation. It has blazed a way through the jungle, so that others may build the road." What a jumble it is, can be to some extent understood from a mere perusal of the genealogical tables, which are printed after the explanatory notes. To have woven a consecutive story, replete with new facts, out of that medley of strange names, and incidentally to have thrown most interesting sidelights upon the social condition, customs, and civilization of Burma under its own rulers, is an achievement worthy of the Service to which Mr. Harvey belongs.

S. M. EDWARDS.

THE ROOT ACCH—IN MODERN INDIA, IN SONDERDRUCK AUS DER GARBE-FESTGABE, 1927, BY SRT. GEORGE GRIESON.

In this learned contribution Sir George Grierson commences with the statement: "Much has been written concerning the origin of the Prakrit √acch—"be.'" Then after taking us through the modern Indian languages he winds up with the invaluable remarks: "The most important general point to note in the above is that the forms derived from the primitive past participle, may be, and often are, used in the sense of the present. It is important, because the same phenomenon also occurs in the case of other verbal bases used as verbs substantive. In such cases the past participle is indicated by the fact that such a present tense is liable to change for gender, a thing which could not happen if the tense were derived from the primitive present.

When we find a modern present tense so changing for gender, we may be certain that it is derived from a participle, and not from any finite tense. I have more than once observed that this note has not been taken advantage of by inquirers." Readers of this Journal will be grateful to Sir George.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES, BY DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., CALCUTTA; PUBLISHED IN THE PUNJAB ORIENTAL (SANSKRIT) SERIES.

It is generally admitted that, like most countries in the world, ancient India in prehistoric days evolved out of a tribal stage into a settled order of society. What were the names of these tribes, where and how they lived, whence and from which place they came, and what led finally to their absorption are questions, an examination of which would afford supreme interest to antiquarians. We know Vedic literature contains mention of a few tribes. Again these and other tribes are not unknown to post-Vedic literature—a clear inference that tribal systems of organisation continued to thrive even in the epic and the Pauranic periods.

But there are striking pieces of evidence to indicate that even in pre-Aryan days, and at least by the Aryan age, India had evolved a settled system of government and administration. It is not possible for us to say whether tribal systems of organisation continued side by side with the orderly forms of government. But it is just possible that each tribe gradually developed a sense of state consciousness with the result that each became dominant in that region. Or it may be that originally there was a great family of princes and rulers like the traditional race of the Ikshvakus, the different members of which occupied neighbouring territories and became in course of time independent rulers. Whatever it was, the fact was that there were small separate kingdoms occupied by different princes and possibly different peoples.

An attempt is made in the book under review to trace the history of five such tribes which played a prominent part in the history of ancient India. These are the Kasis, the Kosas, the Asmakas, the Maghadas, and the Bhogas. The study of each tribe is an exhaustive one, from its origin to its final disappearance or absorption into other powerful territories. This is not the first endeavour of Dr. Law in this direction. He has already published similar studies with an earnestness all his own. Almost all his authorities are literary, and each one of them is furnished with a wealth of detail that one must call it a study complete by itself.

We trust that the distinguished scholar will pursue his studies further and give us an authoritative and exhaustive treatise on all the tribal kingdoms of Hindu India both in her prehistoric and historical periods.

V. R. R. DEKHITAR.
Jean de Thévenot's Account of Surat.

By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A.

(Continued from page 204.)

Thévenot's Travels.

Chapter XIII.

Cemeteries and Cremations.

The cemeteries of Surat are outside the city, three or four hundred paces from the Baroche Gate. The Catholics have a special one of their own there. The English and the Dutch have theirs too, as well as some Indian monks. The English and the Dutch like to adorn their tombs with brick pyramids coated with lime, and when I was there, they were building one for a Dutch Governor, which was to cost eight thousand francs. Among others there is one of a certain toper who had been banished to India by the General States, and who was said to be a relative of the Prince of Orange: a monument was erected in his honour in the same way as those of other persons of distinction; but to show that he was an adept in the art of drinking, a large stone cup has been placed on top of the pyramid, and another cup at each of the corners of the tomb below, and beside each cup there is the figure of a sugar-loaf: and when the Dutch want to amuse themselves at this tomb, they make a hundred stews in these cups, and use other, smaller cups to take what they have prepared, out of the large ones, and then they eat or drink it.\(^{15}\)

The Hindu holy men have their tombs about two thousand paces from those of the Dutch. They are square, and are built of plaster: they are two or three feet high, and two feet in width, some being covered by a dome, and others by a plaster pyramid somewhat more than three feet in height: there is a small window on one of the sides, through which the top of the tomb can be seen; and as there are the soles of two feet engrafted, some people thought that the the Vartias were buried head downwards and feet upwards, but on investigation I found out that there is nothing in this theory, and that the corpses are buried in these tombs in the usual manner.

The place where the Banias burn the corpses of their dead, is beyond the cemeteries, on the river-bank, and when they are consumed by the flames, the ashes are left there to be washed away by the water of the Tapti, as this river is considered as sacred. They believe that they are greatly contributing to the welfare of the soul of the deceased, by burning his body immediately after his death, for they say that the soul suffers from the time of its separation from the body, until the body is burned. It is true that, if they are in a place where wood is unobtainable, they attach a stone to the corpse and throw it into the water, and their religion permits burial if there is neither water nor wood: however, they are convinced that the soul is far happier when the body has been burned. Nevertheless they do not burn the bodies of children who die before the age of two years, because they are still innocent, neither do they burn the bodies of Vartias or Yogis, who are a kind of dervish, because they follow the rite of Madeo, who is one of their great saints, and who commanded that corpses should be buried.

Thévenot's Travels.

Chapter XIV.

Various Curiosities at Surat.

There is a large well near the English cemeteries. A Bania constructed it for the convenience of travellers, and it is square in shape, the same size as the Ahmedabad well which I have described. Above it there are several rather thin brick arches, at distances of several feet from one another. There are various flights of steps leading down, and the daylight enters by the spaces between the arches, so that one can see clearly all the way down. Outside

\(^{15}\) A similar account is to be found in Ovington's *Voyage to Surat*, p. 405 ff.
there is the image of a face, all red, but its features are not distinguishable. The Indians say that it is the pagoda\textsuperscript{16} of Madeo, and the Hindus are much devoted to it.

A reservoir near the Daman Gate, where the finest walk of the district begins, is much esteemed. This gate is covered and surrounded by the branches of a fine War-tree\textsuperscript{17} which the Portuguese call a root-tree, and which affords the most pleasant shelter to all who come to this tank. This large water reservoir has sixteen angles; each of its sides is one hundred paces in length, and the whole structure is as long as a musket-shot in diameter. The bottom of it is paved with large, smooth stones, and there are steps almost all round it after the manner of an amphitheatre, reaching from the top of the tank down to the bottom: each step is half a foot in height, and they are made of fine free-stone brought from the neighbourhood of Cambay; that portion inside the tank which is not in steps, is in talus; and three slopes have been made as watering-places.

In the middle of this reservoir there is a stone edifice about four toises (1 toise = 6.39459 feet) in height, length and width, which one mounts by two little staircases. It is a place where people can enjoy themselves and take the air; but they must reach it by boat. The great tank is filled by rain-water during the rainy season; after flowing through the country-side, where it forms a large canal, which has had to be bridged, the water runs into a large area enclosed by walls, whence it passes into the tank by three holes which have been cut circular, having a diameter of over four feet; and near by, there is a kind of Muhammadan chapel.

This tank was constructed at the expense of a rich Banian named Gopi,\textsuperscript{18} who had it built for the public benefit; and in former times no other water was drunk in Surat but the water of this tank, for the five wells which supply the entire city nowadays, were not discovered until a long time after the tank was constructed. It was begun at the same time as the castle, and people say that the one cost as much to construct as the other. It is most certainly a piece of work worthy of a king, and may well be compared to the finest ever built by the Romans for the public benefit. However, as the Levantines allow everything to perish for want of proper upkeep, it was already obstructed by six feet of earth when I saw it; and it is in great danger of being completely filled up with earth some day, unless some charitable Banian has it cleaned out.

Having inspected this fine tank, we went to a place a quarter of a league away, to see the Princess's Garden there, so-called because it belongs to the sister of the Great Mogul. It has a large area, planted with trees of various kinds, such as mangoes, palms, mirabolans, wars, maisa trees, and several others planted in avenues. Among the shrubs I saw the querzhere of acaia, with which I have dealt fully in my second volume, and also the Egyptian acacia. There are several very straight, fine avenues, and especially the four which traverse the garden cross-wise, with a small channel in their midst, the water of which is drawn from a well by bullocks. In the middle of the garden there is a building with four fronts, each having its divan, and in each corner a small room, and in front of each of these divans, there is a square tank full of water, whence issue the streams which flow along the main avenues. However, though this park is well laid out, it has nothing of the elegance of our gardens. One does not see our bowers, our beautiful flower-beds or the accuracy of their divisions, and still less the various fountains which we have.

At one hundred or a hundred and fifty paces from this garden, we saw the War tree in its entire fulness. This tree is also called Ber, and Banyan-tree, and Root-tree, owing to the facility with which its branches, which bear large filaments, take root, thus reproducing fresh branches: thus a single tree can fill a very large area, and this particular one is very extensive and very tall, and casts a very large extent of shade. Its trunk is round, with a diameter of eighty paces, which makes more than thirty toises. The branches which had

\textsuperscript{16} A Hindu temple.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Wad}, \textit{Ficus indica}.

\textsuperscript{18} This is the famous Gopi Talao, now drained.
taken root irregularly, had been cut so skilfully, that one can walk beneath the tree now without inconvenience.

The Hindus in India account this tree sacred, and we had no trouble in recognising it from afar, by the flags which the Bania had planted on its top and on its higher branches. It is accompanied by a pagoda dedicated to an idol they call Mameva; and those who do not belong to their religion, think that it is a representation of Eve. We found a Brahman sitting there, who was dabbing red on the brows of those who came there to pay their devotions, and he also received their gifts of rice, or cocoanut. This pagoda is built beneath the tree in the form of a grotto; the exterior bears paintings of various figures representing the fables of their false gods, and inside the grotto there is a head red all over.

In this quarter I saw a man who was very charitable to the ants. He was carrying flour in a sack to distribute to them, and he laid a handful of it in every place where he saw a number of ants collected together.

While we were in the country, we examined the soil of Surat. It is very dark grey soil, and we were assured that it was so excellent that the people never manured it: the corn is sown after the rains, i.e., after the month of September, and it is cut after February. Sugar-canes are also planted; the custom when planting them is to dig deep furrows into which, before placing the canes, they put several of those small fish which we call gudgeons in Paris; whether these fish serve to enrich the soil, or whether they add some quality to the cane, the Indians claim that without this improvement the product of the canes will be valueless: they lay their cuttings of cane over these fish the one at the end of the other, and from each knot of cane thus embedded, there springs a sugar-cane which is harvested in due season.

The soil of Surat is also good for rice, and they sow a considerable quantity of it. Mangoes and palms of all kinds, and other kinds of trees thrive well there, and bring in a good revenue. The Dutch water their fields with well-water, which is drawn by bullocks as described by me in Part Two, but the cornfields are never watered, because the dews, which are abundant in the morning, are sufficient for these crops.

The Tapti River is always rather dirty at Surat, and for this reason the inhabitants use it neither for watering nor for drinking purposes, but only for bathing: and this they do every morning, like other Indians. They use well-water for drinking, and it is brought in skins by bullocks. It is not really much of a river, for even at high tide, it is not larger than half of the Seine: however, it rises to such an extent during the winter owing to the water of the rains, that it overflows its banks furiously, causing great ravages. It rises at a place called GehardCOND, in the Deccan hills, ten leagues from Brampur. It flows past this town, and before reaching the sea, waters various districts, touching several towns, lastly that of Surat. When the sea is low, this river flows as far as the bar: but at high tide, the sea generally advances as much as two leagues beyond this bar; and in this way it receives the waters of the Tapti.

Thévenot's Travels.

CHAPTER XV.

The Fort of Surat.

The bar of Surat, where vessels now arrive, is not the real harbour; at the most it can only be called a roadstead; and it is not without cause that I said at the beginning of this book that it is called the bar because of the sands which prevent boats from proceeding further. As a matter of fact there is so little water that, even when vessels have been unloaded, the ordinary tides are not sufficient to permit of their advancing, and people have to wait for the full-moon tide; but at that time they come up to Surat, especially when they are in need of repair. Small boats reach the city easily even when there is very little tide.

The real port of Surat is Sounial, two leagues from the bar. It is only four leagues and a half away from the city, and people cross the river just by the city, so as to go there by land.

19 Burhanpur.
20 Suvali, the famous "Swally Hole," of the Seventeenth Century Records.
All vessels used to anchor at this port, where there is good anchoring-ground; but as the Customs were frequently defrauded there, arrival there was prohibited, and no one has been there since the year 1660 except the English and the Dutch, who still have permission to anchor there, and each have their warehouse there. This port gives them fine facility for saving anything they like without paying duty; and the coaches of the Governors, Commanders or Presidents of these two nations, which frequently drive in these quarters, could easily carry away anything small in bulk from their ships. They even have gardens at Soulay, on the sea-side, and each has a little port where they keep their bots (Dutch boats) or craft: so much so that it only rests with them if they have a mind to evade the duty on many commodities.

Since the prohibition has been issued for other nations to anchor at Souail, there is always a great concourse of vessels at the bar, though it is very inconvenient for them: for none of the vessels from Persia, Arabia Felix, or generally from all the lands of India, has ceased coming here; and thus the prohibition from landing at Souail has not in any way diminished the profits of the Customs, which pay to the king annually twelve lakhs of rupees, each lakh being equivalent to about one hundred thousand pounds. The Controller of the Customs is a Muslim, and holds his commission from the Governor of Surat. The clerks are Banias, and the rest of the Customs staff, such as guards, porters and others are also Muslims, and are known as Customs peons.

The Venot's Travels.

Chapter XVI.

The Incursion of Sivaji.

In January 1664 Rajah Sivaji disconcerted these Customs officials and their Governor in a strange manner; and as he has become illustrious through his actions, it will not be out of place to relate his history. This Sivaji was the son of a captain of the king of Bijapur, and was born at Bassein.21 As he was of a restless and turbulent spirit, he began to rebel during his father's days, and having placed himself at the head of a number of bandits and of a host of dissolute youths, he held out in the mountains of Bijapur against such as came to attack him there, and he refused to listen to reason. The king, believing that Sivaji's father was in league with him, had him arrested; and as he died in prison, Sivaji conceived so fierce a hatred against this king, that he did all in his power to obtain his revenge. He laid waste a part of Bijapur within a very short time, and with what he pillaged, he fortified himself so well with men, arms and horses, that his position was strong enough to enable him to seize some towns and to form a small State in spite of the king, who died at this time. The queen, who was now regent, having her hands full with other matters, tried her utmost to recall Sivaji to his duty; but being unsuccessful, she accepted the peace which he proposed to her, and after that she remained in peace.

However, as the Rajah could not keep quiet, he laid waste some places belonging to the Great Mogul: this compelled the emperor to send troops against him under Shasta Khan, his uncle, Governor of Aurangabad. Shasta Khan had far larger forces than Sivaji, and pursued him vigorously, but the Rajah always took refuge in the mountains, and as he was extremely clever, the Mogul was unable to catch him.

Finally, however, the old captain, thinking that Sivaji's turbulent spirit would result in some mischief to his disadvantage, decided to temporise, and stayed for a long time in the Rajah's territory. As Sivaji was greatly annoyed by Shasta Khan's patience, he resorted to stratagem. He ordered one of his captains to write to this Mogul, and to persuade him that he was desirous of entering the service of the Great Mogul and bringing with him five hundred men in his command. When Shasta Khan received these letters, he did not at first dare to trust them; but when he continued to receive them, and the captain could not adduce any causes of discontent which appeared to have any semblance of truth, he told him to come and bring his men with him. No sooner was he in the camp of the Moguls, than he demanded a

21 This is a curious mistake. He was born at Shivner, in the Poona district, May 1627.
passport to go and see the king, and join his service: but Shasta Khan contented himself with letting him entertain hopes, and he kept his eye upon him.

Sivaji had ordered him to do his utmost to insinuate himself in the mind of Shasta Khan, and to spare nothing with this intent. He had told him even to go to the length of showing all possible animosity on suitable occasions, and above all to be the first in any attacks which might be made against himself and his subjects. The captain did not fail to obey him. He put to fire and sword all that he came across in the Rajah’s territory, and did much more damage there than anyone else; this won for him the complete confidence of Shasta Khan, who in the end appointed him Captain of his guards. He guarded him badly, however, for having one day informed Sivaji that on a certain night he would be on guard near the General’s tent, the Rajah came there with his men; and being introduced by his Captain, he approached Shasta Khan, who, having awakened, seized his weapons, and was wounded in the hand. Nevertheless he found a means of saving himself, but one of his sons was killed, and as Sivaji thought he had killed the man himself, he gave the signal for retreat. He withdrew with his Captain and all his cavalry in good order. He took away this General’s treasure, and he also carried off his daughter, to whom he paid all possible honour. He forbade his men, under a severe penalty, to do her any harm, on the contrary he had her treated most respectfully; and when he learned that her father was still alive, he sent word to him that, if he sent him as her ransom a certain sum which he indicated, he would return his daughter safe and sound: and this was promptly done.

After that, he wrote to Shasta Khan to ask him to withdraw, and did not conceal from him that he himself was the originator of the stratagem which had been carried out; he added that he was planning several others with intent to ruin him, and that most certainly, if he did not withdraw from Sivaji’s lands, he would have to pay for it with his life. Shasta Khan did not neglect this advice. He informed the king that it was impossible to force Sivaji in the mountains; and that he could not undertake to do so unless he allowed his troops to perish; and he received an order from the Court to withdraw on the pretext of some new enterprise. Nevertheless Sivaji was determined to avenge himself on the Mogul by some means or other, provided that it might prove useful to himself; and as he was not ignorant of the fact that the city of Surat was full of wealth, he took measures to pillage it: so that no one might suspect his designs, he divided his troops into two camps; and as his State was mainly on the road between Bassein and Shaoul, in the mountains, he formed one camp near Shaoul, where he set one of his flags, and at the same time posted another camp near Bassein; and after having instructed his Commanders not to do any pillaging, but, on the contrary, to pay for anything they took, he secretly disguised himself as a fakir. He went to find out the easiest roads to get to Surat speedily; he entered the city to make investigations regarding the locality; and in this way he had all the leisure he wanted for reconnoitring.

Having returned to his main camp, he commanded four thousand of his men to follow him silently, and the others to remain in encampment and to make as much noise in his absence as though the whole of the troops were there, so that no one should suspect anything of the enterprise in hand, and so that it should be believed that he was still in one of his two camps. All was done as he had commanded. The march was sufficiently secret, though he precipitated it to surprise Surat; and he encamped near the Brampur gate. To amuse the Governor, who sent to meet him, Sivaji asked for guides, on the pretext that he wished to pass beyond the place; but without giving him any reply, the Governor withdrew into the fortress with all his most precious possessions, and sent out in every direction for succour. The majority of the inhabitants, surprised, deserted their houses, and fled into the country. Sivaji’s men entered the city, pillaged it for four days, and burned several houses. It was only the quarters inhabited by the English and the Dutch that were able to escape from these

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22 Chaul Revadandé.
23 Burbânpur.
marauders, by reason of the vigorous resistance which they offered, and by means of the cannon which they levelled, the effects of which Sivaji did not want to try, as he had no cannon himself.

Neither did this Rajah desire to risk attacking the castle, though he was well aware that they had stored all the most valuable things there, in particular a large amount of ready cash. He feared that this attack would cost him too much time, and that the reinforcements which might come, would compel him to abandon the booty he had secured in the city: besides, as the castle had a means of defending itself, his victory there would not have been so profitable as in the case of the remaining part. He therefore decided to retire with all the riches he had amassed. It is believed in Surat that this Rajah carried off more than thirty millions in jewels, gold or silver; in one Bania’s house alone he found twenty-two pounds of strung pearls, as well as a large quantity ofOthers which were not yet pierced.

By the way, it would be astonishing that so populous a city should so patiently have allowed a handful of men to pillage it, if one did not know that, for the most part, the Indians are cowardly. No sooner did they see Sivaji with his band, than they all fled, some to the country to retire to Baroche, and the others to the castle, where the Governor of the City was among the first to take refuge. Indeed, the European Christians, who had stayed firm in their quarters, were the only people who saved themselves. All the rest of the city was pillaged, except the Capuchin monastery. When the pillagers were opposite their convent, they passed by; and they had received orders from their chief to act in this way, because, on the evening of the first day, Father Ambrose, the Superior of the Capuchins, moved to compassion for the poor Christians resident in Surat, had approached this Rajah, and had spoken to him in their favour asking him at least to do no injury to their persons. Sivaji respected him: he took him under his protection, and granted him his request for the Christians.

The Great Mogul was much affected by the pillage of this city, and the boldness of Sivaji; but as his affairs did not permit of his pursuing him then and there, he dissimulated the grief that this attack caused him, and postponed his revenge.

In 1666 Aurangzeb urgently desired to be rid of him, and to gain his ends, he pretended to approve of what Sivaji had done, and praised his action as that of a gallant man, putting the blame on the Governor of Surat, who had not had the courage to oppose him. He thus explained himself before the other rajahs of the Court, among whom he well knew that Sivaji had many friends; and he gave them to understand that, as he esteemed the valour of this Rajah, he wished him to come to the Court, and he said plainly that he would be glad if someone would make this known to Sivaji. He even asked one of them to write to him, and he gave his royal word that no harm would be done to him, that he could come to the Court in all security, that he, the emperor, would forget the past, and that his troops would be so well treated that he would have no cause for complaint. Several rajahs wrote what the king had said, and went in person as surety for his word; and thus he had no objection to coming to the Court with his son, after having commanded his troops to be always on their guard, under a skilful captain whom he left at the head of them.

At first he received all manner of caresses at the Court, but some months afterwards, perceiving the coldness in the king’s manner towards him, he complained openly of it, and told him without hesitation that he believed the king desired his, Sivaji’s, death, though he had come to the Court on the strength of the king’s royal parole, without having been under any constraint or necessity to do so; but that His Majesty could learn from Shasta Khan and from the Governor of Surat, what manner of man he was, and that, if he was to perish, there would be those who would avenge his death; but in the meantime, before they could kill him, he wished to die by his own hand; and, drawing his dagger, he attempted suicide; but he was prevented, and watch was kept over him.

The king would have gladly killed him, but he feared that the rajahs would rise against him. They were already murmuring at the treatment which was being meted out to Sivaji
in spite of the assurance which had been given him; and they all took all the more interest in him, as most of them were only at Court on the strength of the king’s parole. This consideration compelled Aurangzeb to treat him well, and to make much of his son. He told him that he had never had thoughts of putting him to death, and he flattered him by promising him a good commission if he would go to Kandahar, which place he then intended to besiege. Sivaji feigned consent to this, provided that he might command his own troops. The king having granted him this request, he asked for a passport to have them fetched; and when he had obtained it, he decided to utilise it to withdraw from the Court. For this reason he gave orders to those to whom he entrusted the passport, and whom he sent on in advance on the pretext of bringing his troops, to bring him horses to certain places which he indicated to them; this they did not fail to do. When he considered the time ripe for going to join them, he had himself and his son carried to the river bank at night in baskets. As soon as they had passed over, they mounted horses which were ready waiting for them, and at the same time he told the ferryman he might inform the king that he had taken Rajah Sivaji across. They galloped night and day; they found fresh horses at the appointed places according to the instructions which Sivaji had given; and they passed everything on the strength of the king’s passport: but as the son was unable to stand the strain of this long ride, he died on the way. The Rajah left money for his corpse to be burned with all due honour, and immediately went to his State in good health.

Aurangzeb was extremely angry about this flight. Several people thought that it was only a false rumour which was being circulated, and that Sivaji had been put to death; but the truth was soon known. This rajah was short and swarthy, with fiery eyes showing great intelligence. He generally ate only one meal daily, and enjoyed good health; and when he pillaged Surat in 1664, he was only thirty-five years of age.

J. THEVENOT’S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Capuchin, Father Ambrose.

Father Ambrose, about whom I have spoken, has acquired great credit in the country of the Mogul by reason of his virtue and his services, and he is esteemed equally by Christians and Hindus; moreover he is full of charity towards all. It is he who generally settles the disputes which arise among the Christians, and especially among the Catholics; and he has such a measure of authority from the Mogul officials, that if one of the parties is so obstinate as not to wish to accommodate himself, Father Ambrose compels him on his own authority to agree to what is right. He does not hesitate to have a Christian imprisoned if his behaviour is scandalous, and if the Governor or the Cotoual receive complaints about it, or petitions for the release of the prisoner, they both send the complainant to the Father, saying that this is a matter over which they have no control. If the supplicant finds favour with them, they simply offer their intercession to the Capuchin, and one day I saw a man whom he had released from prison at the request of the Cotoual, and this official was reprimanding him severely for having caused Father Ambrose’s indignation. He banishes from the city persons of too irregular living, and the Cotoual himself sends him pecunia to conduct them out of the town, with instructions to his people to conduct them wherever the Capuchin may advise.

He frequently uses his favour for Hindus also; and I have seen a heathen, who was being taken to prison for some minor offence, released at his request. He boldly disputes about the Faith in the presence of the Governor; and one day he brought back to her duty a Christian woman debauched by a secretary to the queen, who, in order to lead a licentious life, had deserted her religion and embraced Muhammadanism, and he himself went one morning to take her away from this heathen. His life has indeed ever been blameless, which is no ordinary praise for a man who lives in a country where there are so many nations living in great disorder, and which his duties compel him to frequent.
THE APABHRAŚA STABAKAS OF RĀMA-ŚĀRMAN: A FEW SUGGESTIONS.

By MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH, M.A., B.L.

The reconstruction of the Apabhraśa Stabakas of Rāma-Śārmān by Sir George A. Grierson (published in the Indian Antiquary, 1922-1923) is, to say the least, marvellous and quite worthy of the veteran scholar. But as it is based in many places on conjectures, extremely bad as the text is, there is room for suggestions.

Verse 3, line 3. *sipā* (siddā, sipā, nīdā) *nītē* has been amended as *siprādikē*. This suits the metre. This will give the Apabhraśa form *chappā* (or, chipā). But *chappā* (or, chipā) < *siprā* is unknown. Moreover by accepting *siprādī* as *gaya*, which is evidently the intention of the author, where *ch* < *s*, there crops up a serious defect in the treatment of the subject. In the preceding line he states *k(kh ?) < kṣ*. But there is a large number of cases in Apabhraśa, where *ch* < *kṣ*, which remains unprovided. I would, therefore, suggest the reading *ksiptādikē*. This gives a *gaya*, where *ch* < *kṣ* like *ksurdi* of Mārkaṇḍeya and *aksprādi* of other Prakrit grammarians. In fact *ksipta* is included in the above *gaya* of those grammarians. In Apabhraśa also we find *cṛṣṭha, chāḍha = kṣipta*, both the forms occurring in the Bhavisatta Kāha. It will be interesting to know what name Rāma-Śārmān gives to this *gaya* in the Prākṛta Stabaka.1

Verse 28, lines 1 and 4. *niṣṭi lusī*. Both have been amended to *lusī*. But there is very clearly -r in the first place, though it has been misread as -u. As regards -a in the second place it can be taken for -r, just like *sāni* in v. 4, 1, 2. We cannot be sure of Mārkaṇḍeya’s reading *lusū* for *lusī*. Verse 30, line 1. *γρήγορο το πολύ*. This has been corrected to *gusubhā*. But the change of -r to -u is unnecessary, as -r is permissible by v. 4. Hemacandra actually enjoins (IV. 394) the form *grīha* for his Apabhraśa.

Verse 31, line 1. *tōma tōnaśulha* has been amended to *tō mō tānya (? tenśi) suśhi (?) abēhi*. In this reading we should expect *mām* after *tvām* in the second line. But this does not suit the metre. I would suggest the reading *tōman tānya abēhi*. *tānya* = *tvām*; cf. Pk. *tūmaṇ, tānya = tēsām*; cf. Pk. *tāya, tānya*; Middle Assamese *tān*, Eastern Bengal dialect *tān*. For *abēhi* cf. Beng. *ebhā*; in the text *su* might represent *a*, and *ē, bh*.

In the third line of the same verse we find *bāhuṇālādhādītām*. Sir George suggests *bāhūlya* for *bāhuṇa*, or *vāhuṇa*. But he does not amend the reading. I would suggest *bāhūlyakēnōdītām*; *ty* can easily represent *n*.

In the next Stabaka v. 10, 1, 4 the text gives *pracyāta sōvaṭṭapadāvīlambā*. This has been amended to *Pracyā tu Sōraṭṭa-padāvalambā*. Sir George is not fully satisfied with the reading *Sōraṭṭa*. I would suggest *tad-ṛṣṭa*. This exactly corresponds to *tad-dēya* in the description of *Pracyā* given by Mārkaṇḍeya.

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1 A reference to Sir G. Grierson has elicited the following reply.

C.E.A.W.O., Jt. Editor.

In this valuable Note on the Apabhraśa Stabakas of Rāma-śārmān, Mr. Muhammad Shahidullah, in regard to his suggested reading *ksiptādikē* in verse 3, says "it will be interesting to know what name Rāma-Śārmān gives to this *gaya* in the Prākṛta Stabaka".

The *gaya* referred to is in I, iii, 5. In I, iii, 4 the author deals with Prākṛty *ch < sp, ts* and other compounds that do not concern us. He then goes on in 5 —

*lokajī, padaśī khala makabīdī
tukṣeta ṛkṣeta (? ṛkṣeta) iha praviṣṭah
kṣaja kṣamaṇa api va cha-kārāḥ
ahe-ādi ṛkṣeta api dravyatē ca.

Comm. lacchī, saricchī, macchiā, uchchita, rīchā, aĉchā († uccha). ādi-śabdāt, chetanā, chiranā, vacchō, ityādi-grahāḥ, kaṇṭādaṇ ca aṁanā, chaṃpiḥ uccanā († paucchi), dochān († aĉchā), vacchō. paĉchā khaṇam, khumā, kukkhi († pakkhi), mukkhi († makkhī), rukkhiō.

-The Comm. is corrupt in parts, and some of the words are doubtful.

G. A. GRIERSON.
INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHÂRAJÂ SURAPÂLADÉVA,
DATED [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT, 1212.

BY R. R. HALDER.

This inscription was found by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, Curator of
the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, at Thâkardâ, during his tour in the Dûngarpur State,
and is described in the Annual Report of the Museum for 1915-16. I edit the text from
an ink impression kindly placed at my disposal by him.

The inscription contains ten lines of writing, which covers a space of 11 in. \times 9 in. The
average size of the letters is about \( \frac{3}{4} \) in. Some inverted letters also seem to have been
engraved later on in the right lower corner.

The character is Nâgari of the twelfth century A.D. The letter i in Ma-idhêna (l. 10)
shows its earlier form. The mâttras of ù, û and ê are written in different ways; as in -Sâm-
(l. 3), putrô- (l. 4), -pârvnâ (l. 8), -dévêna (l. 7) and kêdâra (l. 9). Also, dha is written in two ways
as in abhidhêna (line 2) and Śrîdhâra (l. 10), and so also va in ravi- (l. 1) and -jêvina (l. 6).

The language is Sanskrit with a few mistakes, which are corrected in the footnotes
accompanying the text.

In respect of orthography, the following may be noted:—
(1) Anusevara is used for ùa and ûa for na in Anauôgâpûla (l. 7).
(2) ñ for i in Siddhêvara (l. 7). Rules of sandhi are not observed in ll. 5, 7, 8, etc.

This inscription is of the time of the Mahârajâ Surapâladeva, the son and successor of
Vijayapâladeva, whose inscription dated Sañvat 1190 1133 (A.D.) was found at Ingnodâ (about
180 miles from the find-spot of this inscription) in the territory of the Junior Râjâ of
Devâs in Central India. It is dated the 1st day of the bright half of Bhâdrapada, Sañvat
1212, corresponding to 31st July 1155 A.D., and records a grant of land by Mahârajaputra
(Prince) Anauôgâpûla to the temple of the god Siddhêvara. The names of the princes
mentioned in the Ingnodâ inscription are also mentioned in this, but the epithets ‘Mahâ-
râjâdhârâja,’ ‘Paramèsvara,’ and ‘Paramabhaûtâraka’ are not followed in this. However,
it appears from these two inscriptions that they were probably, though not necessarily, inde-
dependent kings at first, and ruled over certain parts of Rajputana and Central India.

The family to which they belonged is not mentioned in either of the inscriptions.
This leads to the difficulty in assigning a place to them among the ruling dynasties of the
twelfth century A.D. R. B. Gaurishankar H. Ojha, at first, included them among the
Kachhâvâha rulers of Gwalior, but later on changed his opinion and remarked in the Annual
Report of the Museum, that possibly they were the descendants of the Pratihâra kings of Kanauj
and ruled over parts of Central India and Rajputana after the kingdom of Kanauj had passed
into the hands of the Gahaôkâl king Chandrâdêva at the end of the eleventh century A.D.

This latter view of his seems to me better; for it may be known that, after the end of
the Imperial Pratihâra dynasty of Kanauj, the scions of the family continued to rule for some-
time in the territories where their masters had placed them, as can be inferred from the dis-
ccovery of an inscription, dated Sañvat 1277 (A.D. 1220) of the Pratihâra Malayâvarmâ at
Kureôhâ in the Gwalior State. So, it is possible that, like Malayâvarmâ, these princes had
also ruled in the territories where their inscriptions are found. This could happen only if
they governed either as independent kings, or as subordinates to the Parmâra rulers of Malôwâ,

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1 Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 53.
2 Mathânâdêva, son of Mahârajâdhârâja Sâvât of the Pratihâra gôtra bore the titles ‘Mahârajâdhârâja,
Paramèsvara,’ but he was a feudatory of the Pratihâra king Kauôpipôladeva (Mahûpûla) [Ep. Ind., vol.
3 Supplementary notes to Tod Râjâvâdôhâ (in Hindi), by R. B. C. H. Ojha, p. 372.
4 Ind. Ant., vol. XLVII, p. 242, n. 4. See also the Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer,
1918-19, p. 2, 4 (b) V. The names of the princes of this record also agree with those of the later Pratihâras
of Kanauj.

2
just as did the Parmāras of Vāgajā (which included the whole of the present Bānswarā and Dungarpur States), whose rule began with Dāmbarsinhā, brother of the Parmāra Vahlisinhā (I.) of Mālvā and ended with Vijayarāja about Saṁvat 1166 (A.D. 1109).

Since the Ingondā inscription of Vijayarāja is dated Saṁvat 1190 (A.D. 1133), it may also be guessed that the reign of Pṛthvīpāladēva, the third predecessor of Vijayarāja, may have begun a short period before the end of the Vāgajā rulers, i.e., about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., if an average rule of twenty years be assigned to each of the two rulers preceding Vijayarāja. It may also be seen from the same inscription that the epithets Parama-bhātānaka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara are applied to Tihunapāladēva (Tribhuvanapāladēva) only. This shows that the power of these rulers probably rose to its height in the reign of Tribhuvanapāladēva, who, according to the supposed average, appears to have been the contemporary of the Parmāra ruler Naravarnā (S. 1161-90) of Mālvā, during whose reign the power of Mālvā was considerably reduced by a continuous warfare of twelve years with the Solāṅki ruler Siddhārāja Jayasimha of Gujarāt.

The genealogy of the princes according to this inscription is as follows:—

Pṛthvīpāladēva alias Bhartripātā.
Tribhuvanapāladēva. (Tihunapāla of the Ingondā inscription).
Vijayarāja (S. 1190 = A.D. 1133).
Surapāladēva (S. 1212 = A.D. 1155).
Anaṅgapāladēva.

Line.

Text.

1. ओमे || सर्वनाम १२१२ वर्षों || नाथप्रयुक्ति नीचीते
2. सप्तराज समस्तपिलायायानलावपिलाय निवासनीर्मीने
3. वीपाले रवि तस्युपारालायानलावपिलाय निवासनीर्मीने
4. वे तथ चतुर्विंशति उपालायानलावपिलाय निवासनीर्मीने
5. चारदेव तस्युपारालायानलावपिलाय निवासनीर्मीने
6. वीपाले रवि तस्युपारालायानलावपिलाय निवासनीर्मीने
7. वीपाले रवि तस्युपारालायानलावपिलाय निवासनीर्मीने
8. वीपाले रवि तस्युपारालायानलावपिलाय निवासनीर्मीने
9. वीपाले रवि तस्युपारालायानलावपिलाय निवासनीर्मीने
10. निलाचर्य पत्र्यो रवीपालाया�! नामान्यत्व अंगल नापस्यां नीचीते ||

Translation.

Óm | On Sunday, the 1st day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the Saṁvat year 1212 (A.D. 1155)—[there was] Śrī-Pṛthvīpāladēva alias Bhartripāta, who shone among the row of the kings; his son [was] Mahārājā Śrī-Tribhuvanapāladēva; his son [was] Mahārājā Śrī-Vijayarāja; his son [was] Mahārājā Śrī-Surapāladēva—during [the latter's] prosperous, beneficial and victorious reign a land of one plough was granted by Mahārājaputra Śrī-Anaṅgapāladēva who served his [father's] lotuslike feet, for his welfare with [the ceremony of pouring] water [on the hand of the grantee] to [the temple of] the god Siddhēśvara. Also, whatever fields have been granted near Taṭākini [a small pond], they are also confirmed [by this writ].

[This is] written by Pandit Ma'īda, son of Pandit Śrīdhara. Let great happiness attend.

5 See Annual Reports of the Rajputana Museum, 1914-15. 4 (b) 1 and 1916-17. 4 (b) 2. Also, Ep. Ind., vol. XIV, p. 296.
6 An inscription, dated 8, 1166 (A.D. 1109), of the time of Vijayarāja is preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
7 Expressed by a symbol.
8 The strokes are redundant.
9 The reading in the Ingondā inscription (ante, p. 53) is different and doubtful.
10 Read "प्रोपालेवः.
11 Read "एल्कसूडः." The protruded line of न in the impression seems cancelled by two parallel lines.
VEDIC STUDIES.

By A. VENKATASUBBAIAH, M.A., Ph.D.

(Continued from page 139.)

5. Prthak.

This is a word well-known in later literature where it has the meaning nānd, 'diversely, variously, separately, individually, in different ways'; and it has been assumed by the commentators, Indian as well as European, that this is the meaning in the Veda also. This assumption is indeed correct as regards 1, 131, 2; 1, 157, 1, and some other verses; but it is otherwise with regard to 10, 91, 7; 9, 86, 2 and 10, 142, 4, all which verses contain similes with prthak as the tertium comparationis. In 10, 142, 4 it is said that Agni goes, prthak, like an eager missile; in 10, 91, 7, that the flames of Agni press forward, prthak, like the horses of a chariot; and in 9, 86, 2, that the swift gladdening streams of Soma rush forward, prthak, like the horses of a chariot. It is obvious that the meaning 'diversely, variously, separately in different ways', is inappropriate here; for the horses of a chariot can not be said to press forward 'diversely' or 'in different ways'. On the contrary, it is their community of action and community of goal that is the point of comparison elsewhere in the RV. Compare, for instance, 3, 33, 2: ādchā samudrām rathyeva yāthā 'you, Vipāt and Śutudri, go to the sea (together) like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. anyāt vām anyām āpyeti śūbhe in the same verse and samudrām yānām ānu saṁcāranti in the next verse); 2, 39, 3: āroḍaścā yataṁ rathyeva sa克拉'come, O ye two mighty (Āśvins) towards us (together) like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. 10, 106, 1: sadhrīcēndā' yā tave prēm ajīgha); and 3, 36, 6: āpaḥ samudrām rathyeva jāgmuḥ 'the waters went (together) to the sea like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. 5, 60, 3, āpaiva sadhrīcēndo dhabadhe). Compare also the epithet sahavāhaḥ, drawing together, used of the horses which draw the chariot of Bṛhaspati in 7, 97, 6: tām 'agnisol arushāvarśadāśca bhrasīpīṁ sahavāhah va vahanti | asahaś cīd yānya uktvā sahavāsam nābhā nārūpām arushām vāśadāḥ. Prthak therefore cannot mean 'diversely,' 'variously,' 'separately,' 'in different ways,' here; it must have some other signification that can yield good sense in these passages.

What this other signification is, can be determined by these passages themselves. As we have seen, prthag-pamana is a common characteristic of Agni, of Agni's flames, of the horses of a chariot, and of an eager missile—that is, of a weapon that has been hurled against the foe. If we find out therefore from other passages of the RV. an answer to the question. 'What attribute is it that is characteristic of the movement of the above-named things?' We shall in all likelihood have found out the meaning of prthak in these passages.

The answer to the above question is not difficult to find; for, the only attribute that characterises commonly the movement of Agni, of Agni's flames, etc., is 'swiftness', 'rapidity', 'quickness', 'impetuosity', etc. Compare respectively the following passages:
(a) 3, 26, 2: tāṁ subhrām agnim āvase hāvimahe...ātithāṁ rughushyidam 'we invoke him for protection, Agni, the bright, the swift-moving, the guest'; 10, 6, 4: devaṁ ādchā rughupātā jīgātī 'he (Agni), the swift-mover, goes to the gods'; 1, 140, 9: tāṅgārbhīḥ sātvadbhir yāti vi jāyāḥ 'he moves swiftly with his much-devouring flames'; 1, 79, 1: āhīr dhūnir va'īva īva dhūrjīmān '(Agni) swift (like) Ahi, flying like the wind'; 4, 4, 4: prati spāsā vi srjā tā'vāpītamaḥ 'send forth thy spies, (O Agni,) thou that art the swiftest'; (b) 4, 4, 2: tāma bhrāmāsarūsyaḥ patantī 'thy flames go swiftly'; 6, 66, 10: tṛṣṭu-cyāvaso juhavo nāgneḥ 'moving swiftly like the tongues (i.e., flames) of Agni'; 9, 22, 2: agner īva bhrāmār vṛthā 'impetuous like the flames of Agni'; 4, 6, 10: tuṣṭhāḥḥ agnī arcaṇyāc āraṇi śṛṇyā śo āvaśdānād śo ārthaṁ tthy bright flames, O Agni, move (swiftly) like hawks coursing to their goal'; 4, 6, 5: drāvanty asa vājino nā sūkṣm 'his flames run like racing horses'; (c) 1, 148, 3: ādvāsā nā rathyō rāṣṭhāṇaḥ 'coursing like the horses of a chariot'; 10, 119, 3: ān mā pītā ayāwaśvata rāthām
āśvā iḍāśavāḥ ‘(the streams of Soma) drunk (by me) have roused me (as quickly) as swift horses (draw) a chariot’ (cf. preceding verse, pṛā vātā īva dōḍhata īn mā pūtā ayaṅisata); 4, 1, 3: sāke sākhyaṃ abhy āryavrātoḥ mā cakṛām ṝṭhyeṃ rāhayeḥ rāhhyāḥ ‘carry the friend to us, O friend, with speed, as the two horses of a chariot roll the swift wheel’; 2, 4, 6: vārān na pāthā ṝṭhyeṃ svānti ‘(who, Agni,) rushed forth (as swiftly) as water on its path, as the two horses of a chariot’; (d) 9, 69, 6: sāryasyaṃ pāramiyo dravxyitave masarāsah prasāpaḥ sākām itute ‘the torpid (1), intoxicating (streams of Soma) move together, swift like the rays of the sun’; 9, 69, 7: śīndhore īva pravāhīḥ niṁnā dīśāvoc dhravīyād mādāsas gātām ādāta ‘the streams of Soma, falling from (the hands of) the man proceed on their way, swift like the currents of a river down an incline’; 9, 86, 1: pṛā ta āśavāḥ pavanāma dīśāvoc mādā arshantii rayagjad īva imānd ‘thy swift, thought-inspiring, intoxicating streams, O Pavamana, rush forward of themselves like horses born of fleet (sires and dams)’; 1, 5, 7: dā ṛāva vissante dīśavā sōṃsāna indra gīravah ‘let the swift streams of Soma enter into you, O Indra fond of praise’; 9, 22, 1: ete sōṃsāna dīśavā rāthā īva pṛā vājīnāḥ | sārgaḥ sraṣṭāḥ aheshtaḥ ‘these swift streams of Soma have moved (as swiftly) as racing chariots, (as) horses unloosed’; (e) 1, 143, 6: nā jāvārāya maritām īva svanīḥ sēneva sraṣṭaḥ divyāḥ yathāksinē ‘that, like the rush of the Maruts, like a missile sent on its way, like the thunderbolt of heaven, can not be stopped’; 6, 5, 6: dāhā jihvaḥ pāpātiti pṛā vṛ ‘eṣho gosheyudho nāsāniḥ srjānd ‘then speeds the flame of the bull (sc. Agni) like the missile hurled by the fighter for cows’; 1, 116, 1: gāv ārhadāya vimāda yaśdām senāvāya nīkātāṃ rāthena ‘who (two) brought a wife to the young Vimada in a chariot that is as swift as a missile.’

Pṛthak therefore signifies in these verses ‘swiftly,’ ‘rapidly,’ ‘quickly,’ ‘impetuously,’ etc., a meaning which suits the context. It has this meaning in the following passages:

2, 17, 3: dādākroṣṇoḥ prathamāṃ vīryāṃ mahād
yād asyaṃ gree brāhmaṇā sūṣmam airayah |
ratheshṭhena hāryalakṣṭena visayūḥ
prā jīrāyah sīrate sādhyāk pr’thak ||

“Then didst thou, (O Bhṛṣpati) perform (thy) first valiant deed when thou, before this (Indra), didst shatter the powerful (Vala) with thy spell. The swift (Waters) released by (Indra), who was in his chariot (and) who has tawny horses, rush forward together impetuously.”

There are some difficulties in the first half of this verse. The release of the Waters mentioned in the second half-verse indicates that the valiant deed (mahād vīryam) of the first half-verse refers to the overthrow of the demon that had imprisoned them; compare 2, 22, 1: sā ṭḥa mamāda māhī kārma kārlate mahām urūṃ saināṃ saścād deva devāṃ satyāṃ indraṃ satyā indub; 2, 24, 14: brahmanas pāter abhavat yathāvastam satyā manuṣyā mahī kārma karvhyataḥ where also the phrase mahī karma refers to such overthrow; cf. also 3, 33, 7: praved’cyam saevahāḥ vīryān tām indraya karmad yād āhīṃ vīrṇicat ādīvāya pariṣhado jaghāṇāvyan ādīpoyanam icchāmadhā. I therefore take sūṣma as referring to the demon that imprisoned the Waters, and airayaḥ in the sense of shattering, destroying—a sense which the word has in the preceding verse but one, viśēd yād gotrāḥ sāhasā pārīvṛtā māde sōṃsya drāhāntāḥ dūdy airayaḥ. The mention of brahmaṇ as the instrument used for shattering shown (comp. 2, 24, 3 uḍ gājād abhinād brahmaṇā valam) that the first half-verse is addressed to Bhṛṣpati who is known as brahmaṇas pāti or ‘lord of spells.’ It is indeed possible to interpret, as Oldenberg has in fact done (RV. Noten I, p. 201), the first half-verse also as being addressed to Indra. But this seems to me however to be a somewhat forced interpretation, and I prefer to regard this verse as belonging to the typo of verses (cf. 1, 62, 4) whose two halves refer to Indra and Bhṛṣpati respectively, and to interpret it as I have done above.

The word asya in the second pāda seems to refer to Indra and the words asya agre to be equivalent to asya puraḥ. Bhṛṣpati is, as we know from 2, 24, 9 and the Yajur texts (TS,
the purohita of the gods (devāḥ) and therefore of their chief, Indra, also. Now, the chief function of the king’s purohita is, as laid down by Indian writers, the removal, by means of magical spells, of all evils whether caused by human or by extra-human agency. These writers therefore lay particular stress on the necessity of having as purohita one that is well-versed in Atharvaneic spells; see, for instance, Kautilya a’s Arthaśāstra 1, 8, 5 (p. 15) purohitam udiśoditakulaśilam āha dvaine vede daive nimitte dvand anitīyaḥ ca abhi-vignāṇam āparāyāṃ dvimāṇūśhīyāṃ atharvaśīrḥ upagati ca prakārārāṇaṃ kurva ta; Mahābhārata 12, 73, 30–31: bhājāvānīgarvānāṃ vede kātyāvāyaḥ skārañjagatit [yajñakarmavīdhiḥ jñastu tv avidhisjā paśvākṣesu ca] | ātithāsīkākālaṃ pāṇāṁ vidhi jñānāḥ jñātikārmaṇām || sarvasaśātā śatūtāḥ saṃyutāḥ saṃyutendriyaḥ | (purohitāḥ kāryaḥ); Yajnavalkyaasmṛti i, 313: purohitam prakūrvita daivajñaṁ udiśoditam | dvandānītyaḥ ca kūsalam atharvaśāṅgirase tathā; see also ch. II. of the Bṛhatṣaṁhitā.

An efficient purohita therefore had to be able to destroy all evils and enemies that threatened the king; compare the following slokas22: upapānnaṁ nanaḥ śivam vajapeṇa aṅgessa yasya me | daivānāṁ maṇvāśilāṁ ca prakārārāṇa āpārāyām || 60 || tava mantraṅkto mantraṅvar dūrāḥ práṣa- mānīrībhīḥ | pratyaśīyanta iwa me drśṭālakṣayābhidhāḥ śaṁ re addressed by king Dilipa to his purohita Vasishṭha in the Raghuvānaśa (i. 60, 61). In the light of these passages we can now understand better the role played by Bṛhaspati in the incidents referred to by the RV. The chant or shout (arka, brahman, rasa, virasa, kanda, staniśa, etc.) with which he destroyed the demon and set free the cows and waters (see Bergaigne i, 392 Boyer, J.A., 1906, i, p. 401ff.) represents the magical spell or mantra which he, as purohita, used in favour of his patron Indra against his foes. His comparison too, with a ‘lion roaring in his den’ in 10, 67, 9 (sīhāṣṭa iwa nāradatam śatāsāthe) is one that is pregnant with meaning. The lion, it is believed, kills other animals by its mere roar; compare the Jātaka stories Nos. 15223 and 24124 and the following sentences in Müller’s translation of the first six stories of the Piścācaphakaraṇam which is without doubt derived from an Indian original (Z.D.M.G., 48, pp. 198 ff.):

(Pages 205, 206) “Jener Löwen-König besass ungeheure Stärke. Er pflegte in den Wald zu gehen und die Thiere durch sein Gebrüll zu tödten”.

(Pages 206) “Denn jener Löwen-König pflegt, wenn er sein Gebrüll ausgestossen hat, und irgend ein Thier gestorben ist;”

(Pages 216) “Da ward der Löwen-König, der Grossvater jener Prinzessin, zornig. Er stieß ein Gebrüll aus, da starben Sangvathan [a jackal-king] und sein gesammtes Gefolge;” and as a purohita performs his śāntika, paśvāksha and abhīdārīka ceremonies in his yāgāśālā, and as the mantras used therein kill the enemies even though they be afar, the comparison of these mantras with the roar of a lion, and of the purohita Bṛhaspati with a lion roaring in his den is singularly felicitous. Another figure of speech compares these rites and ceremonies which he performs to a ratha or war-chariot, in 2, 23, 3, which represents Bṛhaspati as mounted on the chariot of rite (ṛtasya ratham) which destroys enemies, slays demons, shatters the stony enclosure imprisoning the cows and wins the light.

Sāyaṇa, who as usual takes pṛthak to mean in different ways, has ingeniously attempted to explain away the consequent contradiction here between sadhryak and pṛthak by saying that the going in different ways was caused by fear—vicyutāḥ svasthānāc ca dyāvātāḥ saṃtāḥ

22 It is likewise useful to compare the preceding sloka also:

athābhāvavaniśaḥ τάσσεν ἐἰς ἀργήριαν παράχ | arthāyāṁ arthastārī vinādīm daśād natād ca vairā || 59 ||

Note also the close agreement in word and meaning of these verses with those from Kautilya given above.


24 Siho . . . , tīkkaṭṭaṁ appasitaṭṭaṁ taṣṭānaṁ nāsi . . . . . . te pi āhār taṣṭānaṁ āvad marunābhayaṇaḥ añnantāmāḥ uvājānād tuṭṭe eva jīvitakchaḥnām pāraṇām. Taṭṭepo, eke saṇḍī pośṭāvaṇyāla ṣaṇbhālaṇapraṇīṇād saha catuppaddā tuṭṭe eva jīvitakchaḥ pāraṇām. . . . . . . Devadatta-jānīka maṇiśāriṇi akōsi (p. 245).
sadhyak: sadhṛṣṭaṁ paraparaṁ saṅgatāṁ prthak bhūtyā viyuktāṁ saṁtaḥ prasīrāṁ prakarṣeṇa dhāvanti. It is however the nature of Waters to flow together; compare 4,47, 2: yuvāṁ hi yahīṁ udvavo nimnāṁ d'pa nā sadhyak; and 5, 60, 3: a'pa itva sadhyāneko dhavaḥcchhe; and the Waters (or Rivers) released by Indra are in many places said to have moved swiftly forward; cf. 1, 32, 2: vāśra' itva dhenāvah syāndamāṇā anājaḥ samudrām āva jaṃmuś d'paḥ 'running, like lowing cows (to their calves), the waters went straight to the sea'; 1, 130, 5: tvām eś'ha nadiya indra saśtvai'cchāsamudrām as'ra rāthāṁ itva vājayaṭo rāthāṁ itva 'thou hast released the rivers, O Indra, to run to the sea impetuously like chariots, like racing chariots'; 2, 15, 3: vajreyā kha'īny aṭṭhaṇu nadi'nāṁ eś'ha śaṣṭī jat pathibhir dirghayāṭhaḥ 'with the Vajra he bored openings for the rivers and let them loose (to flow) in long-extended paths'; 4, 17, 3: vādiḥdhi vṛtrām vajreyā mandasāññāḥ aṭṭhaṇu d'po jávasad hatvāvahāḥ 'exulting he killed Vṛtra, with the Vajra: the waters, whose lord was killed, rushed forth swiftly'; and especially, 10,111, 9-10: eś'haṁ sindhūṁrāh dhyāna jagraṇaṁ, 12 id etāh prā vivijre javēna | mūnitaḥ samudrāṁ ut yd' mumucṛd dhdē etā nā ramante niśkētāh | sadhṛṣṭaṁ sindhum uṣṭiṁ r uśyān 'thou didst deliver the Rivers swallowed by the dragon and these sped forth swiftly—those desiring to be free as well as those that were freed; the swift ones do not stop; like loving (wives) they went to the sea together'. It should be noted that both the ideas of 'going together' and 'going swiftly' are given expression to in this last-quoted passage.

8, 100, 7: prā niśdān dhāvataḥ prthāhīn nēhā yo yev avāvarit | ni śhīma vṛtrāsya mārmanya vājram in'dro aśvapataḥ ||

"Run forth now swiftly; he is not now who had detained you. Indra has hit Vṛtra in his vital parts with the Vajra." This is, as is evident, an address to the Waters.

3, 56, 4: abhi' ka śaśān padavi' r abodhy |

addyām aśve cār'ru nā'ma |

dē cāśrārāmanda drava' |

prthaḥ vṛjanetvā pāriśhīkṣitvā ||

The meaning of this verse is not quite clear; I translate tentatively: "Their leader became known in the fight; I have invoked the sweet name of the Ādityas. Even the immortal Waters stopped for him; moving swiftly, they left (him)." With regard to the third pāda, compare 2, 30, 1: indralāhīhūnē nā ramanta d'paḥ. The fourth pāda seems to refer to the same situation as 7, 21, 3: tvāṁ indra śravita' apāṁ kah pārśvīhāṁḥ; tvāṁ vāvākram kathya nā dhanā rējante vīvā krītrīmaṁ bhūshā; and 4, 22, 6: aśāh ha tvāṁ vṛshamaṇo bhīyāndāḥ prā sindhavo jávadvākramaneta.

2, 24, 14: brāhmaṇas pāter ahbavaḥ yathāvadānā |

sāyāy mānyār māhi kārmbā karishyatoḥ |

yā gā' ādāt sā dīve vi cābhujan |

mahē'vā rūthā śāvasāvatvā prthaḥ ||

"The powerful spell of Brahmanaspatī who was engaged in a great work had its own way (i.e., acted as desired); (he) who drove forth the cows gave it to heaven; (the herd of cows) like a great current went forward impetuously with strong force." 'The great work' refers, as I have said above, to the overthrowing of the demon that has imprisoned the waters and cows. The ēva in the fourth pāda, though apparently an uṣpadā-vedaka, seems really to be used in the sense of ca, that is, as a samuccaya-vedaka with the force of 'and'; for Brhaspatī sets free, not only cows, but the waters also. Compare 2, 23, 18: tava śrījīv vy ājñikā pārśavo gāvām gotrām ud asṛjya yaḥ anāgīraḥ | indraena yujā tānasā pārśvaraṁ bhī haspatē nir apā'ṁ arjunāṇaṁ | see also 6, 73, 3; 2, 24, 73-4.

9, 86, 2: prā te mādāsā mādir' sa dāava' |

'srṣkata rāthyādo yathā prthāḥ |

dhenār na avāsāca pāyaścāsā viṣṇuṛyām |

indram in dāvam mādhūmanta ārāmarāh ||
"The swift, gladdening streams (O Soma), ran forth impetuously like the horses of a chariot. The sweet-bearing streams (have run) towards Indra, the Vajra-bearer, as a cow with milk runs to its calf."

10, 44, 6: pr' thak prā' yān prathamā' devā' hatayō
   kṛṇvata śravasyā'ni duṣṭārāa |
   nā yē sekūr yajñīyām nā' vam āraham
   śrmatavā tē ny āvīṣanta kēpayaḥ

This verse is somewhat obscure. I translate, following Yāska (Nirukta, 5, 25, 1): "The first invoking of the gods sped forth swiftly and performed famous (deeds) difficult to surpass; the wicked people who were unable to get upon the ship of sacrifice, stayed here only."

10, 91, 7: vā' topadhāta ishitā vāśa' a'nu 
   trṣhū yād āñnā vevishad vītikāhose |
   ā' te yatante rathyā yāhā prthak
   śārāhiṃsy agne ajārāni dhākshatah

"When thou, O Agai, being fanned by the wind, extendest thyself rapidly, following thy desires, and reachest forth eagerly after food, the unaging flames of thee, that art burning, move forward swiftly like the horses of a chariot."

10, 142, 4: yād udvāto nivāto ya' si bāpeta
   pr' thag eshi pragardhini'va sēnā |
   yadda' te vā' to anu vā' ti sōcīr
   vāpeta śmārṣa vapasi prā bhā'ma

"When thou goest, devouring, over ups and downs, thou movest as swiftly as an eager missile. When the wind is blowing behind thy flame, thou shavest the earth as a barber the moustache." By an 'eager missile' 'is to be understood a weapon that has been hurled against the enemy. Weapons are frequently described in Indian literature as drinking the blood or life-breath of the enemy; see, for instance, the Mahābhārata (Kumbhakonam ed.); 7, 27, 27, patirbhīḥ prāyibhojanaiḥ | nādārūpaiai taddāmitrān kruddhā nigniḥ | Phalgunī ; 7, 91, 23 : dvishatām asubhhojīnā . . . nārācena ; 7, 117, 10 : sārā rudhirahāhojanāḥ ; 7, 117, 27 : te (śārāḥ) . . . papuḥ sōnitaṁ āhāve ; 7, 134, 26 : api'kan sūtāputraysa sōnitaṁ raktabhojanāḥ (sc. nārācēs). A greedy weapon therefore means a weapon that is eager to drink the blood or the life-breath of the enemy.

10, 101, 4: sīrā yuśjanti kavāyo
   yugā' vi tanate pr' thak | 
   dhīrā dev' shu sumnaya' ||

"The wise put the ploughs together; the clever, desiring the grace of the gods, quickly make ready the yokes."

AV. 11, 5, 13: agnau śi'tṛye candrámasi mātārīśvan
   brahmacāryā āpū samidham ā' dadhātī |
   tā' sām arc' mshi pr' thag ahhrō caranti
   tā' sām ā' jyanu pūrvoḥ varshām ā' pāḥ

"In the fire, in the sun, in the moon, in Mātārīśvan, in the waters, the Vedic student puts fuel. Their gleams go quickly to the cloud; their sacrificial butter is man, rain, waters." Compare Manusmṛti III, 76 : agnau prāstāhuiḥ samyag ādityam upatiśhate | ādityāy jāyate vṛṣṭhir vṛṣṭheiro annuḥ tataḥ praśāh.

AV. 7, 45 2 : agnīr ivāsaya dāhato dāvāya dāhataḥ pr' thak |
   etā' m etāyerya' yām udā' gnim ivai sūmaya' ||

"Extinguish, as (one does) fire with water, this man’s jealousy which is burning impetuously (i.e., fiercely) like fire, like forest-fire."
AV. 4, 15, 2: sāṁ iṣkḥayantu tavishāḥ sudānavo
      'pāṁ vāsā oṣhadhitibhiḥ sacantāṁ |
      varshāya sāryā mahayantu bhūmīṁ |
      prṛ thaw jāiyantāṁ oṣhadhayo viśvarūpāḥ ||

"Let the strong liberal ones (sc. the Maruts) cause to behold together; let the juices of the waters attach themselves to the herbs; let downpours of rain glorify the earth; let herbs of all forms be born quickly."

AV. 4, 15, 3: sāṁ iṣkhaṣava gāyato nabhāṁey
      apāṁ vēgāsaḥ prṛ thaw u'd viyantām |
      varshāya sāryā mahayantu bhūmīṁ |
      prṛ thaw jāiyantāṁ oṣhadhayo viśvarūpāḥ ||

"Do thou make the singers behold the clouds together; let the swift streams of water rush out rapidly; let downpours of rain glorify the earth; let herbs of all forms be born quickly."

Whitney in his Translation (p. 172) renders prthak in these passages as 'here and there'; and gives a note, after verse 4, that "prthak, lit. 'severally, separately' is used in these verses rather in the sense of 'all about, everywhere'." It seems to me that it is preferable to accept here (for verses 2 and 3) the meaning, 'quickly, rapidly' established for prthak above, and that this makes it unnecessary to suggest a third meaning, 'all about, everywhere', for it. With regard to verse 4, the meaning nānā, 'severally', may be considered to suit well here and also in AV. 3, 19, 6 and 5, 20, 7, where too the words prthak and ghosha (in 5, 20, 7 its synonym dhanayaka) occur. A better sense, however, is yielded by these passages if we interpret prthak here as 'strong'; a meaning which is a development from that of 'rapid, quick, impetuous'; see Vedicīc Studien I, p. 47 and 97 for numerous examples of such development. I would therefore translate these verses as follows:

AV. 4, 15, 4: gand'a tvāpō gāyantu má'rūdāḥ parjanya ghoshinah prthak |
      sāryā varshāya vārshato vārshantu prthvi'm ānū ||

"Let the troops of Maruts that shout strongly sing to thee, O Parjanya; let gushes of raining rain rain along the earth." Shouting strongly is a characteristic of the Maruts that is frequently mentioned in the RV.; compare for instance 1, 64, 8: sīrāḥ' eva nānādātā prācetāsah; 1, 85, 2: ácānto arkim jādyantāṁ indriyām adhi śrīyo dadhibe prśininātāraḥ; 5, 54, 12: svāranti ghoshām viyatam rdityāvah; compare also 1, 169, 7; 3, 26, 5 and Bergaigne II, 373.

AV. 3, 19, 6: ud dhārshāntāṁ mārgahanc vājīnday
      ud vīrā'nāṁ jāyantām etu ghoshah |
      prṛ thaw ghoshād ululīyaṁ kutumānta ud śrīlām |
      deva' indrajīyeshtā maruto yantu sēnayā ||

"Let their energies be excited, O bounteous one; let the shout of the conquering heroes arise; let strong shouts and clear jubilant cries go up; let the divine Maruts with Indra as chief go with the army." To prthag ghoshāḥ in this verse corresponds dyumāntaṁ ghoshām viyāya kṛṣṇahe.

AV. 5, 20, 7: antarēmē nabhāsi ghosho astu
      prthak te dhvānayo yantu si'bham |
      abhi kranda stanāyotpipānāh |
      ślokak'rā mitratāryāga swarāh ||

"Let there be noise between these two firmaments; let thy sounds go swift and strong; roar (at them), thunder, truculent, resounding unto the victory of our friends, a good partisan." The last half-verse is unintelligible to me and I have therefore repeated here the translation of Whitney.

Prthak has the sense of nānā in the other passages where it occurs, namely, in 1, 131, 2; 1, 157, 1; 8, 43, 18 and 8, 43, 29.
1, 131, 2: viśēshu hi tvā svānēshu tuṣṭāte
samānām ekan va śanēshyavah pr'θak
svāh śāśryavah pr'θak ||
tām tvā nā vaṃ na' parshāsīṃ
śūdāya dhūri dhīmahi ||
indrām nā yaṃjñā ciṣāyanta āyavaḥ
stōnbhir āndrām āyavaḥ ||

"(They) call urgently to thee in all Soma-libations—thee that art one and common, the
people with excellent hymns (of praise), desiring to attain light, (call upon) separately. We
people, glorifying Indra with praises as with sacrifices, place at the head of the strong
(hymn), thee that, like a ship, carriest us across."

1, 157, 1: ābodhy agnir jmā ud eti sū'ryo
vy āuṣū'c candrī māhy dvo arciṣhā ||
d'yukṣhātām aśeṇā yaśtave rathāṃ
prāśadvid devāh savītṛ jāgat pr'θak ||

"Agni has awakened; the sun rises from the earth; the bright dawn has opened heaven and
earth with her light; the (two) Āśvins have yoked their chariot for going; the divine
Savitṛ has impelled the world individually (to action)."

8, 43, 18: tābbhayān ta' angiraṅtama viśvāḥ sukṣhītāyāh pr'θak |
āgne kā'maṃsā yemira ||

"Thee, O best of Angiras, have all those people with good dwelling-houses, attached to
themselves, separately, in order to obtain their desires, O Agni."

8, 43, 20: tābbhayān ghet tā jānā imā viśvāḥ sukṣhītāyāh pr'θak |
dhāsīm hinvanty āttave ||

"All these people with good dwelling-houses (O Agni) have separately impelled thee to eat
the food." The words viśvāḥ sukṣhītāyāḥ in these two verses though literally meaning 'all
(people) that have good dwelling-houses' seem to be used in the sense of 'all (people)
possessed of houses; i.e. householders'; viśvāḥ sukṣhītāyāḥ thus: viśve grhapatayāḥ,
viśēshu grheshu narab, grhe-grhe narab. Compare 5, 14, 4; 10, 91, 2; 1, 128, 4; 4, 7, 3; etc.
Thus the meaning of pr'θak is 1. (a) quick, rapid, impetuous; (b) strong; and 2.
separately, differently, diversely, variously.

Likewise, the root pr'θu, from which the word pr'θak is without doubt derived, and its
derivative pr'θus seem also to signify 'to rush, to move quickly or swiftly' and 'swift' respectively.
Regarding the latter word, namely pr'θu, it is the first member of the compound
pr'θuprajaśā which is given in the Mahāvyutpatti (Mironow’s ed.; 48) as a synonym of
ākuprajaśā, jānavaprajaśā, tākṣhuprajaśā, gambhiraprajaśā, etc. This seems to indicate that
pr'θu in pr'θuprajaśā means āśu or jāvana.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

The Papers of Thomas Bowrey, 1669–1713, edited
by Lieut.-Col. Sir R. C. Temple, Bt., C.B., C.I.E.,
Hakluyt Society (2nd Series, No. LVII), 1927.

If the least doubt were left in any sceptical mind as
to the correctness of the identification of "T.B.",
the writer of the MS. published by the Hakluyt
Society in 1905 under the title A Geographical Account
of Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to
1679, this is wholly dispelled by the discovery in
1913 of Bowrey’s papers in the Manor House,
Clieve Prior, Worcestershire. The romantic story
of this find is delightfully told in Sir Richard
Temple’s General Introduction to this latest volume
of the valuable Hakluyt Series. The papers now
edited deal chiefly with Bowrey’s movements and
life after his return from the East in 1689; but the
story of the Mary Galley, of which Bowrey was the
principal proprietor, and its voyage under Captain
Joseph Tolson to Bencoolen, Batavia, Balsore and
Calcutta are of much interest to all students of early
navigation in Indian waters. The editor has been
ably assisted in the matter of technical nautical
details by Mr. G. S. Laird Clowes of the Science
Museum, S. Kensington. The illustrations are excel-
ently produced, and the notes are characteristically
full and accurate.

C. E. A. W. Oldham.
In regard to the matter of the work, it is more or less conventional in character, and even the geographical information that it contains does not compare very favourably with that of the Māghadātu itself. The work has, however, its worth, at least for the sake of comparison, and careful study of it will enable industrious students to pick out details of value. The editing and publishing of the poem are both creditable, and we congratulate Mr. Chakravarti on the result of his labours. S. K. Aiyanar.


In Some Misunderstandings about India, being the Presidential Address delivered before the Society at Philadelphia in April, 1926, Mr. W. E. Clark draws attention to the exaggerated emphasis so often placed upon the spiritual and religious elements in Indian life, and makes a strong appeal, supported by sound argument, for the devotion of more attention to the huge mass of literature that has come down to us on subjects of "a practical and worldly nature"—to the "neglected subject of Indian religion." He advert to the special importance of the inscriptions, and pleads for an adequately edited compilation of such as have been found to date, in a form that will enable them to be readily used by research workers. He also urges the need for fuller study of the part played by guild organizations and of the references to sea-voyages, as we now know, largely from the researches of French and Dutch scholars, that the Indians were "one of the greatest navigating and colonizing peoples of antiquity." This suggestive address is commended to the notice of that rapidly increasing body of Indian scholars interested in the past history of their land, to whom perhaps further acknowledgment is due. It may be added that this extensive Jaina literature, hitherto so inadequately studied by Western workers, is likely to prove a most prolific and valuable mine of information, that merits systematic working.

In The Original Rāmdājyana Mr. E. Washburn Hopkins compares several passages in the North-Western Recension text with the Bombay and Bengal versions, with special reference to the question whether there ever was an Adi-Rāmdājyana. He comes to the conclusion that it is vain to hope to reconstruct any Adi-Rāmdājyana by working back from the textual variations in the recensions available to us. If it had been a case of manuscript copy-makers such a condition as now exists would have been almost impossible. He thinks, therefore, with Jacobi, that the text must have been handed down by word of mouth, and that the bards who transmitted it were responsible for the variations. "At some vague period," he adds, "these oral versions were reduced to writing according to the local authorities and the written texts still hold the divagations of various ancient bards." His long critical study of the epics invests Mr. Hopkins' views with exceptional value and interest for all students of the Rāmdājyana.

C. E. A. W. Oldham.
possible solution of the problem, but merely offers it as a working hypothesis, which appears to fit in with existing facts and evidence. It is on that account the more worthy of study: and while any final decision of the matter is at present impossible, it is clear that an acceptance by scholars of the view that Jainism was already in existence as a religious and ethical doctrine about the date of the Brahmanas would go far towards establishing the plausibility of Professor Chakravarti's theory. The article is suggestive and well-written.

S. M. EDWARDS

TATTVASANGRAHA, TWO VOLUMES, GAUKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES, NOS. XXX AND XXXI.

The Gaikwad's Oriental Series, published under the authority of the government of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, is one of the most useful and interesting of the series of Sanskrit publications which are at present being issued in India. The others that challenge a ready comparison are the series of publications that used to be issued regularly by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, for which the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganapati Sastri was mainly responsible. These publications by the most forward Indian States have had to shoulder the responsibility which the Asiatic Society of Bengal had assumed and discharged with so much distinction in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. The Gaikwad's Series is characterised by the comparatively rare character of the works selected for publication and the combined learning, eastern and western, with which the works are usually edited. In this respect they challenge a ready comparison, perhaps to its own advantage, with publications of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

The work under review is of a class with the Sarve Sarvadarsana Sangraha of Madhavacharya. The work, a comparatively brief one with the commentary which is voluminous, constitutes something like a cyclopaedia of Indian logic for the eighth century after Christ. It is the work of an author by name Santarakshita, who lived early in the eighth century in India and passed on in the forties of that century to Tibet, where he established a school of Buddhism. It is a work which may, more or less, be described as belonging to Mahayanaism and treating of logic in particular. He has, therefore, to controvert all the systems of logic then known, and establish, on the basis of that comparative study, the superior excellence of Mahayana logic accepted as such. He has to pass under review a pretty large number of works and criticise them. Of these there are as many as sixty to seventy authors under reference. The work is commented on by his own disciple Kannalila, and the commentary is known as the Patjika. The commentator adds to the value of the publication by making clear the references which are made only allusively by Santarakshita. Between
the author and his disciple therefore we get, as it were, a consensus of the learning of logic, and the stage that learning had reached in the eighth century A.D., the period when Buddhism remained still so far in good repute that the rising dynasty of Tibet adopted the religion and introduced it in the "land of snow."

The work is edited with a very considerable amount of creditable care and learning by Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya and Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. The latter provides an illuminating English introduction which puts into requisition all that is known of Indian logic and Indian logicians, and the introduction covers as many as a hundred and fifty pages, while the Sanskrit Prastāvāna of seventy pages exhibits great learning and contains in it, as part of it, a versified summary of all the systems brought under advertence in the Tatvabodhīgranṭha. The work is of such great value for this department of learning, and even for the general history of Indian culture, that we congratulate the editors and the Government of His Highness the Gaikwad on the publication. S. K. Aiyanar.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

COLOURS OF THE GODS.

A correspondent writes to me: "talking of popular Indian beliefs as to Christianity, when I was in Bihār the peasants were firmly convinced that the Christian God was sky-blue in colour. This, of course, was quite proper, as their own Krishna was dark-blue. The belief was founded on a very old version of the Lord's Prayer which commenced "Hā Amaṇī Bāp.""

R. C. Temple.

MUSULMEN.

The use by Europeans of the incorrect term Musulmen for Musalāmās has already been noted, in this Journal, and here is another instance from an unsuspected source.

1866. About the middle of the twelfth century, a rumour circulated through Europe that there reigned in Asia, a powerful Christian Emperor, Presbyter Johannes. In a bloody fight he had broken the power of the Mussulmen.—S. Baring-Gould, Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, p. 29.

R. C. Temple.

A NOTE ON PIRACY IN EASTERN WATERS.

There are several omissions in Mr. Charles Hill's valuable notes on the above subject. One of the most entertaining of the early pirates was Captain Mucknell. He had been fined for calling the Puritans "Red-headed devils." This incensed him, and fuel was added to the flame, when he was ordered to give a state-room on his vessel, the John, to the Portuguese-Governor of Mozambique, and his dusky family. "They would all be poisoned," he said, "if those blacks stayed long aboard." Two of the Company's officers who were on board threatened to report him, whereupon Mucknell got them to go ashore for a picnic at Johanna, and then marooned them. He disposed of other opponents by cropping their ears or landing them at St. Helena. When in his cups, we are told, he would say "I am a Prince at Sea. I am the proudest man on Earth. I am a Cockney, that's my glory!" He spent most of his time hovering round the Canary Isles, where he plundered the Company's shipping. The Parliament's ships once hunted him on to the rocks off the Scilly Islands, but he escaped, and a gold chain was offered for his capture. However, there is no record that he was ever brought to book. (English Factories, 1642–6, p. 262.)

Another famous corsair was Hugo Lamberi, a Dutchman who sailed under French colours, and got the French factory into very bad odour by plundering a treasure-ship belonging to the Queen of Bijapur. Her Majesty was taking a vast store of jewels, silks, and carpets, with her on the Mecca pilgrimage, to distribute as gifts, when Hugo intercepted the ship. The famous father Ambrose, the Capuchin, whose word was law at Surat, had to intervene on behalf of his compatriots. (Thévenot's Voyages des Indes Orientales, ed. 1727. vol. V, chap. XI.)

Several pirates are mentioned in Ovington. On p. 438 he narrates the adventures of one Captain Say, who was captured by the notorious Sanganians. On page 468, he mentions a certain Captain A—S, who committed piracies in the vicinity of Mocha. I have never been able to identify Captain A—S, or to find out anything further about Captain Say. As I am engaged in editing Ovington, I should be grateful to any reader who could kindly assist me, or tell me if he has found any contemporary references to them in the Company's Records or other literature.

H. G. Rawlinson.
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TO

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