THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY
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LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, Etc., Etc.,
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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY
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THE REVENUES OF BOMBAY.
(An Early Statement.)

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

A few months ago W. William Foster, C.I.E., of the India Office, sent me a transcript of an official statement of the Revenues of Bombay, at the time of its transfer to the East India Company in September, 1668. The statement was originally forwarded to Surat with a letter of October 6th, 1668, and was entered in the Surat register of letters received (now India Office Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 105, pp. 23, 24). In sending me the transcript, Mr. Foster suggested that as he had other problems to deal with, arising out of his researches into the Company's early records, I might work the statement into an article for the Indian Antiquary. He had himself made a cursory examination of the statement and added a few short notes on some of the doubtful items appearing in it, and these he has permitted me to use. He also advised me that, in his opinion, the scribe who copied the original account into the Surat register had made various errors, both in the headings and the figures. Some of these mistakes are obvious, and help to justify the view that, where the calculations do not work out correctly, he has miscopied or omitted figures.

A few weeks after I had received the statement from him, Mr. Foster informed me that he had discovered a duplicate copy of it in the India Office records (Factory Records, Miscell., Vol. 2, pp. 44, 45). In the latter, some of the words are spelt a little differently from the corresponding words in the original statement, and to these differences I have drawn attention in my notes. Subject to these remarks, I give hereunder the statement in full, with such explanations as appear to me obvious or plausible. In one or two instances I am unable to solve the puzzles presented by the document, the unknown words used probably being indifferent Portuguese corruptions of vernacular terms, to which I have failed to obtain a clue. Perhaps some reader of the Indian Antiquary may be able to supplement my efforts in these doubtful cases.—

Yearly Savastall\(^1\) or Rent Rowle of Bombaim and Jurisdiction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batte(^2) muraes(^3) 82.1.10</td>
<td>X. 8,406.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per mora amount to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandarins(^6) tribute which</td>
<td>X. 8,806.00.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they pay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colouria(^7), or fishermens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribute, comes to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconutts 467,000 at Xs. 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per mille amounts unto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An orta(^8) called Cherney(^9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The hill Vaulquessen(^10),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nett rents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Savastall = Rent Rowle

\(^2\) Batte = Bhat

\(^3\) Murai = Murah

\(^4\) Adolain = Adollin

\(^5\) X = Ten

\(^6\) Bandari = Bandari

\(^7\) Colour = Couleer

\(^8\) Orta = Orya

\(^9\) Cherney = Cherney

\(^10\) Vaulquessen = Vaulquessen
Foros\textsuperscript{11}, or out rent, was formerly X. 1,235, but
since there was severall crowne lands found out,
etc. There is X. 332.2.14 reys deducted; rest . .
Rent of severall warehouses (increasing yearly) . .

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lrr}
& X. & 902.00.66 \\
& X. & 66.00.00 \\
\hline
Summe is & X. & 15,374.01.61 \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Stanck\textsuperscript{12} of tobacco imports . . . . . . X. 10,225.00.00
Customes received in Sir Gervas
Lucas time of government the
summe of . . . . . . . . X. 5,435. 0.56
And in the time of Capt. Cary . . . . . . . . X. 18,920. 0.19

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lrr}
& X. & 24,355. 0.75 \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

being from the 18th February 1667 to the 23rd September 1668, the commissioners that received
and collected them being satisfied, soe that the
yearly customes came to about . . . . . . . . X. 18,000.00.00
Rents of the tavernes imports . . . . . . . . . . X. 2,450.00.00

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lrr}
& X. & 30,675.00.00 \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{Mazagdt\textsuperscript{13}, vizt.}

Colouria, or fishermens tribute diversely paid in . . . . X. 4,198. 1.26
Palmeiras bravas\textsuperscript{14}, 936 rents . . . . . . . . X. 1,182. 0.75
Palmeiras mancas\textsuperscript{14}, 165 rents . . . . . . . . . . . X. 0,146. 2.42
Island of Pattecas\textsuperscript{16}, 4 . . . . . . . . . . . . . X. 11. 0.00
Battice, 225 muraes at Xs. 14\textfrac{1}{2} per mura . . . . . . . X. 3,262. 0.40
Vinzora\textsuperscript{18}, 60 fedeas . . . . . . . . . . . . . . X. 3. 0.38
24,000 mangas\textsuperscript{18} at 15 fedeas per mille . . . . . X. 18. 2.67
Rent of the botica\textsuperscript{19} . . . . . . . . . . . . . . X. 16. 0.00

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lrr}
& & 8,838. 0.48 \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Summa totalis. 54,887. 2.29

There is besides a custome of Henry Due\textsuperscript{20}.

\textbf{Yearely Savastall or Rent Roule of Mahim and its Jurisdiction, Drawne out the 31th July 1668.}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
Maym. & Battee m. 18.18.18, dico m. & 18.18.18 \textit{muraco}\textsuperscript{22} & & & & & \\
& & & & & & & \\
& Texxas\textsuperscript{24} de Domingo de Reso & 2.22.00 & & & & & & \\
& Texxas\textsuperscript{24} de Kerr & 0.19.00 & at X. & & & & & \\
& Consertas\textsuperscript{26} de Terras & 1.19.13 & & & & & & \\
& Coito,\textsuperscript{24} valued at X. 108 per month & & & & & & \\
& Foros & & & & & & \\
& Palmeeras bravos\textsuperscript{26}, 450, each 10 fedeas 10 ba\textsuperscript{26} & & & & & & \\
& Chito\textsuperscript{27} & & & & & & \\
& & & & & & & \\
& & & & & & & \\
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& & & & & & & \\
& & & & & & & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lrr}
& X. & 350. 2.57 \\
& X. & 1,296. 0.00 \\
& X. & 1,334. 0.00 \\
& X. & 245. 1.17 \\
& X. & 23. 2.40 \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
Two tobacco shoppes, X. 36; two shoppes that sells provisions, X. 36... X. 72.00
Coconuts, 587,400.0.3, at Xs. 18 per mille per estimate X. 10,573.0.60
The ferry betwenee Maym and Bandora X. 300 — —

Matunge. Battee, 55.8, Xs. 14½, Xs. 802.0.8; tobacco shoppes, Xs. 12... Xs. 814.00.08
Dozzory. Battee, m. 8.2 at Xs. 14½... Xs. 117.00.32
Coolies for Magueria X. 45.11.15
The same for Masul X. 69.2.17

Halfe of the marinho of salt... X. 35.00.00

Pero Vazty his Patty. Battee, 37 at X. 14½
Battee, m. 17.5 pazzas at X. 14½ Xs. 249.1.00
Coolies, for 22 nets Xs. 45.11.16
Anadrees, 40 each 4 fedeas X. 8.1.20

X. 303.0.36

Mucher and Yas the ferry yeilds 1,800 fedeas... X. 94.02.17

Parella. Battee, m. 148 at X. 14½ Xs. 2,146.0.00
Foros... X. 103.1.40
Coolies pay in 8 months of the yeare X. 141.1.40
Palmeiras bravas, X. 18.1.8; oyle shopp X. 14; and tobacco shopp, X. 12... X. 44.1.18

X. 2,435.01.18

Vadala. Battee, m. 116,22.18, at Xs. 14½, Xs. 1,694.2.74; foros, X. 69.1.8
Sury. 17 tisatis of Salt, which value at 20 Xs. each tisatis X. 340.0.00
Battee, blacke, 1 murae X. 12.0.00

X. 352.0.00

Pomela. A marinho of salt... X. 21.01.35

Coltem and Bomanelli. Battee, m. 14.14.12 at X. 14½... X. 211.00.65

Veryli. Battee, muraco 32.12.10, at X. 14½ X. 464.0.00
Cooles, by agreement X. 450.0.00
Foros... X. 52.1.49
Palmeiros bravos X. 15.0.16
Collee, 6 pay... X. 12.0.00
Foros de mangueras Calego... X. 10.2.00
Bandarins, two... X. 2.1.
Coonuts, 11,000 at Xs. 18 per [mille per] estimate X. 198.0.00

X. 1,204.01.65

X. 22,200.44
If we accept a Xeraphin as equivalent to about 1s. 6d. sterling, the total revenue of Bombay at this date (1668) amounted to a little over £4,000 and of Mahim and its dependent hamlets and villages to about £1,605. Some of the calculations, which I have tested, work out correctly, but those in muras, parras, and adolins do not. It is possible that the old table of equivalents was different, and also that the copyist transcribed some of the figures incorrectly from the original letter. In the case of words like 'Anadrees' and 'Vinzora' I strongly suspect the copyist of having misread the words in the original. It is possible that Mr. Foster's further researches may result in the discovery of fresh facts throwing light on these problems. He informs me that Oxenden made a report on the state of Bombay in 1669, but that up to the present he has not discovered a copy of it. Probably it has been lost. But other letters, reports, etc., may yet come to light, which will help towards a solution of the puzzles presented by these early Bombay records.

1 Savastali is probably connected or identical with the Portuguese word seesata, occurring in O Chronista de Tiesauay, Vol. II, quoted by de Cunha, Origin of Bombay, p. 176. de Cunha describes seesata as a Marathi word for a tax of 1/4 per cent., from सळ (sadd), meaning a quarter more than one. Sadd is probably the basis of the word savastali, which may have been loosely applied to rent or assessment in general.

2 Batte is Marathi bhati, Kannaese bhatta, "rice in the husk," called bate and bata by the Portuguese. Batte or Batty is also termed 'Paddy.'

3 Muras is the Portuguese equivalent of 'moora,' 'mora,' 'mooda,' i.e., muqda, a measure used in the sale of rice in Bombay. W. Foster writes: "According to Fryer, the 'mora' contained 12 1/2 'parras,' each of 20 'addalins.' The calculations in these returns, however, seem to show that 25 'parras' went to the 'mora'; and even then there are slight discrepancies." The latter calculation is corroborated by Milburn, Oriental Commerce, who states that in 1813 one 'moora' contained 25 'parras.' It was also equivalent to 4 'candies.' At Bassein in 1554 one muru of batte contained 3 'candis' (Hobson-Jobson, s. v. 'moora').

4 Adolain appears to be the Marathi adholi, a measure of capacity equivalent to 2 sers or half a padali (pagli) (Molesworth). It is corruptly written adole, adoly, and (Fryer) adalin. In a letter to Bombay Government of November 4, 1812, the Collector recommended an assessment of 53 adholis per burga on salt batty lands (B.C.G., II, 363). It also appears as adolies in the schedule of lands granted in inam to the heirs of Jamshedji Bomanji in 1822 (B.C.G., II, 376-7); and according to that schedule, 4 sers = 1 adholi; 30 adholis = 1 parr; 12 1/2 parras = 1 moora. In the present Statement, however, the equivalents are different, viz.: - 20 adholis = 1 parr; 25 parras = 1 mura, mora, etc.

Thus 82 muras, 1 parr, 10 adolains = 82 1/2 muras. This at X. 14 1/2 per mura gives the right amount shown in the column of figures.

5 X. = xeraphin. The original of this word is the Arabic ashrāf. W. Foster points out that the table of values was as follows: - 80 reis = 1 larin; 3 larins = 1 xeraphin.

6 Bandarins. These are the Bhandaris, the well-known caste of toddy-drawers and liquor-distillers. Simao Botelho in 1548 spoke of duties collected from the Bhandaris, 'who draw the toddy (sura) from the aldias.' Bombay Regulation I of 1808 states that 'on the brab-trees the cast of Bhandaries paid a due for extracting the liquor.' The tribute mentioned in the statement probably refers to this duty.

7 Colouria seems to be a corruption of Kolivada or Kolivadia and to be identical with 'Coliarys' (in a letter from Bombay Council to Court of December 15, 1673) with 'Coliayrs,' mentioned in an estimate of Bombay Revenue in 1675; 'Cooleries,' mentioned in 1735-36; and 'Cullowdr' or 'Colowree' in 1767. For account purposes the word signifies a head-tax collected from the Kolis in return for the right to fish in the open bays of Bombay, Mazagon, Varli and Parel (B.C.G., III, 308).

8 Orta = horta (Portuguese), a 'garden.' Fryer (1673) writes 'hortos,' and Grose (1760) speaks of 'oarts,' a word still in use.

9 Cherney is clearly Charni (cart), which has given its name to the modern Churney Road. See B.C.G., II, for information about the old Charni estate. In the duplicate copy of the statement, the word is written Cherney,—an obvious copyist's error.

10 Vaulquessen. This is a corruption of Valukeshvara i.e., Walkeshwar or Malabar Hill. Simao Botelho (1548) wrote the name 'Valequecer.'
11 Foro in Portuguese signifies a quit-rent payable by tenants to the King or Lord of the Manor. This quit-rent tenure was common in Bassein and its dependencies during Portuguese rule. Da Cunha rejects the view that Foro is derived from the Latin Foris (out of doors, abroad) and suggests that it is derived rather from Forum, a public place, "where public affairs, like the payment of rents or tributes, were transacted." The words "out rent" in the Statement seem to imply that Foro was in some way connected with Foris (outside). Actually Foro was a quit-rent, which superseded the original obligation on the tenant to furnish military aid to the Sovereign, in return for the possession and enjoyment of the land. The quit-rent under Portuguese rule varied from 4 to 10 per cent. of the usual rental of the land.

12 Stanck. A corruption of the Portuguese estanque = a license to sell, a monopoly of a branch of trade, etc. Here it signifies the farming-monopoly or the farm of tobacco.

13 Mazagão or Mazagon.

14 Bravo in Portuguese = uncultivated', 'wild,' 'magnificent,' 'excellent.' W. Foster suggests that the phrase means "cocoa-nut trees in full bearing." The duplicate copy of the Statement has buvus, an evident mistake for buvas. Manca in Portuguese = defective, 'imperfect,' 'incomplete.' Palmeiras mancas must mean "palm-trees not fully grown."

15 Island of Pattecas, i.e., Butcher's Island. The name is derived from Port. pateca, 'water-melon'; and the process of corruption into the modern 'Butcher's' can be gathered from Fryer's statement (1672) — "From hence (Elephanta) we sailed to the Putachoes, a garden of melons (Putacho being a melon) were there not wild rats that hinder their growth, and so to Bombaim." It is marked 'Putachoes' in Fryer's map of Bombay. The corruption into 'Butcher's (island)' had taken place by 1724.

16 Vinzorne. This is written "Vinzera" in the duplicate copy of the Statement. The meaning of this word is totally obscure. The word most nearly approaching it in pure Portuguese is vindouro = "future" 'to come after.' But it is more likely to be a corruption of a vernacular term. Could it be canajos = profit from pasturage fees?

17 From the calculations in this Statement the fodes appears to have equalled a little more than 12½ reis. It was a money of account only — W. Foster.

18 Mangas = mangoes.

19 Botica = shop or tavern (Port.).

20 Henry Due. This may mean the island (div, diu) of Underi (Hemery), near Khandri (Kenery), at the mouth of Bombay harbour. But more probably it refers to Hog Island, which is marked Henry Kenry in Fryer's map — W. Foster.

21 Texzas appears to be a copyist's error for Terras, 'lands'. In the duplicate copy of the Statement, it is written 'Tezzas.'

22 Muraco is a copyist's error for muraes (see footnote 3 ante).

23 Concertas de Terras. The meaning of 'concertas' is doubtful. It is possibly connected with Portuguese 'concerto,' meaning 'disposition,' 'disposal,' 'agreement,' 'contract,' 'covenant' etc. The 's' may be a mistake for 'e'.

24 Couto. This is perhaps a Portuguese rendering of Marathi koyti, a 'sickle,' or Kanarese koita, a 'bill-hook.' It seems to be identical with the "cotto or whetting of knives," which appears as an item of Bombay Revenue in a letter of March 27, 1668, from the Company to Surat (B.C.G., II, 58 footnote). The revenue from this item at that date for the whole Island was estimated at 2,000 pardoos. It was probably akin to the 'toddle-knife tax' imposed on the Bhandaris, called 'ant salami' at a later date. The tax was imposed on all persons like the Kolis, Bhandaris and others, who used a knife in the performance of their recognized daily occupation.

25 In the duplicate copy of the Statement bravos is written bravo. See foot-note 14 ante.

26 10 ba. This means 10 bazaruccos. According to Yule and Burnell (s.v. Budgroom) the bazarucco was a coin of low denomination and of varying value and metal (copper, tin, lead and tutenague), formerly current at Goa and elsewhere on the west coast of India, as well as at some other places in the Indian seas. It was adopted from the Portuguese in the earliest English coinage at Bombay. In the earliest Goa coinage (1510) the lote or bazarucco was equal to 2 reis, and 420 reis went to the golden cruzado. The derivation of the word is obscure.

27 Chito. The meaning of this item is obscure. The Portuguese word chito is the same as escrita = 'anything written,' 'a note of hand.' It might possibly be a Portuguese corruption of Marathi chittha, meaning "pay-roll," 'general account of revenue' etc., or of Kanarese chitthi meaning 'a roll of lands under cultivation.' It may perhaps be assumed to signify miscellaneous revenue written up in the roll.

28 Matunge is Matunga, about 14 miles south-east of Mahim (Maym).
Dozzory. The name in this form cannot be identified. But it will be observed that in two instances the copyist has written ‘az’ for ‘ar’, viz., ‘tezzea’ for ‘terrass’, mentioned in footnote 21 ante, and ‘pazzas’ for ‘parras’, mentioned in footnote 34 post. It is not unreasonable to assume that he has made the same error again and that what he meant to write was ‘Dorrov’. Dorrov would easily be written by mistake for “Darravy,” which again is a possible Anglo-Indian corruption of “Dharavi”, the well-known village in the north of Bombay Island, between Mahim and Riwa Fort. Mr. Foster enquired if it could possibly refer to Dongri, which was often erroneously spelt in the days of the Company. But the main objection to this suggestion is that Dongri did not fall within the jurisdiction of Mahim, whereas Dharavi (Darravy or Dorrov) obviously would do so. The mention of a salt-pit or salt-pan as one of the items of revenue lends further weight to the view that the place referred to is Dharavi.

Magueria. This might be Port. maquia or maquieira, which means ‘a fee for grinding corn,’ ‘a duty per sack of corn.’ But Michaelis’ Portuguese-English Dictionary, 2nd ed., 1906, gives also ‘maqueira’, ‘a kind of fishing-net.’ Read in conjunction with the next item, this appears the most likely meaning. The “Coolies” (i.e., Kolis) would be more likely to be concerned with fishing-nets, than with the fees for corn-grinding, at a creek-side village like Dharavi.

Masul. I take this to be the Marathi masoli and Konkani masal, meaning ‘fish’. [Cf. Masulipatam.]

Marinho. This is the Port. marinha, a ‘salt-pit.’


Pazzas is clearly a copyist’s mistake for ‘parras’ (parah).

Anadrees. The meaning of this word is wholly obscure. In the duplicate copy of the Statement it is written ‘Annadrees’, which does not help. It is probably a mis-spelling of some corrupted vernacular word. A suggestion has been made that it may be a mistake for ‘Andarees’, from andor, ‘a palki’, ‘manchil’ etc. This word appears in a glossary of Portuguese terms by Dalgado. ‘Andarees’ or ‘Andoris’ would then signify persons who carry paliks i.e., Bhoi, Kahar etc. But this explanation is not convincing. Possibly the word is “Anadee”, which is stated in the Glossary to a Report of the Select Committee on the affairs of the E. I. Company for 1812, to mean “old waste land, or land not cultivated within the memory of man.”

Mucher and Yas. These words are written “Mucher Andees” in the duplicate copy of the Statement. I have been unable to trace any place-names resembling these in Bombay. The parishes of Mochein and Vall are mentioned in a Bombay letter to the Court of December 15, 1673, but they were in the ‘shire’ of Bombay, and not under Mahim. I can only assume that Mucher and Yas were two small villages adjacent to the ‘drowned’ lands, between which there was ferry-communication at high-tide.

Parella = Pareel.

Sury = Sowri i.e., Sivri.

tisatis. This is spelt tisaria in the duplicate copy of the Statement. The precise meaning of this word is doubtful. tisari in Marathi means ‘thrice-cleaned rice’. Here tisati or tisari may be a measure, denoting a multiple of 3.

Pomala = Pomaila, a hamlet of Parel.

Coltem and Bommanelli. In the duplicate copy of the Statement the second name is written “Bommarely”. The places referred to are Coltem and Bannoli, two villages north of Parel. Bannoli which means ‘Brahman street’ or ‘Brahman row’ was an ancient landmark, dating from pre-Portuguese days.

Veryli = Varli or Worli.

Collee, 6 pay. This appears to contain a copyist’s error; for in the duplicate copy of the Statement the words are ‘Collees pay’, i.e., ‘Coolies or Kolis pay’. It refers to the tribute or tax payable by the Kolis.

Foros de manguerass Calego. Calego is written Caleyo in the duplicate copy, and is probably a proper name, and perhaps, also, the Portuguese equivalent of a vernacular name, e.g., Kale. According to Michaelis, the Portuguese manqueiraip (plur. aces) means a ‘mango-grove.’ The whole phrase therefore means ‘Quit-rent of the Caleyo mango-grove.’
The period from the sixth to the tenth centuries A.D. was one of great Hindu religious revival in South India. Buddhism which had been flourishing well, carried as it had also been to distant countries under royal patronage and missionary endeavour, had gradually begun to decline in sincerity and popularity, and the restless ferment of the times produced in succession several Śaiva and Vaishnava reformers, who purged the land of the corrupt and effete religions by their own impassioned and soul-stirring hymns of monotheistic bhakti, and re-established a purer and more catholic form of Hinduism on the secure basis of single-minded devotion to God. As Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar has well said in his Religious Activity in Ancient Dekhan, "persons of no mean merit were they, who adorned the firmament of the Indian Reformation, which may be said to have commenced in the seventh century A.D. and a little prior to it and continued its work for a long time. The men it produced were of varying capacities, and all of them arrayed themselves in one work or another in the mighty task of Reform, which, it may be said to their credit, was effected with the least bloodshed, as one is prone to find in other countries under similar conditions."

Of the sixty-three saints who have been mentioned as the premier apostles of Śaivism, and who can be located in the period above-mentioned, Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉār, the Brahman boy-saint of Tirunāvalūr was a noted figure, and his Tiruttanṭattogai, wherein he has catalogued the names of the saints that had lived prior to him, and the Naṟṟandodi of Nambyāṉāṟ-Nambi (c. tenth century A.D.) were the nuclei from which Śekkiḷar (c. 1150 A.D.) elaborated at a later date his Periyapurāṇam, the Śaiva hagiology, which had acquired so much sanctity as to be classified as the twelfth tirumurai or sacred collection of Śaiva writings. This Sundara had as his contemporaries Viṟaṁṉar, Kōṭtuliyar, Māṇakanjār, Eyyarkōṅ-Kalikkāṉār, Perumīḷalai-Kumbar, Sōmāiḷiar and Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ, who have all been included in the exalted galaxy of Śaiva saints.

Of the last-named of them, who was a Chēra king and a specially devoted friend of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉār, Śekkiḷar has given the outlines of the religious side of his biography in a few chapters of the Periyapurāṇam, and the main incidents of Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ's life are also succinctly summarised in a single verse of the Tiruttunṟṟar-purāṇam. The Travancore king Rāmavarman (A.D. 1758-98), in the preface to his work on Nāṟṟiyadētra, called the Bāḷardamabharatam, makes mention of this king as one of his ancestors.

The Periyapurāṇam account is as follows:

With his capital at the seaport town of Koḻiṟṟūr, called also Mahōdai, whose ramparts were the high mountain ranges and whose moat was the deep sea, there reigned a powerful king named Seṅgōṛpovaiyāṅ, the overlord of Malai-nāṉu. In this illustrious family was born prince Perumākkōḍaiyāṅ, also called by the significant title of Kāḷaṟṟarivarāṅ (one who understood the speech of all living beings) a pious devotee of Śiva, who had kept himself

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1. Śekkiḷar, Periyapurāṇam, Tīruttunṟṟar-purāṇam, V. 42.
2. Bāḷardamabharatam, T. 42.
unsoiled by the dissipation of a royal court and had dedicated his life to the service of the god at Tiruvāṉjaikkaḷam in tending the temple flower-gardens and in supplying garlands for the god’s daily worship. But when Šēṅgōṟpoṟaiyāṅ abdicated at the end of a long reign and retired to an anchorite’s life, this prince was selected by the ministers to succeed to the throne and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to don the royal purple, after he had obtained divine sanction for his reluctant acceptance of the exalted office. He was of such a pious disposition that when, on his preliminary royal entry into the capital, he came across a washerman whose body was whitened with Fuller’s earth (uvārmaṇ); he made obeisance to the washerman in the belief that he was a Śiva bhakta smeared with the holy ashes, and that his appearance was a timely reminder to him from on high to persevere in his pious life. On another occasion, it is said that Śiva sent a poet-musician called Pāḷabhadra from Madura with a letter of introduction to him that the bearer should be patronised and well-rewarded with riches, and that the king, who was immensely pleased with the high honour that this divine commission implied, even went the length of offering his whole kingdom to the god’s protégé. His devotion towards the god Naṭārāja of Chidambaram grew in intensity, and the great Dancer used to reward his piety by enabling him to hear the tinkling rhythm of his golden anklets (poyēilambu) at the end of his daily pūjā. Failing, however, to hear this accustomed token on a particular day, the king was very much disheartened and would have stabbed himself to death, if Naṭārāja had not intervened in time to save His votary from an unnatural end. The royal saint also learnt that the beautiful hymns sung by the arch-devotee Sundaramūrti in the temple at Chidambaram were so enthralling as to make the god forget His accustomed token to himself. This incident was a turning point in the life of Chērāmāṉ, and henceforward his ardour grew, if anything, more fervid, and he was filled with a longing to visit not only Chidambaram, the favourite abode of the god Naṭanasabhēṣa, but also pay homage to the great soul whose songs had kept Śiva spell-bound.

Accordingly he set out from his capital and after passing through the Koṅgu-nāḍu, through which lay in those days one of the highways between the eastern districts and Malai-menṭalai, finally reached Chidambaram, where the divine vision which was vouchsafed him evoked a fitting response in the poem named the Pōṟvavatandāi. He then proceeded to Tiruvāṉur, the headquarters of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār, and formed with him a memorable friendship which, while earning for the latter the sobriquet of Chērāmāṉdēḻai, continued unabated in its sincerity till the time of the simultaneous and mysterious exit of both of them from Tiruvāṉjaikkaḷam. After having composed the Tirumummaṉṉ-kōvaḻ in honour of the god Valmikināṭha during his short stay at Tiruvāṉur, the Chērā king

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4. This verse beginning with ‘ añicēlēṟṟaiyō ᵃṟṟaḷaṟṟaiyō ’ is the first piece in the Padinōṟinīrumurai.

5. This has been collected in the Padinōṟinīrumurai.

6. This has been collected in the Padinōṟinīrumurai.

7. This has been collected in the Padinōṟinīrumurai.

8. This has been collected in the Padinōṟinīrumurai.

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9. Bāḷarámabharatam, (TAS., IV, 109.)
then accompanied Sundara on an extensive pilgrimage to many holy temples of Śiva in the Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, among which are mentioned: Kīlayallur, Nāgaikārōgam, Tirumāraikakkāju (Vēdāraṇyam), Palaṅgam, Agāṣṭyāṇpalāḷi, Kūḷagar-Kōṭikkōyil, Tiruppattūr, Madurai, Tiruppūvāḷam, Tiruvēṅgām, Tiruvēṇagām, Tiruppulagāḷam, Kurvāḷam, Kurumbalā, Tirunelveli, Rāmēsvaram, Tiruchchuliyal, Kāppēr, Tiruppuṇavāyil, Pāṭalēsvaram, Tirukkaṅkkiyur, and Tiruvaṉiyāṟṟu. Both the friends then cut across the Koṅgudēśam and reached Koṅkāgōḷār, where Chērāmāṇ entertained Sundara with such pomp and respect as was befitting the renowned boy-saint. After a short congenial stay at the Chēra capital, Sundara finally took leave of his royal friend and reached Tiruvārūr, loaded with many costly presents and jewels, after undergoing a miraculous adventure with banditti en route at Tirumurugappūḷḷi in the Coimbatore District.

Some time later, Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉār paid a second visit to his Chēra friend, after augmenting his fame on the way by the performance of the miracle of resuscitating a Brahman boy at Tiruppukkoliyur (Avināśi in the Coimbatore District), and was received with huge ovations by the people of Tiruvāḷaiṅkalām and their king. While Sundaramūrti was thus staying in the Chēra capital, the god Śiva, it is stated, sent a white elephant to fetch the saint back to his original abode Kailāsa, and in obedience to that holy mandate he prepared to start heavenwards; but before setting out, his commiserating thoughts strayed for a moment towards his royal comrade whom he had to leave behind. Chērāmāṇ-Perumāḷ, who was taking his bath at his palace at that time, vaulted on a horse, and rushing to the spot where the elephant was marching with its precious burden, respectfully circumambulated his friend, and after muttering the mystic formula of the paṅchakṣara into the horse’s ear, rose into the air, leading the way in front to Mount Kailāsa. The loyal servants of the Chēra king, who had witnessed their master mounting heavenwards, waited till he was lost to sight and, despairing of his return, killed themselves by falling on their upright swords, like the true warriors that they were. On reaching the Silver Mountain, Chērāmāṇ-Perumāḷ gained audience of Śiva through the recommendation of his friend and sang on that occasion the poem called the Tirukkailiyāṇa-ulūḷa 9 (called also the Ādī-ulūḷ), which then received the god’s imprimatur. This poem is said to have been transmitted to this world at Tiruppijavār (Tanjore District) by a certain Māṣattāṇāḷ, who had heard it chanted on the slopes of Kailāsa, while the publicity given to the songs that Sundara hymned forth on his way to the Holy Mount is attributed to Varuṇa, the lord of the oceans.

Perumilalai-Kuṟṟumbar, one of the sixty-three devotees, also killed himself in his own place in order to join Sundara in Kailāsa, on this occasion. Auvaḷ, who is said to have been the sister of Chērāmāṇ-Perumāḷ, also reached Kailāsa by a miraculous short-cut, astride the god Gaṇēśa’s extended proboscis.

Now as regards the period when Chērāmāṇ-Perumāḷ flourished, its determination is confronted with the usual confusion attendant on similar questions, namely that, the available materials are so superimposed with much that is purely traditional and supernatural that there is no safe historical foundation to proceed upon. The sources from which such information can be expected to be collated may be classified as follows:—

(i) tradition current in Malabar regarding this king, as recorded in the Keralōṭṭṭāḷi;
(ii) the biographical sketches of this king, of Sundaramûrti, and of their contemporaries, as narrated in the Periyapurânam;

(iii) the Tiruvâiâyâda-purânam of Parañjôtîyâr, which mentions the deputation of the lutist Pâna-Bhadra to this Chêra's court as the 55th of the sixty-four divine sports of the god Sundarâsa of Madura; and

(iv) other miscellaneous references.

(i) The Keraôlpattîten, a Malayalam work of no great antiquity or chronological authenticity, purporting to be a historical chronicle of the Keraôla kings, places the end of the Chêramûg rule in the fifth century (A.D. 428), and relates of a certain Bagâpperumâl that he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca on conversion to an alien creed. Mr. Logan, linking this information with the alleged discovery of a tomb-stone dated in 828 A.D. supposed to record the death at Sahar-Mukhal of a certain Hindu royal convert re-named Abdul Rahîmman Sâmûri, on his return journey to his native land, has tried to trace the origin of the Kollam era to this hypothetical conversion. Now that the institution of the era is more or less definitely attributable to the foundation, or at least the expansion, of the maritime city of Kollam at about this time under the Christian immigrant Maruvan Sapir Isâ, and that the truth about the existence and purport of the Arabian epitaph is discredited for want of definite testimony, the tradition of a Chêramûg's conversion to Muhammadanism has by scholars been dismissed as groundless. It is not impossible that the mysterious disappearance of a Chêra king, as mentioned in the Periyapurânam, miraculously or otherwise, and the extensions and improvements to the seaport of Quilon at the instance of Maruvan Sapir Isâ and his thriving Christian co-religionists, which may have all taken place within a few decades of each other, and the actual, but later, conversion of a Zamorin of Calicut to Muhammadanism, as recorded by the historian Ferishta, were commingled in haphazard fashion when the Keraôla chronicle was patched up a few centuries ago. As the dates given for the Chêramûgs in this work are not very trustworthy, no implicit reliance need be placed on the account which terminates the Chêramûg rule in the first half of the fifth century A.D., when we know from epigraphical sources of two other Chêra kings, Chêramûg Sthânu-Ravi and Bhâskara-Ravi, who were reigning in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

From the Periyapurânam it is learnt that the Siva temple at Tirukkançjîyâr, one of the Ashâvâryâdam, a mile to the south of Tiruvaiyâru in the Tanjore District, was visited by Chêramûg-Perumâl in company with Sundaramûrti, and that it was only in its vicinity the river Kâvērī parted its swollen waters at the command of god Paîchandâdâvara, so as to leave a dry ford for the two devotees to walk across with ease. It is therefore highly probable that the Siva temple at Tirukkançjîyâr in the Chengannur taluk of the Travancore State, which is traditionally considered to be one of the oldest in Kéraôla and to have been erected by Chêramûg-Perumâl himself, was perhaps built by him and given the same name, in commemoration of the Tanjore episode: and as we also know from a lithic record that it came into existence in A.D. 823, two years before the starting of the Kollam era, Chêramûg-Perumâl, its author, can also be reasonably assigned to the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.

12 Chêramûg-Perumãdîyanûr purânam, vv. 136-39.
(ii) The Periyapurāṇam, which has been acknowledged to be a quasi-historical compilation, denuded of the few supernatural incidents that may not be acceptable in a strictly critical sense, does not however supply in the lives of Chēramān-Perumāl or of his Nāyaṇmār contemporaries any clue that could help in the determination of their age with certainty. We only know that, on the abdication of a Chēra king named Seṅgoparaiyan who was ruling at Köduṅgōḻurar, the next in succession, Perumakkōdaiyar, the Śaiva devotee, ascended the throne. But unfortunately the names Seṅgoparaiyan (the just Chēra) and Perumakkōdaiyar (the great Chēra) sound more like titles than individual appellations, Pōraiyan and Ködai being but synonymous with Chēra. Although it may be hazardous to assert that they do not represent the distinctive names of two Chēra kings, they are however a pair of designations too vague to yield any historical landmark. The Chōl and Pāṇḍya contemporaries of Chēramān are also referred to by their dynastic titles of vadavas and teṇhavas, which are absolutely useless for purposes of definite identification. The life-sketches of the Nāyaṇmār contemporaries of this king are also similarly barren of information, except that Sundara is mentioned to have been the protegé of a certain Narasingamūlayaraiyan, the chief of Milāju, who had his headquarters at Tirukkōyilur in the South Arcot District, and Sundara himself refers to a weak Pāllava king of that period, to whom his vassals stopped the payment of tribute. From the Tirunāvalur and Tirukkōyilur inscriptions a few generations of Milāju chiefs with names Narasimha and Rāma are understood to have ruled in the years A.D. 954, 957, 1059 and 1149, and it is just possible, although it cannot be taken as a definite datum, that a Narasingamūlayaraiyan may have lived in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. as Sundara's patron. The reference to the Pāllava also points to a period when the Pāllava power was at a low ebb, and this fits in well with the later years of the reign of Dantivarman (780-830), when Tōṇḍai-maṇḍalam had been invaded from the north by Gōvinda III (804) and from the south by the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa I (825).

(iii) The Tiruvilaiyadūr-purāṇam of Paraṅjottiṅyar, which professes to give a chronological narration of the sixty-four divine sports of god the Chokkanātha of Madura, places in the reign of a Pāṇḍya king, named Varaguṇa, the following two episodes which constitute the 54th (Viragu-virța-pādalam) and the 55th (Tirumukam-koḻutta-pādalam) divine sports of that book, namely, the discomfiture of Ēmanātha the northern lute-player on behalf of the local bard Bhadra, and the latter's deputation to a Chēramān-Perumāl of Köduṅgōḻurar with a poem-inscribed cadjan order for presents. Although the scheme of chronology adopted by this author is a medley of tradition, myth and royal names, as ably proved by Mr. K. S. S. Pillai in his Tamil-varāldu, it may however be examined, all other things apart, whether the location of the lute-player Bhadra in the reign of a Pāṇḍya king who had the name of Varaguṇa, is consistent with the above suppositions relating to the age of Chēramān-Perumāl and Sundara. We know from reliable sources that Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, the grandson of Jāṭilā-Parāntaka (770 A.D.) and himself the grandfather of Varaguṇavarman, who ascended the throne in A.D. 862, must have been reigning in the beginning of the ninth century,

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15 There have been kings with these names, e.g., Kuṭṭuvan-Kōdai, Mākkōdai, Irumbōrai, Kāppai-kōlūmporai-(Pattai-Ṇāṟu).
17 The Pallavas, page 76.
18 Viragu-virţa-pādalam, v. 2.
there is nothing improbable in linking together the above traditional accounts, and in assuming Chēramāṇ to have been this Pândya’s contemporary and to have lived in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.

The Pāṇa-Bhadra episode is also referred to in the Kallâdam, but as its author Kallâḍār is, on other grounds, considered to have been a later poet different from his namesake of the last Academy, this mention need not necessarily militate against the assignment of Chēramāṇ to the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

(iv) The tradition stating that one of the offspring of the couple Bhagavaṇ and Ādi, who was brought up by Adigaṇ and was eventually raised to the Chēra throne, was the Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ of the Periyapurudambam, is not supported by any evidence except that of a verse popularly attributed to Auvaikār, which she is said to have addressed in derision to the Chēra king, when god Vināyaka, who was pleased with her devotion, raised her to heaven with his proboscis sometime before the mounted pair Sundaramūrti and Chēramāṇ could arrive at the Kallāsa gates. This is another instance of different episodes relating to more than one Auvaik (old woman) being mixed up together promiscuously.

(v) In his learned article on the age of Jāñanasambandha, Prof. Sundaram Pillai finds an implied reference to certain Śaiva Nāyaṁmār in the minor stōtras of Śaikara, and if the Śivabhujangī, Śivānandalahari and Saundaryalahari are the indisputable compositions of the author of the great Bhāṣyas, then the passing reference in the stanzas of the Śivabhujangī may be taken to contain a covert sneer at Sundara’s matrimonial foible, which, however much concealed by mythical varnish, was considered too big a blemish to be overlooked by Īyarkōn-Kalikkāmaṇār, who decided to die of his colic rather than submit to be cured by Sundara. The date of Śaikara has been accepted by many scholars to be the beginning of the ninth century (c. 788-820 A.D.); and in that case, it is also possible that the Nāyaṁmār’s Tiruvōrjīyur episode may have reached his ears. Chēramāṇ may therefore have lived in the first quarter of the ninth century.

Thus, all the available data tend towards the ascription of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ Nāyaṁmār to the beginning of the ninth century A.D., and the temptation now offers itself to consider whether this royal saint of the Tamil hagiography can be the same as the Kēraḷa king Rājaśekhara of the Talamana-illum copper-plate record. In partial support of that possible identification, these points may be noted.

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20 Kallâdam, v. 11, ll. 25-30.
22 Kallâdam, v. 11, ll. 119-20. But this Kapilar had nothing in common with the Last Academy, this poem being attributed by some to Viramamuni Beschi.
In the Tiruvalla copper-plate record of the beginning of the eleventh century, published in vol. II, of the Trav. Arch. Series, the king Rājaśekhara has been mentioned with the biruda of Śeṅmittalai-ādigaḻ, which carries with it the additional significance of his devotion to god Śiva at Śeṅmittalai, which it may be noted, is a phallic emblem or liṅga of great age.\footnote{Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. II, p. 69}

Further, the king begins his Talamana-illam record with the words 'Namaśīvāya' in place of the almost universal 'Śvasti ērī'; and although this formula has been met with elsewhere in a few instances, it is nevertheless rare and may be considered to be significant of the special devotion of this king to the god Śiva.

The palaeography of the plate also points to about the beginning of the ninth century as its age, which was also the period in which Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār and his friend Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ are, as noted above, considered to have flourished. It is also not impossible that, though Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ was a dynastic title meaning 'the Chēra king,' the king Rājaśekhara may have been respectfully known in the Tamil districts exclusively by that title without the addition of his personal name. The later Chera kings Sthāṇu-Ravi and Vijayarāgādeva were, however, known in the Tamil records as Chēramāṇ Kōṭṭāṇu-Ravi and Chēramāṇ Vijayarāgādeva.

There is again the tradition \footnote{Trav. Arch. Series, vol. II, p. 10.} recorded in the Saṅkaravijaya that a Kērāḷa king called Rājaśekhara was a contemporary of the great Saṅkara, to whom he showed three dramas of his own composition. This incident is found in an amplified form in the Jagadguru-ratnamālā-stava of Sadāśivabrahmendra of the sixteenth century, and its commentator has further supplemented the information by saying that the three dramas and a saijaka, which Rājaśekhara showed to Saṅkara, were Bāḷarāmāyaṇa, Viḍdhasālabhaśijīka, Pradhāpañḍava and Karpuramaṇjari. As these works are known to be the works of a northern poet called Rājaśekhara, who lived in the court of Mahendrapāla in the first half of the tenth century, and who could not have been Saṅkara's contemporary, it may be surmised that the author of the stava was perhaps misled by the similarity of names to identify a Kērāḷa king Rājaśekhara with the northern poet of a century later. This leaves the Saṅkaravijaya statement that the Kērāḷa king was the author of three dramas still unexplained, and it is not known if Mādhavāchārya was not himself misled by the identity in the names of the two different individuals, king and author.

Mr. S. Parameswara Ayyar, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., of Trivandrum in a learned article in a Malayalam Journal, has attempted to solve the difficulty by supposing that Rājaśekhara may have been a title of the Chēra king Kulasaṅkharavarman, the accredited author of the two dramas, the Tapātsamvaranam and the Subhadrādhanaṅjayam, and of a hypothetical third called the Vichchhinnaṅkhiṅkham. Against this, it may be said that the name of the Kērāḷa king of the Tiruvalla copper-plate cannot have been a title like Rājakēsari-varman or Māṇavarman of the Tamil records, because of the specific mention of him as Rājarāja-Paramesvara-Bhatṭāraka Rājaśekharadeva, the first three words being his kingly titles and the last his personal name. The word Namaśīvāya prefacing his record is also against his being identified with Kulasaṅkhar, the author of the Muktāndamāla and the Tirumoli, which are saturated with a deep and almost exclusive devotion for Viṣṇu, to whom have also been attributed the abovementioned two published dramas and the hypothetical third.

\footnote{The Bhāshāpāshi for 1917.}
In this connection, it may be stated that Chēramāḷ-Perumāḷ has elsewhere⁹ been indentified with Bāṇa-Perumāḷ, the fourth viceroy of the Perumāḷ line (A.D. 300) according to the Kēralōppattu, on the strength of a supposed reference to him in the eighth verse of the Tirunodittātnalai-padiγam of Sundaramūrti—

\[\text{v. 8.}\]

which has been interpreted to express the grateful recognition on the part of Sundara of the gift of an elephant made to him by the Chēra king. According to tradition, this padiγam was sung by Sundara on the eve of his departure to Kailāśa on the celestial white elephant that had been sent to fetch him; and even if this mythological setting is ignored, there is unmistakable evidence throughout all the verses of the poem, in each individual stanza of which the gift of an elephant is dutifully acknowledged, to indicate that Sundara refers to the god Śiva himself as the donor and not to any mortal, king and friend though he may be. The expressions of humility and devotion used in the verses can more fitly be considered to have been addressed to the god rather than be applied to the Chēra king, who stood in the relation of a disciple to Sundara. These instances are the following:—

\[\text{v. 1.}\]

\[\text{v. 3.}\]

\[\text{v. 6.}\]

\[\text{v. 9.}\]

Vāṇaḥ, though it may be an alternative form of Bāṇaḥ, is also a contraction of the word \(\text{vāṇaḥ}\) signifying 'one who dwells,' and \(\text{vāramali-vāṇaḥ}\) which has been taken as the 'Bāṇa (-perumāḷ) of great gifts' may equally appropriately refer to god, 'the bestower of bounteous gifts.' It is no doubt true that Chēra kings were proverbially lavish in their munificence and that many poems in the Purāṇaḥ and the Padiγrupattu have extolled their gifts of elephants to poets and other suppliants; but the padiγam under reference does not appear to immortalise a mere mortal's gift.

The incidents which Sundara is supposed to have recorded in these verses have given rise to the mythical story that he ascended to heaven with his mortal body and that he directed god Varuṇa, whom he has addressed as ' \(\text{सुन्दरमदलिन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कु�्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्युन्योत्कुट्यु
}

\[\text{v. 7.}\]

²⁹ Against this identification of this śaiva saint with Bāṇapperumāḷ of the fourth century A.D., it may be stated that the reference to Tiruvalluvar in the Tirukkuṟaḷyattānu ulā us padiγor seems to point to the conclusion that its author may have flourished many centuries after the ancient poet of the first century A.D.

(a) \(\text{v. 1.}\)

(b) \(\text{v. 2.}\)
one is tempted to locate Noittānmalai (the hill of Hara) in the vicinity of Aṉjaikkalam and not equate it with the Kailasa hill in the midst of the Himalayas. "நூற்றாண்டு தாவரம் வளர்பவும்" appears to have a possible reference to the geographical location of Tiruvaṉjaikkalam on the sea-shore and this is just the description that Sundaramūrti has indulged in in each verse of the poem pertaining to that place. Kailasanātha's temples are very common in many places and the hill Noittānmalai wherever it was, must have borne on its summit one such shrine dedicated to Śiva; and it is not unlikely that Sundara, who may have gone up to worship that god, was followed soon after by his royal host and that they both composed respectively on this occasion the songs TirunoITTānmalai-padiGam and Tirukkailāyajjāna-ulō. Some mysterious causes, not definitely ascertainable now, may have led to their sudden disappearance from the land of the living and their accredited piety may have then attracted to their glorification the supernatural episode of a celestial ascent to Mount Kailāsa with their mortal bodies.

The introductory portion of the Tirukkailāyajjāna-ulō of Chēramāṉ is also worth noting in this connection, in regard to the description it gives of the god Śiva, who was seated in the Tirukkōyil (ōrkōyīl—temple) at Śivapuram. The large number of āgamic terms that have been employed in the detailed enumeration of the ornaments with which Śiva was decked seems to suggest that the royal poet had before him a sculptural representation of Śiva, which he naturally identified with the higher divinity of the Silver Mount. The terms that have been used are the following: chulāmaṇi, paṭṭam, makarakunḍalām, kaṇḍigai, channastram, kāyuram, udaraśabdham, kaṭisūtram, kaṅkāyam, vāchikai, kiṅkiṇi, mēkkalā, kāram and jatāmakūṭtam among ornaments and jhallari, bhēri, karatīlam, maddalām and dundubhi among musical instruments.

It can thus be tentatively assumed that the Chera king Chēramāṉ-Perumāṉ, who was the contemporary of Sundaramūrti-Nayanar, was in all probability king Rājaśēkhara of the Talamana-illam copper-plate and that he flourished in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.

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30 It may also be noted that "நூற்றாண்டு" is the name of a class of people living on the sea-coast.

31 It is not impossible that Śivapuram is identical with Tiruchchivappērur (Trichur), whose god Vaiṣṇava, Nātha, (Vaiṣṇava-nāthan, the Lord of the northern Mount-Kailāsa) is, in tradition, supposed to be the god Śiva of Kailāsa itself, who was requested by Pāraṣurāma to manifest Himself in this temple; but Trichur is not on the sea-shore.
THE COUSIN IN VEDIC RITUAL.

BY A. M. HOCART.

In various papers I have collected information which shows that the maternal relations, but more especially the sister’s son, eat the sacrifice as representatives of the gods or ancestral spirits; that among certain people they are beaten for doing so, and that this beating is part of a sporting or ceremonial enmity between them and the paternal relations.1 Mr. Perry in his Children of the Sun has collected numerous instances of the hostility between intermarrying groups, although he has not sufficiently brought out the friendly character of this hostility. Those sources must serve as introduction to the present paper, in which I take for granted the ceremonial hostility of cross cousins, that is a man and his mother’s brother’s son or father’s sister’s daughter.

The Vedic sacrifice, and indeed for that matter the Mediaval Indian sacrifice, was conceived as a victory over the evil powers opposed to the sacrificer.2 This conception is often expressed in the formula pāṃḍānam tad dvīṣāṇam bhṛāṭṛvyaṁ hāt,3 which Eggeling translates, “Slaying his wicked spiteful enemy.” The word ‘enemy’ stands for bhṛāṭṛvya, a word of somewhat doubtful meaning, but which anyhow is derived from bhṛāṭṛ, brother. Professors MacDonell and Keith discuss the word in their Vedic Index thus: “Bhṛāṭṛvya is found in one passage of the Atharvaveda, where, being named (V. 22.12), with brother and sister, it must be an expression of relationship. The sense appears to be ‘(father’s) brother’s son,’ ‘cousin,’ this meaning alone accounting for the sense of rival, ‘enemy’ found elsewhere, in the Atharvaveda, and repeatedly in the other Sanhitās and Brāhmaṇas. In an undivided family the relations of cousins would easily develop into rivalry and enmity. The original meaning may, however, have been nephew, as the simple etymological sense would be ‘brother’s son’; but this seems not to account for the later meaning so well. The Kāthaka Sanhitā prescribes the telling of a falsehood to a Bhṛāṭṛvya, who, further is often given the epithets ‘hating’ (dvīṣā) and ‘evil’ (apriya, pāṃḍman) in the later Sanhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. The Atharvaveda also contains various spells, which aim at destroying or expelling one’s ‘rivals’.”

I do not agree with the learned authors that the meaning ‘father’s brother’s son’ alone accounts for the sense of enemy. After considerable experience of undivided families I cannot see the transition. On the other hand we have abundant evidence from South Africa to North America that enmity is prescribed between a man and his mother’s brother’s son. I have therefore asked Professor MacDonell if there is any evidence for the father as against the mother, and he replies, “I do not think there is any evidence that it means father’s brother’s son, nor on the other hand that it is mother’s brother’s son. It would certainly be interesting, if it could be proved. But I doubt if it ever could.”

I am not so certain that it never could: by direct evidence, doubtless, it is impossible; but there is such a thing as circumstantial evidence, which is often better than the direct.

Firstly, a presumption would be created in favour of the mother, if it could be proved that the Vedic kinship system was classificatory. Morgan in his Systems of Consanguinity assumed it to be individual like ours; but of late grave doubts have arisen in my mind as to whether the parent Indo-European system was not classificatory. Now in a classificatory system the father’s brother’s son would be a brother, so that a different word would not be used, except in a transition stage to an individual system. But a mother’s brother’s son would be distinguished from a brother.

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1 The Uterine Nephew, Man, 1923, No. 4. The Maternal Relations in Indian Ritual, Man, 1924, No. 76. Buddha and Devadatta, Indian Antiquary, 1923, p. 267.
2 E.g., Śatapatha, VI, 2. 4. 7 ff.
3 Ibid., XII, 7. 3. 4.
Secondly, there is the comparative method. It is a well known fact that customs may survive in out of the way places for thousands of years after they have disappeared in their country of origin. Egyptologists have given us instances of such persistence which would have been thought incredible a few decades ago. We may, therefore, have good hopes of finding the Vedic theory of sacrifice surviving in the backwaters of India, Indo-China, and Indonesia, and I appeal to all students of those regions to take down carefully verbatim descriptions of sacrifices, to note the kinship system, and to note the functions of the various relations in all ceremonies, whether they are obviously religious or apparently secular.

We come very near the evidence required in Fiji and in South Africa, where the man who is sister’s son and cross cousin to the tribe seizes the offering and is beaten by the cross cousins. Among the Thonga we are told distinctly that he does so as representative of the gods. It must however be remembered that both among the Fijians and the Thonga the distinction between gods, demons, manes, ghosts, has disappeared or almost so, and all of them are commonly spoken of under the same generic term.4

Let us see who appears as bhratreyya in Vedic ritual: there is Vṛtra6 and there is Namuci, both demons. But we must first of all get it firmly implanted in our minds that the word ‘demon’ is a purely conventional and somewhat misleading translation of asura; demon to us means a wicked being, but an asura is nothing of that kind; he is a rival of the gods, but he can be very good, and even a saint, as for instance Bali in the myth of Vishnu’s Three Steps. True, Vṛtra is spoken of as ‘wicked,’ ‘sinful,’ but on the other hand he is identified with Soma,6 the plant which yields the sacred beverage of Vedic sacrifices, and Soma is such a kind god that he has given rise to an adjective saumya, ‘agreeable, pleasant, auspicious.’ Indeed, it appears to be a sin to slay Soma, as they do when they crush him in order to prepare the sacrificial draught; therefore they crush him with stones to restore his body and bring him to life.7 Soma is also the moon,8 and therefore Vṛtra is the moon; and the moon is not evil, in fact many families in India boast of their descent from the moon. Namuci seems to be but a variant of Vṛtra; he too is Soma, and is thus a mixture of good and evil.9

It is obvious that the hostility between the sacrificer and the demons cannot be a real one, one infused with hatred. No doubt texts will be quoted in which expressions of hate or contempt occur, but it does not follow that they are real. In Fiji one tribe goes out of its way in the midst of a kava formula, (which corresponds to the Indian Soma chant !), to call their cross cousins10 fools; yet the relations between the two tribes are most friendly, boisterously friendly, and if they meet they will make a point of insulting one another, “You cad, you body fit to be cooked,” and so on without the least bit of ill feeling. They will cheat one another, just as the Kathaka Samhitā prescribes should be done to a bhratreyya, and think it a great joke which binds them all the closer together.

But if bhratreyya is a cross cousin, how do demons come to be called cross cousins?

Over and over again the Satapatha Brahmana informs us that the sacrificer is the god Indra;11 if the sacrificer can impersonate the Sun god, why should not his cousin represent the Moon god? Whether the cross-cousin was actually present or not, the following:

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5 Ibid., III, 4, 3.
6 Ibid., III, 4, 3. 13.
7 Ibid., III, 9, 4, 2.
8 Ibid., I, 4, 1. 12.
9 Ibid., XII, 7, 3. Cf., I, 6, 3, 17.
10 Ibid., I, 6, 4. 12f.
11 Ibid., III, 3, 3. 10; III, 4, 3, 16 et passim.
passage of the Satapatha\(^{12}\) makes my suggestion possible, if not probable: "The household altar has the sacrificer as its deity; but the Southern altar has the bhrat\(\text{t}^{\text{v}}\)ya as deity." If the deity of one is an actual person impersonating a god, it would seem by analogy that the deity of the other is also an actual person impersonating a god.

I said at the beginning that in later India the maternal relations eat the sacrifice as representatives of the manes, or ancestral spirits. I know no definite evidence that the bhrat\(\text{t}^{\text{v}}\)ya eats the sacrifice, yet the opening sentence of the Namuci legend rather suggests it: "Namuci, the demon (asura), stole Indra's vigour, the essence of his food, the enjoyment of his soma along with his liquor."\(^{13}\) The sequel shows that he did so by drinking the soma, for when Namuci's head is cut off, the soma is mixed with blood. But why should the cross cousin eat the sacrifice? I cannot tell as yet, but I think we have a clue in the following passage of the Satapatha: "When about to strike Soma he thinks of the one whose rival he is, I strike So and So, not thee. Now whoever kills a human Brahman here is despised; how much more he who kills Him; for Soma is a god......Or if he has no rival, let him think of a straw; thus no guilt is incurred."\(^{14}\) I suggest that he eats it or part of it to take upon himself the evil (pulpnas) that is inherent in it, thus leaving it free from evil for the sacrifice. In other words he acts as scape goat, as bearer of ills, and as Such is reviled, despised, but only for make-believe, not with any feeling; in Fiji and South Africa he is, like a scape goat, driven away.\(^{15}\)

Finally, the asura appear as bhrat\(\text{t}^{\text{v}}\)ya. Now the asura, as I have said are not really demons, but simply a class of gods who are constantly contending ceremonially with the other class of gods called deva. Now both deva and asura are descended from Praj\(\text{p}\)ati; if it could be established that they are the male and the female line, then it would be pretty well proved that bhrat\(\text{t}^{\text{v}}\)ya means mother's brother's son. Unfortunately, the Ramb\(\text{\'y}^{\text{\'a}}n\)a\(^{16}\) is said by Hopkins\(^{17}\) to represent them as the elder brothers of the deva. However, the Ramb\(\text{\'y}^{\text{\'a}}n\)a is not first class evidence on this point. It was written centuries after the Vedic period, at a time when the cross-cousin system had disappeared from Northern India; so the author would no more appreciate the difference between a father's brother's son and a mother's brother's son, between a bhrat\(\text{t}^{\text{v}}\) and a bhrat\(\text{t}^{\text{v}}\)ya, than a Sanskrit scholar unacquainted with the comparative history of kinship.

The reader may have noticed in the course of this discussion some striking analogies with Christian ritual. Is the cross-cousin the forerunner of "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world?"

\(^{12}\) S.B., II, 3. 2. 6. \(^{13}\) Ibid., X, 7. 3. \(^{14}\) Ibid., III, 9. 4. 17. \(^{15}\) My first suggestion was that the uterine nephew was driven away because the ghosts went with him, and people were afraid of the ghosts. I think the present theory is more satisfactory. \(^{16}\) 2. 25. 10. \(^{17}\) Epic Mythology, p. 47.
BOOK NOTICES.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR 1923; GOVERNMENT PRESS, BANGALORE, 1924.

This is an interesting report, containing a record of much good work in the exploration of ancient temples and other monuments. A curious side-light on old trade customs is furnished by the Basava temple in Turuvēkere town. In front of it stands an old stone framework, known as Chintalakkambha and consisting of two pillars fixed side by side and a cross-beam furnished with iron rings. Turuvēkere, it appears, was once a great centre of the cotton trade, and all the cotton which left it was weighed in front of the temple and stamped, the weight thus determined being accepted as accurate in other markets. A full description with plates, is also given of a beautiful Vishnu temple at Belvadi, dating from A.D. 1300. During the year the archeological department acquired fifty-three new manuscripts, dealing with the Vedas and Upanishads, with philosophy, grammar and logic, and one hundred and thirty new epigraphical records. Of each of the latter the report gives an English translation and a useful note on their contents and significance. Many of these inscriptions record the death of individuals when assisting to repel cattle-rafts, among the earliest of them being one from the Shimoga district, assigned to the middle of the seventh century A.D., which describes how a military commander was killed in a fight with a tribe of Bedars forming the army of Mahendra, who opposed Silāditya’s claim to sovereignty over Śimoga. Dr. Shamasastry is inclined on palaeographic grounds to identify Silāditya with Harshavardhana Silāditya of Kanauj and Mahendra with the first or second Mahendravarman of the Pālava dynasty.

An attempt has been made in the Report to fix definitely the date of the early Gupas, who are understood to have been contemporaries of the Kālambas, by examining the traditional, astronomical and synchronic evidence bearing on the chronology of the Brhatbhanas, Kālambas, and Gāngas. Dr. Shamasastry rejects Fleet’s conclusions as to the date of Mahavira’s death and the chronology of the early Gupas, and in the course of his remarks, which are sufficiently interesting to merit separate publication, expresses his belief that Kalki was a historical figure, who lived from A.D. 402 to 472 and commenced a new era in A.D. 428. His conclusions, which are embodied in a comparative chronological table, are not likely perhaps to command immediate acceptance; for, in order to make them fit in with accepted facts and probabilities, he is obliged to postulate the existence of two Mihirakulas and two Toramallas, for which there is no historical warranty whatever. He also has to assume that the Chandragupta who accompanied Bhadrabahu to Sravana Belgola was not the great Mauryan emperor, but Chandragupta II who, according to Dr. Shamasastry’s calculations, was alive in A.D. 282. In the light of our present knowledge, one hesitates to accept these novel theories. At the same time there is much of interest in the details of Dr. Shamasastry’s argument, which might well be published as a separate pamphlet.

S. M. EDWARDS.

SUTTANIPĀTA. By P. V. BAPAT, M.A., 1924.

It is a welcome sign of the times that Indian scholars, following in the footsteps of their European confrères, are taking seriously to the study of Pali as one of the Indian literatures, and the study of its language and literature is gaining in popularity. The study of this language and literature has so far remained practically a European study, and has received but little attention among Indian scholars and educationists. In this department as in other fields of oriental research it was but right that European scholarship should set the example, but the only point of regret about this particular department of Indian studies is that Indian scholarship did not make any effort to follow the good example. A variety of reasons may be offered in explanation, and among them, one of the minor ones, if not a really serious one, has been popular editions of these works with sufficient aid for mastering the technique of the language and literature. An attempt is being made in the last few years to remove this drawback, and this Devanāgarī edition of the Suttanipāta is one of these early efforts.

The Suttanipāta does not need any introduction to the readers of the Indian Antiquary, as it has been published by the Pali Text Society and an excellent translation of it is available in the Sacred Books of the East by Faure. The edition being in Roman letters, Indian students do not find it easy or happy for reading, and the Indian Pandit is absolutely unable to do so. The presentation of this in Devanāgarī would make it easy for those two classes, and, even the Indian scholar would find his work quicker with a Devanāgarī edition. Prof. Bapat has provided a good edition of the text and has provided the text with an illuminating introduction, which gives an idea of the important position that Suttanipāta occupies in the Buddhist canon.

We welcome the edition and the effort that it makes to bring the Pali text within the reach of Indian scholars. We hope the effort will have a sufficiently encouraging reception to cause Prof. Bapat himself, and other scholars like him, to go ahead with this good work.

S. K. ASIYANGAR.

Two more books on Indian Medicine written in New York and published in Calcutta in the same year by that indefatigable writer on this subject, Mr. Chandra Chakraborty. The second of these works seems to have arisen out of the first. It is in fact a dictionary of Materia Medica, arranged according to Sanskrit terminology in the order of the Devanagari alphabet. It has the inevitable Indian defects of misprints, and no index, a general ‘happy-go-luckiness,’ and no references to the sources of information. Two additional notes appear at the end, of course out of order. But that does not matter much; what does matter is, that they are introduced without any warning to the reader, who will doubtless consequently miss them. Subject to these remarks, the book is no doubt of use to medical practitioners in India.

One remark in the author’s preface I can heartily endorse: “a drug in its native fresh state is much more efficacious than when it has undergone chemical changes.” I have long thought that there is something not altogether right about concentrated drugs, and have wondered why medical men, who also strongly object to concentrated foods, should lay so much stress on concentrated medicaments.

The first book is much more ambitious. The author writes in his ‘Foreword’ that he started to write a comparative study of Hindu and Greek Medicine, but gave it up, as he was “forced to the conclusion that the Ancient Greek Schools of Medicine were indebted to the Hindu systems.”

This conclusion he proceeds to prove to his own satisfaction after a method that is now fashionable among certain Indian literati. Leaving this controversial point there, he has “tried to interpret and explain the Ancient Hindu Medicine principally based upon Charaka and Sushruta in modern medical terminology.” He gives also a transliteration table, with which one cannot find serious fault, and adds that he regrets he had not time to add an index, the absence of which naturally greatly reduces the value of this book.

“Modern medical terminology” is employed in the book with a vengeance, so much so that the correct rendering of the ancient Indian terms could only be seriously checked by a competent physician with a competent knowledge of Sanskrit. There is in fact always much danger in translating ancient technical works in the modern terms of another language.

The book has been carefully compiled, though there are signs of haste and insufficient enquiry. E.g., “even one can suffer fatal injury, especially to the nervous system, by the rapid vibration of air, as near the passage of a high-speed projectile, of which there have been numerous victims in the recent war, and it is known as ‘shell-shocks’ (p. 119).” This statement will at any rate mislead any Indian medical man who accepts it. In another place it is stated that electricity was fully understood in the ancient days: a statement that is at least doubtful.

Despite its defects the book will no doubt be of great interest to those who can master and understand its terrible technicalities. R. C. Temple.

Notes and Queries.

49. Catholic Disabilities.

12 May 1705. Consultation at Fort St. George. There being Never an Ensign now in the Garrison the Governor propose[s] Serjeant Dixon and Serjeant Hugonin for Ensigns, one in each Company. The Objections against Dixon is from an Obsolete order of the Old Company that no Roman Catholick should Bear Command in the Garrison, but in Regard that they have since employed Commanders and Supra Cargo[s] to India that have been professed Romans catholicks, we hope it May Warrant us Making this Person an officer, he being likewise one of the Best soldiers we have in the Garrison, and on Not Unlikely but his Preterment may make him return again to the Protestant Religion. To therefore agreed that the two aforesaid Persons be made Ensins and that the secretary draws out their Commissions accordingly.—Madras Public Proceedings, vol. 83, p. 109.

R. C. Temple.
REMARKS ON THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

By Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A.
Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from A.D. 1894 to 1903.
(Continued from Vol. LII, page 224.)

III.

Brown’s Andaman Islanders: System of writing the Language.

I now turn to Mr. Brown’s observations on the languages and their transcription. In Appendix B (pp. 495-7) he gives an account of his “spelling of Andamanese words,” and he summarises his explanation by a statement more suu: “in writing the words of the Andaman languages I have used a slightly modified form of the ‘Anthropos’ Alphabet of Father Schmidt, which I consider to be by far the most scientific alphabet for writing the languages of primitive peoples.” I propose to examine this reason for throwing over the method propounded by the late A.J. Ellis and adopted by Mr. E. H. Man, myself and others for half a century.

Mr. Brown gives first the consonants printed thus:—

\[
\begin{align*}
  k & \quad g & \quad y & \quad \mathcal{V} \\
  \delta & \quad j & \quad \hat{n} & \quad t & \quad d & \quad n & \quad l & \quad r \\
  p & \quad b & \quad w & \quad m
\end{align*}
\]

It will be perceived that we have here three that are diacritically marked \( \delta \) \( j \) \( \hat{n} \) and not used in the Roman script at all; also an invented \( \mathcal{V} \), though it is used by other phonologists. It is explained thus: “the letter \( \mathcal{V} \) is used for the nasalised guttural stop (\( ng \) in English) which should always be written with one letter, since it is a single consonant, quite distinct from the double consonant \( ng \) of ‘ungodly.’” There are, however, three ways of pronouncing \( ng \) in English as in ‘singer,’ ‘finger’ and ‘ungodly.’ These on Mr. Brown’s system would be written \( \mathcal{V} \)\( er \), \( \mathcal{V} \)\( ger \) and ungodly. The \( ng \) in the last is not a double consonant, but two separate collocated consonants. In native Indian scripts double consonants (i.e., two collocated consonants, the inherent vocal of the first of which is stopped) are written by a ligature, whereas two collocated consonants are each written out in full. The almost universal guttural nasal, written by a separate character in native Indian scripts, is so common in East Eastern Languages that its existence has had to be faced in official scripts. The Malay States Government writes it \( ng \), and where \( g \) follows it the official English script writes \( ngy \).

Mr. Brown would write it \( \mathcal{V}g \). Would he, however, become more intelligible to the English reader in a general book such as this? Is it really more ‘scientific,’ except for phonologists?

We next come to the more difficult subject of palatals and dentals. Here Mr. Brown writes: “the letter \( \hat{n} \) stands for a palatalised \( n \), something like the sound in French ‘agneau.’” But why use \( \hat{n} \) for this palatalised \( n \), when \( \hat{n} \) is not only available in many European languages, but has been long established and actually adopted for this very purpose by the French Geographical Society? Why also print it, as Mr. Brown does, in a line by itself, as if it did not belong to \( \delta \) and \( j \)? The palatal \( n \) exists in English, though it is not specially marked in the script, in such words as \( nude \), \( numeral \), etc.

Then Mr. Brown writes: “The \( \delta \) and \( j \), which, in the ‘Anthropos’ Alphabet represent the sounds in English ‘church,’ and ‘judge,’ respectively, should I think really be written \( t’ \) and \( d’ \). The \( t’ \) is a palatalised \( t \), as heard in ‘Tuesday,’ whereas the \( \delta \) is fricative, often regarded as a compound of \( t \) and \( sh \). It is not always easy to distinguish \( t’ \) from \( \delta \) and \( d’ \) from \( j \), but I believe the Andamanese sounds are really \( t’ \) and \( d’ \) and this is to some extent confirmed by the fact that they have no \( s \), \( z \), \( sk \) or \( zh \) in their languages. I have used the \( \delta \) and \( j \) because former writers had written these sounds, \( ch \) and \( j \), and it seemed worth while to make some sacrifice of scientific exactness in order to avoid too great a divergence in spelling.
from previous workers in the same field." Some of the above paragraphs I do not understand and it seems to me that the argument is a result of mixing up two classes of palatals.

The palatals are the most difficult of the consonants to deal with. They are the most indefinite of the consonantal sounds, because they depend on the mode of speech: whether one uses the flat of the tongue or its tip or its tip curled over in speaking. E.g., the Englishman's tendency is to use the tip, the American's to use the flat, retaining thus the old English tendency. The result is that the two countries do not produce the same sounds for the same consonants, and what is more readily noticeable the same sounds for the same vowels. This is to say that the classes of surds that in "English" are written ch and t, with their respective sonants, are not pronounced in the same way in England and in America, nor are the vowels that accompany them. The consonants written r and l are also equally affected and are not pronounced in the same way in the dialects of the two countries.

Then there are the "fricatives" represented in English by the surds s, sh and th and their sonants, which are so close to the palatals that they are in many tongues hardly distinguishable and in some not at all. E.g., A Tamil speaking 'English' will say 'sea-chick' as alternative to 'sea-sick', a habit clearly visible in Tamil versions of the 'Sanskrit' script. The Eastern European has always a difficulty here, as shown by their scripts and their method of writing their languages in 'Latin' characters, and so have the speakers of the Dravidian languages of India. English has none.

Lastly there are the dentals, varying greatly according to the use of the palate or the teeth combined with the flat, tip or turn over of the tongue in pronunciation. So that one gets a 'hard' (turned back tongue) and 'soft' (flat of tongue) palatal t and d, as in Sanskrit, or a 'hard' (tip of tongue) and 'soft' (flat of tongue) palato-dental t and d, as in English. Combined with a purely liquid consonant, y, the soft palatal and palato-dental t and d tend to become pure palatal of the ch and j class. E.g., in English "picture, grandeur, 'honest Injun.'" In some languages, e.g., those derived from the Indian Prakrits, the hard palatal sonant (d) spoken with turned back tongue is so little distinguishable in pronunciation from a hard palatal r that they are often written in vernacular scripts as alternatives for each other.

Three observations stand out as the result of such considerations:

1. The two classes of palatals recorded in various recognised scripts in various forms represented in English by ch and j and by t and d are often so close that the boundaries between them are indefinable.

2. It is not practicable, except perhaps for purely phonetical purposes, to try and do more than generally indicate them on paper.

3. Everything language so varies from its sisters in methods of pronunciation—even every speaker of it from his neighbours (the very formation of the roof of a mouth, of its teeth, and of its tongue, is enough to make a difference in the sounds individuals utter)—that it is not practicable, to achieve more, for any but specialised readers, than a general indication in any one language of the words of another.

It is, therefore, not necessary to go beyond one's script or language to show another reader of it, except in a few instances, how a particular people talks. One cogent reason is that unless that reader has special knowledge of the reference to another language it is useless to refer him to it. It is useless to tell an English reader, not educated ad hoc, that a is pronounced as in German and final n or m as in French, unless he is familiar with those languages—even assuming that the sounds of those letters are constant in them.

The following remarks make clear how dangerous it is to make this kind of comparison. In Alphabets of Foreign Languages transcribed into English (R.G.S. Technical Series : No. 2, 1921), Lord Edward Gleichan and Mr. J. H. Reynolds show that the nasals of French are written in many different ways in French script (p. 30), thus:—
To return to Mr. Brown’s remarks on the palatals. At the end of the remarks quoted above he practically charges his predecessors with being unscientific. But is he now himself scientific? By considering that ſ and ё (the old ch and j) should “really be written t’ and d’ he is confusing two distinct sets of consonantal sounds that used to be called palatals and palato-dentals; viz., ch and j, and t and d. This judgment is confirmed by his explanation.

The palatals and the palato-dentals both soft and hard have for ages been recognised by native writers of the Indian languages, and the Devanagari script for Sanskrit and the Prakrits and practically all their numerous offsprings have series of letters to represent what have long been transliterated by English writers by ch (latterly and not unwisely by c), j, š; t, d, n; ſ, ſ, ſ. The Devanagari t, d, n are obviously Mr. Brown’s t’, d’, n’, though he has clearly used n’ for the Devanagari š. No native of India would have made such a mistake, nor would an Indian ever mix up ch, j with any kind of t and d. I cannot, therefore, admit “the scientific accuracy” of using n’ for š to represent agneau or nude.

Considering again ё and j borrowed from Pater Schmidt’s Anthropos Alphabet, is there any real necessity for such a borrowing by an Englishman writing a book in English about the people of a British possession? I do not see Mr. Brown’s point, though I can understand a European continental scholar, like Pater Schmidt, cutting, by new letters such as ё and j, the Gordian knot offered by the continental attempts to represent the sounds written, ch and j in English, when the unfortunate investigator is faced with a jumble as the following in Continental scripts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Pronunciation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch, k, s, th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ė</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cc</td>
<td>ch, kk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>k, sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>j, ĝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>h, hy, i, kh, 1zh²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is some confusion here between consonants, just as there is in English itself. In the Teutonic Languages, of which English is one, the confusion is somewhat greater. The main Teutonic Languages are German, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Icelandic, and then we get pronunciations as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Pronunciation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>s, k, ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>k, kh, gh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chs</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dj</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Pronunciation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>s, k, ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>sch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chs</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dj</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Gaelic, Irish, German ch.
2 French j.
We now begin to see something of the trouble over ch, j and sh that develops so strongly in the Slavonic Languages further East. The main Slavonic and Baltic Languages are Russian, Ruthenian (Ukrainian), Serb, Bohemian (Cesky), Polish, Lithuanian, Lettish. In these the confusion of method of writing simple English ch and j is almost astonishing, as will be seen from the table below, for we get letters and pronunciations as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>rzh(^4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>rzh(^4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>ch, ty, t(^2)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ě</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čh</td>
<td>ch, kh</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cz</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>şh</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dj</td>
<td>dy, d(^3)</td>
<td>sch</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>j, dz</td>
<td>shch</td>
<td>shch, sht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dž</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dž</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>džh</td>
<td>dsh</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>zh(^4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>zh(^4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gj</td>
<td>dy, d</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>zh(^4), z(^2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we see the confusion of consonant representation which led to the adoption of č, j, etc., and whence that peculiar form came. The fact is a good deal of the Latin script adopted for the Slavonic, Baltic and Eastern European Languages is quite recent and still unsettled, and those who devised it have not well distinguished between the various kinds of palatals. They failed to be scientific, and I cannot see why it should be 'scientific' to follow them.

To continue Mr. Brown's lucubrations: "The remaining consonants may be pronounced as in English. I have not distinguished between different varieties of the consonants l, r, t, d, k, and g. Further I have not distinguished between p and ř (the labial fricative). Many of the words of the Northern languages that I have written with a p are pronounced with a ř sound." Here I would remark that so far as my knowledge goes, and also Mr. Man's, ř is not known in the South Andaman.

Passing on to the vowels I must quote Mr. Brown in full: "The vowels are

\[
\text{i} \quad \text{u} \\
\text{e} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{ĕ} \\
\text{ę} \quad \text{ą} \\
\]

"These may be pronounced as follows:—

i, intermediate between, the vowels of 'it' and 'eat.'
e, as the vowel in 'say'
g, as the g in 'error' or the g in 'Mary.'
g, as the g in man.
a, as the a in French 'pas.'

g, as the g in 'path.'

\(^3\) t\(^1\), d\(^1\), z\(^\prime\) represent very soft sounds, whence clearly Pater Schmidt's r\(^1\), d\(^1\), n\(^1\) copied by Mr. Brown.

\(^4\) The French ž.
-o, as the vowel in 'not' or in 'nought.'
-ow, as in 'go.'
-u, as in 'fool.'
-ö, nearly as the German ö.

"I have not attempted to distinguish all the different varieties of the vowel sounds that are found in the different dialects. Slightly different but closely related sounds are represented by the same letter."

On these statements I have to remark that apparently Mr. Brown has rearranged the system of representing the Andamanese vowels by introducing new ones into the Latin script e, a, and o, of which a, e, and o would certainly be taken when in script for italicised vowels by printers, and are therefore innovations of doubtful value on that account. Next, he does not distinguish between long and short vowels, apparently of set purpose. E.g., he writes "e as the e in 'error' or the a in 'Mary'": "o as the vowels in 'not' or in 'ought.' Thus in South Andamanese he would not distinguish the a in alaba, a kind of tree and that in dake, don't: or between the two e's in emej, a kind of tree: or between the i in iyadigre, did-see, and that in pid, hair: or between the four kinds of o in boigoli, European; job, a basket; polike, does-dwell; and the two o's in logo, a shoulder, wrist: or between the two u's in bukura a kind of tree. He ignores altogether the diphthongs in daike, does-understand, chopawa, narrow and chau, body (the au in the first is short and in the latter long in South Andamanese), and in boigoli, European. Can one accept Mr. Brown as a trustworthy guide to language in view of these remarks?

The last quotation from him to be given here is: "Although I had acquired some knowledge of phonetics before I went to the Andamans, as a necessary part of the preliminary training of an ethnologist, yet it was not really sufficient to enable me to deal in a thoroughly scientific manner with the problems of Andamanese phonetics, and my further studies of the subject give me reason to believe that my phonetic analysis of the Andaman languages was not as thorough as it might have been." As a matter of fact he has merely succeeded in puzzling students, not in helping them.5

I now propose to give some account of the history of the script adopted for writing Andamanese by "former writers" for whose sake Mr. Brown has been willing "to make some sacrifices, of scientific exactness." The first person to attempt to 'write' Andamanese seriously was Mr. E. H. Man, and in this attempt I joined him in 1876, bringing to the task an extensive knowledge of what was then known as the Hunterian System of romanization, and an acquaintance with Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam among Dravidian languages, with Burmese and Talaing among Indo-Chinese languages, with Hindi, Hindustani and Persian of the Indo-Aryan languages, and some Sanskrit. I mention this fact to show that I was then no novice at hearing and recording an Oriental language or even a "new" unwritten

5 Mr. Man writing to me about Mr. Brown's transliteration says: "(Appendix B: pp. 495-6) Mr. Brown's choice of a system for representing the sounds in the Andamanese languages could scarcely be more unfortunate, and even if it were not faulty and defective, it is quite unsuitable for English and American students, whatever it may be for others. He gives e as the sound of a in say, and e as the e in 'error' or as the a in 'Mary.' Yet he considers it necessary to have a to represent the sound of a in 'French pea' and a to represent the o in path: but g has to serve for the vowel in not as well as for the sound in nought. No provision is made for many sounds common in Andamanese. And then why represent such a word as chilanga yb ëala Y a. Shades of Ellis!"

6 Sir William Hunter in reality merely modified Sir William Jone's system of 1794.
tongue, and I had paid special attention to script and pronunciation. I prevailed on Mr. Man to adopt the Hunterian system for his records, and he accordingly rewrote the very extensive notes he had already recorded. That was the first stage. Later on we both went to England and consulted Mr. A. J. Ellis,—sat at his feet in fact,—and on his very experienced advice and under his direct guidance an alphabet for recording Andamanese (and also Nicobarese) was drawn up, which has since become well known. This is the Alphabet Mr. Brown sets aside as unsuitable.

In 1882 Mr. Ellis, on retiring from his second occupancy of the presidential chair of the Philological Society, drew up a Report on the Languages of the South Andaman Island. In the course thereof he explained the circumstances in which he came to produce it. For the present purpose I extract the following remarks (p. 48):—"I . . . . merely endeavoured to complete the alphabet on the lines which Mr. Man had used. These had been laid down, as we have seen by Mr. Temple, and were to some extent Anglo-Indian, especially in the use of a, not only for a in America, but for a, u, o in the colloquial pronunciation of assumption. A minimum change was thus produced . . . . The following is the alphabet finally settled by Mr. Man and myself, with examples in Andamanese and Nicobarese. This scheme is found to work well, and will be employed in all Andaman words in this Report. It will be observed that the South Andaman language is rich in vowel sounds, but is totally deficient in hisses j, th, s, sh and the corresponding buzzes v, dh, z, zh. Of course this alphabet has been constructed solely upon Mr. Man’s pronunciation of the languages, and hence the orthography might require modification on a study of the sounds as produced by the natives themselves. This refers especially to the distinctions à à, a à, au àu, o o, o and the two senses of i, e, according as they occur in closed or open syllables. But as the natives understand Mr. Man readily, his pronunciation cannot be far wrong."

To these remarks Mr. Ellis appended the following foot note (p. 48):—"In the following comparative list Mr. Temple’s symbols stand first (and with one exception are roman), those here adopted stand second (and all in italics):—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple</th>
<th>Ellis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a, ã, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ã</td>
<td>ã, ã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>è</td>
<td>è, è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o, õ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Among the linguistic facts, with which I was well acquainted, was the difficulty some Dravidians have in distinguishing between sibilants and palatals and their habit of mixing them up. They are also troubled, like the Germans, in distinguishing between surds and sonants—between t and d, ch and j, s and z, p and b. Many Indian Aryans also mix up ch and s, f and z. So that when I heard the same difficulty in Andamanese speech I was able to deal with it. When some of the Andamanese had begun to learn a little English I tried them with such words as slash, slash, and noted carefully their attempts to say them. In trying to do so they put the flat of the tongue too close to the roof of the mouth, hesitated, and generally gave it up. They had no difficulty with the vowels in these words.

8 Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island, arranged by Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., F.F.A., twice President of the Philological Society, from the papers of E. H. Man, Esq., Assistant Superintendent of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Lieut. R. C. Temple of the Bengal Staff Corps, Cantonment Magistrate at Ambala, Punjab. [Reprinted (1914) from the Eleventh Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, delivered by Mr. Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., F.F.A., on his retiring from the chair, 19 May 1882, and contained in the Transactions of that Society for 1882-3-4, pp. 44-73. The original pagination is retained.]
"In Mr. Temple’s writing, short ạ, e, i, o, u in open syllables were not distinguished from the long sounds, and the portion of stress was rarely marked. I adopted his short a e i o u and made the long of them ạ, ē, ĩ, ọ, ū. Then adopting his ă, ō I made them short and long sounds respectively ă, ŏ, and thus got rid of the exclusively English aw." Thus arose the alphabet that until Mr. Brown wrote was the standard for writing Andamanese.

With these remarks I now give Mr. Ellis’s—

**Alphabet for writing the South Andaman Language.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIGN</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>SOUTH ANDAMAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>idea, cut</td>
<td>əbə ba, kind of tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>cur (with untrilled) r</td>
<td>bā, small: yā'ba, not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>Ital, casa</td>
<td>elā kā, region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>dāke, don’t (imperative).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā'</td>
<td>fathom</td>
<td>jā'rau, name of a tribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td>ĕmej, name of a tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā&quot;</td>
<td>chaotic</td>
<td>pū'dre, burn-did.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə</td>
<td>pair</td>
<td>əla, pig-arrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>lid</td>
<td>īg-bā'dig-re, sea-did.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī</td>
<td>police</td>
<td>yā'di, turtle; pād, hair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>indolent</td>
<td>bō'goli, European.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>õ</td>
<td>pole</td>
<td>jōb, basket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>pot</td>
<td>pōl'ke, dwell-does.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō</td>
<td>awful</td>
<td>tō'go, wrist; shoulder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>influence</td>
<td>bū'kura, name of a tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŭ</td>
<td>pool</td>
<td>pū'd-re, burn-did.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>bite</td>
<td>dāi-ke, understand-does.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>chōpa:r, narrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àu</td>
<td>rouse</td>
<td>chā'u, body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò</td>
<td>boil</td>
<td>bō'goli, European.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td>bād, hut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>church</td>
<td>chāk, ability; mich'al'en, why; rā:ch, Ross Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>dip</td>
<td>dāga, large.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gap</td>
<td>gōb, bamboo utensil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hag</td>
<td>ḥā, ho l auhe,  etcetera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>judge</td>
<td>jā'bag, bad; ĕmej, name of a tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>king</td>
<td>kā'gal-ke, ascend-does.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>lap</td>
<td>lōg, navigable channel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>mūgu, face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nun</td>
<td>nāu-ke, walk-does; rō'pan, toad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>Fr. gagner</td>
<td>ūd, more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>bring</td>
<td>ngi'ji, kinsmen; erkē'dang'ke, in trees, search does.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng̩</td>
<td>finger</td>
<td>ngā, then.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pap</td>
<td>pād, hair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̩</td>
<td>rest</td>
<td>rab, necklace of netting; rā'ta, wooden arrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̩̩</td>
<td>torrent</td>
<td>rā'ta, sea-water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ś̩</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>not found</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The syllable under stress in any word is shown by placing a turned period (‘) after a long vowel, or the consonant following a short vowel, in every word of more than one syllable.

As it is not usual to find capitals cast for the accented letters, the capital at the beginning of a word is for uniformity in all cases indicated by prefixing a direct period, as .bal'awa.

Notes.

(1) ā accented before a consonant. It is the English a in mat, as distinguished from ã, which is the short of ã or Italian a in anno.

(2) e accented in closed syllables, as e in bed. In open syllables unaccented as in chaotic or Italian padre, amore.

(3) No vanishing sound of i as in English say.

(4) No vanishing sound of u as in English know.

(5) Mr. Ellis has “German, haus.”

(6) the h here is sounded: h is sounded after a vowel by continuing breath through the position of the mouth, while remitting the voice.

(7) When ng is followed by a vowel it must run on to that vowel only, and not be run on to the preceding vowel either as in ‘finger’ or in ‘singer’: thus, bērīnɡa-da, good, not bēringa-da, bēring-ga-da or bērinɡa-da. It is not only when no vowel follows that ng is run on to the preceding vowel.

(8) ŏg is a palatalised ng and bears the same relation to it as ţ bears to n. To pronounce ţ attempt to say n and y simultaneously; to pronounce ťg do the same for ng and y.

(9) this r is soft and gentle, with no sensible ripple of the tongue, as very frequently in English, but not merely vocal.

(10) this ţ is strongly trilled, as r in Scotch or Italian r or Spanish rr.

(11) the Andamanese cannot hiss and hence they substitute ch for s; thus, Rüh for Rūs, the Hindi corruption of Ross [Island].

(12) this ts is a post-aspirator t, like the Indian th and quite different from the English th. Hence the Greek spiritus asper is imitated by a turned comma. The sound ts is common in Irish English, and may often be heard in England.

It will be perceived that Mr. Ellis’s Alphabet was devised with a complete knowledge of what he was doing, and that it has one great advantage. It marks accent in the simplest way practicable. The importance of doing this is not always appreciated. Many years ago I recollect talking to an educated Madrasi gentleman who knew English quite well, but was at times hazy as to the fall of English accents. We were discussing agricultural matters, when he suddenly puzzled my ear by talking of what I thought were ‘blocks.’ Soon, however, I perceived that he meant ‘bullocks’, on which word he had misplaced the accent, saying bullocks in place of bull’ocks. In many languages accent changes the meaning altogether of homonyms: e.g., in English desert and desert.

It is Mr. Ellis’s Alphabet that has been the basis on which Mr. Man, Mr. Portman myself and others have worked. I say ‘basis’ because, simple as it is, it has been beyond
the power of Indian presses and modifications have had to be made. Still it has been the form in which Andamanese has been reduced to writing for half a century, so that it has become as it were, the Andamanese script. To my mind it requires a much stronger linguist than Mr. Brown to upset it.

The remainder of Mr. Brown’s remarks are on the use of hyphens. He says: “in writing Andamanese words I have followed the practice of separating by hyphens the affixes from the stems in each word.” Here I agree with him as far as linguistic works are concerned; for all other purposes Mr. Ellis has pointed out that berīngada, good, abjad-ījōgada, spinsters, and so on, are in speech one word and not split up into affix and stem.

Before parting with this phase of my remarks on the Andamanese, I will quote again from Mr. Ellis (pp. 51–52): “the following, written by Mr. Temple in July, 1881, on finally returning the MSS. to Mr. Man, sums up his opinion of the nature of the South and other Andaman languages: ‘The Andaman languages are one group. They are like, that is, connected with no other group. They have no affinities by which we might infer their connection with any other known group. The word-construction (the etymology of the old grammarians) is two-fold; that is, they have affixes and prefixes to the root, of a grammatical nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes, they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues. In adding their prefixes, they follow the well-defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other’s grammatical functions. The collocation of words (or syntax, to follow the old nomenclature) is that of agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this. The only way in which they affect the syntax is to render possible the frequent use of long compounds almost polysynthetic in their nature, or, to put it in another way, of long compounds, which are sentences in themselves. But the construction of these words is not synthetic, but agglutinative. They are, as words either compound nouns or verbs, taking their place in the sentence and having the same relation to the other words in it, as they would were they to be introduced into a sentence in any other agglutinative language. There are, of course, many peculiarities of grammar in the Andaman group, and even in each member of the group, but these are only such as are incidental to the grammar of other languages, and do not affect its general tenor. I consider, therefore, that the Andaman languages belong to the agglutinative stage of development, and are distinguished from other groups by the presence in full development of the principle of prefixed and affixed grammatical additions to the roots of words.”

On my use of the term ‘affix’ in the above quotation Mr. Ellis remarked in a footnote, p. 51: “Mr. Temple, following the usual etymological definition given in dictionaries, here uses affix in place of suffix. In what follows I shall adopt the practice of Prof. S. S. Haldeman in his Affixes in their Origin and Application, Philadelphia, 1865, p. 27: ‘Affixes are additions to roots, stems and words, serving to modify their meaning and use. They are of two kinds, prefixes, those at the beginning, and suffixes, those at the end of the word bases to which they are affixed. Several affixes occur in long words like in-com-pre-hen-s-i-b-il-it-y, which has three prefixes and five suffixes.’ Affixes also include infixes (or, as Prof. Haldeman calls them, interfixes), where the modifying letter or syllable is introduced into the middle of the base, as in the Semitic and other languages.”

To this I may add that in all subsequent writings I adopted affix as a generic term, with prefix, infix and suffix as specific terms to describe particular forms of affixes.

(To be continued.)
THE JAT OF BALUCHISTAN.

BY DENYS BRAY, C.S.I.

(Chieflly from material collected by R. B., Dīvān Jamiat Rāi, M. Aṣīz-uddān, Taksildar of Naṣīrābād, and L. Mūl Rām, Taksildar of Sībī.)

1. Numbers.—3,753 Jats were enumerated at the census of 1901, being found chiefly in Kalāt (3,245) and Sībī (491), with a few odd families in Quetta and Zhōb. The following notes apply more especially to the Sībī Jats, from whom most of the material was obtained.

2. Origin.—At that census the Jats were classified as a clan of the Jāt race, probably on the ground that their language is Jātki; but though this net is possibly wide enough to hold them, the two names Jāt and Jāt must be very carefully distinguished. They usually pose as Balōch, much to the disgust of the Balōch himself. They hark back in approved fashion to Chākār Khān, the great Rind, and attribute their drop in the social scale either to their refusal to support him in his struggle with the Lāshāris, or to their ancestral profession as camel-drivers, from which they are supposed to derive their name. According to Balōch tradition, so far from having dropped in the social scale, they have gone up a step or two, degraded though their condition is. For in the old days they were little better than savages, living unwashed, unshaven, unclothed, partly on their camels and partly on their women—their two sources of livelihood to this day. As for their absurd claims to kinship, the Balōch say that Mr Chākār Khān himself had to warn them of the inevitable consequences of such impertinence, and Heaven proved him in the right by wiping out ten thousand of them in next day’s battle. But though it seems clear that their claims to blood relationship are really preposterous, it is equally clear that their connexion with the Balōch is of long standing. In the old ballads they are styled Rauchi or Rāvchī.

3. Lack of organisation.—They can hardly be said to have any organisation at all. The bonds between their various sections, of which thirteen were recorded at the census of 1901, are of the frailest, and in the individual section it is a case of kīrī kīrī sardārēn, or one tent—one chieftain, as the proverb says. Latterly they have begun to awake to the idea that union is not without strength, and are beginning to follow, though very gingerly, the lead of their mōtabares, notably of Shēr Khān among the Barhānis and Gulzār in the Bugtī country. But if each man is a chieftain in his own tent, they are a cringing lot to the outside world, submitting with whispering humbleness to any indignity put upon them. Even among themselves a flood of abuse or a cuff with the hand or a blow with a shoe is the utmost limit of their valour.

4. Nomadic life.—Winter and summer they are on the move in search of grazing for their camels, carrying with them a mat-tent, a hand-mill, some pots and pans and a few sticks of furniture. Being notorious evil-livers and expert camel-lifters, they are not allowed to camp close to a village unless they have taken service with some big man.

5. Occupation of the men.—They are camel-breeders, camel-grazers and carriers. The camel indeed is their main staff of life. It supplies them with milk and with hair for making sacking and blankets, while the hair of the tail is twisted into ropes. When the camel trade is slack, they go out as day-labourers in the bazaars, or cut crops for the zamindārs, or hawk about their home-made mats of dwarf-palm leaves. The large stave (laţh) they carry has come to be regarded as the badge of their race.

6. Occupation of the women.—The women have to do most of the household work; they make and wash the clothes, bring in water and fuel, milk the camels, cook the food on a pan (tawd) over three stones, and pitch and strike the tents, while much of their spare time is spent in making dwarf-palm mats, which find a ready sale among the tribesmen.

1 This article was contributed to the Journal in 1919, but was unfortunately mislaid until a recent date.—Ed.
7. Recognised prostitution.—Not that a woman’s life is one long round of toil and moil. On the march she takes her ease on a camel, while her lord trudges along on foot. The wife of one of the well-to-do is loaded with jewels from top to toe: rings (bula), pins, pendants (buldaj), all of gold in her nose, golden rings and pendants in her ears, shells in her hair, a silver necklace round her neck, silver banglest on her arms and legs. This expensive enhancement of her charms, which is made complete among several sections by a tattoo mark between the eyebrows, is not intended for the selfish gratification of her husband: it is an outlay of capital which is expected to bring in a goodly return. It is a common saying that a tribesman who puts a camel out to graze with a Jat, becomes thereby the bhötâr or master of the Jat’s wife. He comes along every now and then to have a look at his camel and more than a look at the lady of the house. As he comes in, the Jat goes out. On entering the bhötâr leaves his shoes or stick outside the tent. If the Jat on his return finds the shoes or stick still outside, he shuffles with his feet or gives a discreet cough. If this hint is insufficient, he shouts out:—“Master! the horse has got loose!” or “Master! a dog has run off with your shoes!”—a hint too broad to be mistaken. Should a visitor come along when the Jat is absent, his presence in the tent will be advertised by his shoes outside or by some obliging old go-between who greets the husband with the stock euphemism “There’s a stallion after the mare!” Though this is regarded as an ancient and honourable custom, and the husband, we are assured, takes pride in the conquests of his wife, it has of course a mercenary side to it. The bhötâr makes presents in one form or another; if he is a big man in the tribe, he can of course help the family in a number of ways.

8. Religion.—They profess to be Sunni Muhammadans, but their religious convictions are not very deep-rooted. They don’t keep the Muharram or fast in the Ramzân. But the two Ids are celebrated with much merriment, feasting and singing; these are the only seasons of jollification in the year. They worship no saints and would be hard put to it to explain what the term means. They call in a Mullah for their domestic ceremonies, but if they cannot secure his services, they get on very well without him. Though they don’t believe in Sâyyâds, they are not above being inoculated against small-pox by Sâyyad Shàhi of Dha’dar. If there is an actual case of small-pox in the house, some damsels and lads are fed to the full on the eighth day, and the former pour water on the patient. The womenfolk are supposed to keep up their singing till the patient recovers.

9. Child-birth.—In the case of painful labour they dip the beard of some pious old man in water, and help on the delivery by rubbing the water on the woman’s belly and making her drink some of it down.

10. Circumcision of females.—Like all Muhammadans, they circumcise their male children, usually between the age of three and seven. But having thus done all that religion demands of them, they carry the practice further and circumcise their females. Of the circumcision of females two accounts are given. According to the one, a girl is circumcised when she is twelve or thereabouts by an old nurse or midwife, a few female relatives being called in for the ceremony, which passes off very quietly. According to the other, a bride is circumcised within the bridal chamber on the bridal night by a midwife who performs the operation (on the clitoris apparently) with a razor, and puts ashes on the wound. The explanation given is that they are reduced to thus sprinkling the bridal couch with blood, in order to prove that the bride is—what in this tribe she generally is not—a virgin.

11. Marriage age, etc.—They are perforce endogamous, as nobody, except possibly a Lód, would dream of giving his daughter to one of them in marriage. Though boys are sometimes married when quite young, girls are not married till they reach puberty. As they themselves put it, it would be a waste of money to marry a wife who is too young for
cohabitation and, what is more important, for the hard work of the household. It appears to be not unusual for an adult woman married to a minor to cohabit with his father, though secrecy has to be observed; but general illicit intercourse is so common that it is hard to say whether this incest deserves the name of custom or not.

12. *Betrothal.*—Marriages are often fixed up by an interchange of girls. An ordinary betrothal is arranged by the lad’s father sending a couple of mōtabars or men of standing to ask for the girl’s hand and negotiate about the bride-price. If the overtures are successful, the lad is taken to the girl’s house in a large procession, composed of four mōtabars and a throng of kinswomen and other females, who carry a red silk wrapper (*sūhād*), a red shirt (*kurṭā*) and a silver finger-ring for the bride, as well as some sugar and henna. They come tripping along, singing and dancing while a drummer (*langa*) beats the drum lustily. On arrival at the house they dress the bride, distribute the sugar and apply the henna to the hands of both bride and groom. The bride-price is handed over, and the betrothal is then complete and as binding as a betrothal can be among folk of such loose morals.

13. *Bride-price.*—The bride-price is sometimes given in cash, rising from an insignificant sum to one or two hundred rupees, but more usually it takes the form of one to three she-camels. If the girl dies before marriage, the bride-price is refunded; if the lad dies, his heirs can claim the girl, and pocket her bride-price on her marriage.

14. *Marriage.*—For seven days before the wedding the bride and groom are fed—no doubt for their better fertilisation—on flour which has been ground in both houses by a woman who is the sole wife of a loving husband. On the wedding day—preferably during the Íd, but not a Tuesday, Wednesday or Saturday—the groom sets out with a procession of kinsfolk, the women singing and dancing to the beat of a drum. On their arrival at the bride’s house a mixture of bread and sugar, called *chārīt*, is distributed among the company, who are feasted at the expense of the groom’s father. A *Mullah* reads the *nikah* according to the ordinary Muhammadan rites for a fee of one rupee, and the bridal couple retire to a *kirt* or mat-tent, which has been pitched for them some little distance from the encampment. Here they remain for seven days, only visited by a relative who brings them their food. On the first morning the bride’s garment, stained with the supposed tokens of virginity, is exposed to view. If a *Mullah*’s services cannot be procured, they are simply dispensed with; one of the grey-beards performing the ceremony by chanting any Balochi or Jātki song he happens to remember.

15. *Marriage of widows.*—A widow returns to her parents and has perfect liberty to arrange her future life just as she pleases—whether as widow, mistress or wife. If she prefers to marry and can find the man to marry her, betrothal and marriage take place at one and the same time. The bride-price, which is only half the usual amount, goes to her parents.

16. *Buxfoonery at the ceremony.*—The *Mullah* only gets eight annas or half the usual marriage-fee, which seems unfair considering all the indignities he has to put up with. For at the marriage of a widow the women regard the *Mullah* as a proper butt for the broadest of jokes; they sew up his clothes with matting, and sometimes even take off his trousers and leave him naked, befooling and abusing him mercilessly.

17. *Absence of divorce.*—Divorce is unknown. It would indeed be a little out of place, seeing that the husband takes at least as keen and kindly an interest as his wife in her amours. It is hardly necessary to go as far as one of the correspondents on the subject, who finds the explanation for the absence of divorce in the charitable conclusion that the happiness of his wife is the first and last ambition of a *Jat*. Now and then no doubt a husband may think that matters are being carried a bit too far, especially if the paramour is a mere *Jat* like himself; but a small douceur will soon smooth down his ruffled feelings.
18. Burial.—They bury their dead in the usual way with the head to the north, the feet to the south and the face towards the west. If they can get hold of a Mullah to read the service, so much the better; his fee is only eight annas or a rupee. The bereaved family are fed by the kin for three days, during which their ordinary occupations are suspended in token of mourning. On the fourth day a little dried juvad (andropogon sorghum) is parched and distributed with sugar. Visits of condolence are paid by the friends, who are feasted but contribute eight annas or so to the alms for the dead.

19. Inheritance.—Only male agnates inherit. First the son—(sons in equal shares, sons and deceased sons' sons per stirpes); then the father; then the brother, and in default of brother, the nephew; and then the uncle, and in default of uncle, the cousin—this forms the general order of precedence.

20. Maintenance of women.—Widows, daughters and the male issue of daughters are excluded from the inheritance. Not that the widow is part of the inheritance as elsewhere, for her bride-price, should she choose to remarry, goes to her parents (§ 15). Like the daughter, who is, however, part of the inheritance, she is entitled to maintenance from the deceased's estate until she remarries. Inchastity, needless to say, does not cancel her rights in this respect.

A NOTE ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF SALBARDI VILLAGE.¹

BY R. B., HIRA LAL, B.A.

Salbardi is a small village with a population of about 300 souls, situated partly in the Betul district and partly in the Amraoti district. It is 44 miles south of Badnur and about the same distance (40 miles) north-east of Amraoti. The portion included in the Betul district contains a natural cavern, inside which is placed a lingam, which is worshipped on the Sivaratri day by thousands of pilgrims, mostly belonging to Berar. The cave is a deep hollow, reached by a circuitous underground passage through a series of precipitous metamorphic rocks. The roof consists of the same material, from which, somehow or other, water oozes out and in small drops slowly falls on the lingam placed beneath it. This is taken by ordinary people to be a miracle, which invests the place with the sanctity it enjoys. In spite of the fact that the passage is a difficult one to cross, obliging the pilgrim to crawl at some points, where the space between two rocks narrows into a small hole just enough to allow the body to pass through, people flock to it and even pay blackmail to the mahadeo for the privilege of getting inside and paying devotion to the Mahadeo inside. An estimate of the crowd on the Sivaratri day may be made from the collections taken by the mahadeo at the entrance. It is about Rs. 800, if not more, when the charge is an anna or two per head. The pilgrims, especially late arrivals, continue to visit the cave for four or five days after the Sivaratri.

Inside the cave all is dark, and one has to go accompanied by a barber with a masal (torch). There are cracks in the rock in some places, whence a little dim light can be seen. The place where Mahadeo is installed is a fairly high hall, which can accommodate 100 or more persons. Adjoining it there is another hall with any amount of guano manure, which the bats furnish. This is called the bar or field, where Mahadeo grows ganja (hemp) and dhatu, both of which crops are invisible to physical eyes. Here also lies his akha where he daily practices his exercise. A long subterranean passage leading towards the north is yet unexplored. Here any number of bats may be seen hiding in the dark. The story about this passage is that once 360 goats were sent down this unknown abyss, and that one of them came out at the Mahadeo shrine at Pachmarhi, about 85 miles away from Saldandi, indicating that the Saldardi Mahadeo is connected with the great Mahadeo of Pachmarhi. There are two passages by which people enter or leave the cave. From one

¹ This note was contributed to the Journal in 1910, but was unfortunately mislaid until a recent date.—Ed.
entrance they get directly into the sanctum, and from another they first reach Mahādeva’s akāshā. The latter is a narrower passage than the former.

The cave, however, is a recent discovery, made within the memory of living men, but Śālbardi contains many ancient remains, probably the oldest that either of the two districts in which it is situated can show. They lie within a space surrounded by high mountains, on one of which the cave described above is situated. Just below this mount flows the river Gaṅgā, on the right side of which there is a Śaiva temple built over a natural lingam. It is known as Tātobā ki Marhī and is built in the medieval Brahmanic style. It is a flat-roofed building, supported on massive pillars and ornamented from outside with figures and carvings. In the Mahāmāndapa a small platform has been recently constructed and is named and worshipped as Tātobā’s Samadhi. It is really the grave of some sādhu, named Tātobā, who lived and died there; but the temple has existed there since about the tenth century A.D. Local traditions identify the place as the hermitage of Vālmiki; and that opposite it, just on the other bank of the Gaṅgā, is pointed out as the one where Sitā after delivery washed her clothes. There are two small cisterns, fed by a natural spring, which are known as Sitā ki Nahāni or Sitā’s bathing place. Kuśa and Lava are believed by the people to have been reared here and to have fought with their uncles Bharata and Satrughna. The numerous mortar-like holes in the rocks are said to be the marks of hoofs of horses, on which the soldiers from Ajodhyā rode. Side by side there is a shrine of Dholam Shāh, a Vali (Musalmān prophet), whose miracles are forgotten. Apparently he was installed by Bābū Khān, dacoit, who made a small fort just above this place, which protected him from the attacks of his enemies. Inside the fort or rather rampart, now much dilapidated, there still stands a hall known as Bābū Khān ki kachahri. It is built from stones, evidently belonging to medieval temples, which Bābū Khān seems to have dismantled, using them for his kachahri. The building is supported on massive pillars, and a side room has a gate, which certainly belonged to a temple, the figure of Gaṅgā being carved above it. There are also other stones with carvings of Hindu gods and goddesses.

A few yards away on high ground, the eye catches a white shrine, very modest in its structure, with no pretensions to antiquity or architecture. It is known as Muni ki Marhī, and is a Mānhāo shrine of a saint, who evidently died there. It is on descending just below this shrine that the traveller finds a contrast. For he suddenly comes upon a Buddhist Vihāra, cut out of one piece of rock, with a sanctum in which there is an image of Buddha, with two persons on either side carrying a whisk. Under the pedestal there is a representation of a Jātaka. Unfortunately somebody has broken off the head of Buddha. In front of the sanctum there is a hall about 18 x 14 feet with two side rooms, and outside there is a verandah 26 x 14 feet, which also has two side rooms, one at each end. This is the oldest place, and it invests Śālbardi with an importance hitherto unknown. A few yards away another monastery on a somewhat grander scale was cut out of solid rock, but for some reason or other it was never completed. It seems to have been abandoned when it was almost complete. The sanctum contains no images and the side rooms of the main hall were not fully carved. Apparently the verandah was first excavated, then the hall, after which the two side rooms and the sanctum, and all the three latter show marks of abandonment.

Buddhism seems to have lingered on in this part of the country till about the 7th or 8th century, and it is possible that these Vihāras, like the cave temple of Bhāndak, may belong to that period. There is however nothing to show that they were not much earlier. On the contrary there are grounds for believing that they belong to a period prior to the seventh century, when the Rashrakūṭas2 of Mālkhed held this part of the country. They

2 A copper-plate dated in the year 631 A.D. of these kings was discovered in Tiwarkhed village, 32 miles from Śālbardi. It records the grant of that village to a Brāhmaṇ, and this clearly proves that this part of the country was under the sway of the Rashrakūṭas.
were Śaivas, and apparently they would not have tolerated the Buddhistic monasteries within their dominions, especially just about the time when Śaṅkarāchārya preached a crusade against Buddhism and succeeded in ousting it from India. Indeed the unfinished state of the second Vihāra indicates precipitate action, apparently brought about by the persecution of the Buddhists, who must have been compelled to leave the place hurriedly. The traditions which have grown up in regard to these places show how keen the persecution was. It could not tolerate the reminiscence of even Buddhistic names. Stories were invented, appropriating all the places as residences of Rāma and Sīva or their retainers. The two monasteries are now known as Ghode ki Pāyagā and Ghode ki Līd or stables of Mahādeo’s horses. The entrances, which have become disintegrated, are stated to have been eaten by the horses for want of sufficient fodder. The unfinished Vihāra is called Ghode ki Līd, because there lies a large quantity of guano, which gives a smell compared by the people to that of horse-dung. These two monasteries are situated in a most picturesque valley surrounded by high mountains, on the fork formed by the rivers Māndū and its tributary, the Gaṅgā. It is just the place which Buddhists would have selected for their Vihāras. Near the village is a sulphur spring containing hot water. A bath in it is supposed to cure skin diseases, but whether the pilgrims are afflicted with them or not, they bathe in it, considering it to be a necessary part of their meritorious performance. One of the peculiarities of this locality is that a strong wind blows throughout the year every day from 8 p.m. to 8 a.m.

A NOTE ON THE WORDS ‘PERTALE’ AND ‘KALNĀDU.’

I. THE WORD pertale like kalnādu occurs in Kannāḍa inscriptions and is one of those whose meaning is not properly understood. It occurs, for instance, in No. 148 of the collection of inscriptions of the Śrīrangapāṭṭana Taluka of the Mysore District, a record belonging to the fourth year of the reign of the Gaṅga king Śatyaśākya Perumāṇaṇgal and is dated the pertaledivasam of the month Mārggasira. Mr. Rice has translated this word as the eighth day (of the fortnight).

The word pertale, or more correctly pegetale, is a compound of the words peg and tale, two words which are common to the Kannāḍa, Malayālam and Tamil languages. The former means the crescent moon, and the latter, the head or the beginning. Hence the compound literally means the head or the beginning of the crescent or the waxing moon. That this derivation is correct, will become patent from the following quotation, wherein the word occurs in a slightly altered form: ‘Aṅit-talaip-pīrāi pāl tiśaṅga Sūrya-grahaṇatti-gāṟu.’ (on the day of the solar eclipse that touched the beginning or the first of the crescent moon in the month of Ami). This passage occurs in an inscription found in the Jalanāṭhesvara temple at Takkōlam and is dated the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Rājākēśarivarman. From the fact that a solar eclipse is mentioned, it becomes quite clear that talaipīrāi (or pirai-talai) refers only to the first of the waxing moon; in other words to the new moon. The English compound ‘new-moon’ conveys almost the same sense as pirai-talai.

Again, in the sixth Canto, entitled the Kaṭalāṇa-kōdai, of that superb Tamil classic epic poem, the Śīlappadigāram, the phrase uuṇať-talai occurs. It is a compound of uuṇať and talai: uuṇať (or uur) means the conjunction of the sun and the moon and might refer to either the new or the full-moon. But in later Tamil works it is generally employed to denote the new moon. The phrase therefore is a paraphrase of the other, pirai-talai.

From the above explanations it is certain that pegetale means the new moon, and not ‘the eighth day’, as has been supposed by Mr. Rice in the document already alluded to.

1 This note was contributed to the Journal in 1910, but was unfortunately mislaid till a recent date.—Ed.
II. The term kalnāḍu occurs in Kannaḍa inscriptions in connection with the death of any person who falls in a battle, is killed in attacking cattle raiders, in hunting wild beasts etc. If the death took place on the battlefield, we see the king sometimes giving the kalnāḍu, in the name of the deceased hero. Generally some relation of the departed person gives it; in a few cases the villagers are seen honouring such a man with a memorial tablet.

Now the word kalnāḍu has been understood by Mr. Rice to mean ‘a stony piece of land’. Adverting to this, he writes, “another interesting term is kalnāḍu, which is not so easy to explain, as it has long been obsolete and only occurs in the oldest inscriptions. So far as the word goes, it means a stony tract. But from the way in which it is used, as signifying the land granted for the support of the family of a man who had fallen in battle, or been otherwise killed in public service, it seems to designate what is now known as ‘Government waste’, that is, land that has not been taken up for cultivation, or having been cultivated has been abandoned.” Dr. Fleet also agrees with Mr. Rice in the interpretation of this word. If this is taken as the signification of the term, hard indeed must be the heart of the king who grants to the family of the man who, in discharge of his duties towards his lord and master, offers even his life, a stony piece of land, or else land that has already been tried for cultivation and abandoned on account of its worthlessness. Such a poor grant to the bereaved members of the family would never be an honest appreciation of the sacrifices of the person killed. If the king were well-meaning, he would certainly disdain to bestow a stony tract of land on the survivors of the deceased. That kalnāḍu does not mean a barren uncultivable land will be clear from what follows.

The word kalnāḍu is a compound of kal and naḍu, two words meaning ‘a stone’ and ‘set up’ or ‘plant’ respectively. Both these words are common to all the Dravidian languages. In Tamil it is kal, in Kannaḍa and Malayālam it is kallu, in Tuḷu also it is kall, in the language of the Tōḍas of Nilgiris it is kare, whereas the Telugu language alone has nādi. Similarly, naḍu, naṭu, neṭu are the different forms of the Tamij term naḍu in the Kannada language, and have the same meaning as in that language, viz., ‘to fix firmly’, ‘to stick or fix in the ground,’ to ‘plant.’ Dr. Kittel gives the following examples, in which this verb occurs:—
‘pāṭuva kaṭṭalendu kalnadallu naṭṭa guṇṭavu’, ‘naṭṭa kambhada hāṇge, diṣṭa-virantu irabeku’ and ‘naṭṭa manakke nīra eṣāda hāṇge,’ in all which instances it is used in exactly the same sense in which it is employed in the compound kalnāḍu. Malayālam has its naḍuqa, (the same as the Tamij naḍuqa, ‘the act of planting’) which means ‘to get into,’ ‘to enter,’ ‘to be pierced or stuck into’: for example, ‘naḍuvaṇnum parippuṇnum sammadikkāde.’ In Telugu it is nādu. Tuḷu also has the same verb to express the idea of planting. Thus we see that the simplest meaning conveyed by the word kalnāḍu is the planting of a stone. Verbal nouns in the Dravidian languages are generally formed by lengthening the initial vowel thus: toḍu, to dig out, toḍu, that which is dug out, a canal; paḍu, to fall in (such as, the teaching of another, under the abuse of another etc), paḍu as in vaḻi-paḍu, worship, kollpaḍu, a conclusion etc.; vidu, to leave, vidu, freedom, or (figuratively, as in some previous instances) heaven. Similarly naḍu, to plant, naḍu, what has been planted. This verbal noun has been misunderstood for the noun nāḍu, ‘a country,’ and hence all the mistakes in the interpretation of the word kalnāḍu.

Tamil literature yields a detailed description of the custom of setting up memorial stones in honour of heroes fallen in battles. Tolkāppiyam, the most ancient grammar and rhetoric of the Tamil language, has a sūtram about kalnāḍu: the purport of it is, that as soon as a man died in battle, a stone is sought out, bathed in holy water, set up in due form, and with praises consistent with the status in life of the deceased. In commenting on this passage, Nachchiṅarkkiyār adds more details and quotes several passages from literary works,

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4 Tolkāppiyam, Porul-adigaram, Sūtram 60, the last four lines of it only, and the commentary thereon of Nachchiṅarkkiyār.
which throw considerable light on the subject. One of these informs us that the stone is set after the name of the hero and the circumstances under which his death occurred are engraved on it. Another illustrative verse tells us that a string (kappu-nāṉ or -nāl, Sans. rakshā-bandhana tantu) is tied round the stone, perfumes sprinkled, incense burnt and plenty of flowers thrown over it. Gāh is smeared on the stone, and it is set up with great pomp in the presence of all the friends and relatives of the deceased. Bards are then invited and paid liberally to sing the praises of the hero. Sometimes a covered stylobate is built round it, called the víra-sālai. These facts are repeated in all subsequent grammars such as Vīraśāliyam, Purapporul-veṭṭā-mālai, and Ilakkaṇa-viṭṭakam etc. The custom of setting a stone could not have existed in the days of the author of that most modern of all grammars, the Ilakkaṇa-viṭṭakam. The curious custom is often referred to in ancient Tamil works, such as Kuru, Pattu-pattu, Puramundu, Kallāṭam, etc.

From what we saw above, it appears that something like pāja was offered to these stones. If then a simple phrase such as kal-nāṭu gotam, ivu tamutu irbbar kulgal etc., occurs without any land grant with it, we must apparently understand that a decent burial, with an inscribed memorial tablet, was given to the dead man. If, on the other hand, a land grant is made to the members of the family of the deceased, perhaps it was meant for the upkeep of the pāja to the stone. Kalnāṭu then passes to another stage of connotation, and means that which is given for setting up the stone. Anyhow kalnāṭu does not mean the stony tract of land, as Mr. Rice understands.

1. THE KONKAN AND THE KONKANI

2. MONT D'ELI.

In his review of the Konkan and the Konkani language by Dr. V. P. Chavan, Mr. Edwards suggests a derivation for the term ‘Konkan’, deriving the word from ‘Konga’ on the analogy of the Kanarese form Tenkona. He rightly rejects the Sanskrit derivation of the word suggested by the author as unconvincing, but his alternative suggestion does not take us much nearer a convincing derivation of the word. The word Konkan in its present form is the Kanarese form; but in classical Tamil literature, the term occurs in the Tamil form Kon-Kānam. What is more, this region is treated as the kingdom of a chieftain, whose rule extended over the neighbouring territory even of Tulu. In one poem of the Puramundru, the territory is spoken of as Kon-Purm-Kānam. The last word in both the expressions means in Tamil ‘forest.’ The meaning of the first is not quite so clear. It comes from the root ‘kol’, originally ‘to take.’ By a transition it comes to be ‘taking that which is not one’s own.’ In that sense that same class of Tamil literature uses the term in the following forms—‘Kol,’ ‘Kollai’ and ‘Kondi,’ all of them alike signifying ‘plunder’ or ‘spoils of war.’ Therefore, ordinarily Kon-Kānam ought to mean the forest where any thing that can be taken possession of by anybody that wishes to; in other words, it is a ‘no-man’s land’, from which anybody can appropriate any thing that can be appropriated. This has reference mainly to driving off cattle; cattle grazing in the forest could be taken possession of by anybody that cared. The term interpolated between the two merely means ‘great’ and gives the clearest possible indication that the two terms are intended to mean what they actually do in Tamil literature, namely ‘vast.’ So Konkan would be the vast region of forest from which those that chose might take possession of what they liked.

Whether this Tamil name was applied to a foreign country, or whether it was actually Tamil land may be a more doubtful question; but all the indications in classical Tamil literature give following them.

5 Vīraśāliyam, verse, 15 of Purut-paadalam and the commentary on it.
6 Purapporul-veṭṭā-mālai, Sūtras, 12-14, of the Poduviyar-paadalam, and the illustrative verses.

one the idea that it was a Tamil kingdom under a Tamil chief, who was also chief of Tulu and who had his capitals and fortresses and hills, and the other paraphernalia of a kingdom. The chief that is referred to is Nannan, who has been handed down to ill-fame as the killer of a woman, so that in Tamil literature he is called generally Nannan the woman-killer, to distinguish him from his son who bore the same name and who is called Nannan, the son of Nannan, whose territory lay inland in the eastern portion of Kongu in the generation following.

This brings us to another geographical item animadverted upon by Sir Richard Temple both in the JRAS. and in the Indian Antiquary. It is the famous Mont Deli. Sir Richard felt very easily persuaded by what Mr. Subramania Ayyar said, on the authority of the Sanskrit Kavyam, ‘Mushakavanikā,’ the mediaeval work that the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao published, in regard to the origin of the term. Because of the expressions Mushakavanikā and Mushakavanikā, Mr. Subramania Ayyar jumped to the conclusion that Mont Deli can mean nothing more than ‘mountain of the bandicoot or rat.’ He went on to characterise the translation Septa Śaila as an unwarranted manufacture on the part of the Sanskrit-knowing Brahman. It is a matter for regret that we should be too ready to divine intentions on the part of authors of mischievous derivations and details, when a little closer inspection may prove useful. The Kavya Mushaka Vanikā and the country Mushaka cannot be held to supply us with the origin of the name Mont Deli, when we have very much more authentic sources of information regarding the place. Mont Deli of the geographers is undoubtedly the hill surrounded by numbers of rivers and streams, 16 miles to the north of Cannanore, which the writers of the Tamil classics always refer to distinctly as Āil-il-kuvram. The first term is seven, the second may mean a house, and the third is hill, which in the mouth of a Malayalam-speaking moderner would become Elimala by a process of phonetic decay, which can be easily understood by one acquainted with the language. Hence the Brahmanical translation Septa Śaila has very much more warrant than the suggestion that there was a Mushaka. I believe nobody will adduce the argument that these Tamil classics, whatever their actual age, were later than the Mushakavanikā. So the translation Septa Śaila is quite a regular translation of the Tamil name.

That does not give the explanation of the Mont Deli, or Hili, as the Arabs have it. The clearest explanation is that it is a translation of the Malayalam expression, as the Sanskrit is a translation of the Tamil. If to the first foreign visitor of the coast or promontory the name had been given as Elimala, and if he wanted as a mere matter of curiosity to know what exactly it meant, the obvious member of the compound mala is easily explained as hill or mount; and what about Eli? If the person who used the term Elimala had the notion that it had anything to do with the Eli (rat), he could have offered the explanation then and there, and the translator would not have called it Mont Deli; but instead of Eli, he would have put the equivalent of the rodent in his own language; but the fact that Eli has been retained is a clear indication that the foreigner was not able to understand the term, and could not get a satisfactory explanation of it from his informant. The suggestion that the term Eli meant the rat and nothing else, would have struck the native of the locality as very queer. The only possible explanation of the term ‘ili’ that I can suggest is house, and that could only mean that the hill and its slopes were the property of seven illams or households of the Malabar coast. Hence Mont Deli is an unconscious rendering of the accurate early Tamil name, only somewhat corrupted as it passed through Malayalam, but not quite clearly understood by the first foreigner who coined the term, whether he were Arab, Persian or European.

There is an interesting note on this page 1, Vol. II, of Longworth Dames’ edition of the Book of Duarte Barbosa, Mr. Thorne, I.C.S., whose note is included in it, labours to derive the term Deli from Tali in Ramandally. This would be unexceptionable, if the form of the word were Deli. The Arab word is Hili, and the European equivalent seems to be merely d’El, meaning the hill of El for Mont D’Eli.

S. K. Aiyangar.

BOOK-NOTICES.

PA-I-A ŚADDA MAHANNAVO (Prakṣa Śadā Mahārāvaṭāḥ.)

This is the first part of a dictionary of the Prakrit language intended to be completed in four parts. It is a comprehensive dictionary of the Prakrit language giving the meaning of Prakrit words in Hindi. It provides, at the same time, the Sanskrit equivalents of the Prakrit words. The dictionary as a whole contains about 75,000 words. The author, Pandit Haragovind Das Sheth, Lecturer in Prakrit in the Calcutta University, has taken care to support the meanings that he gives by quotations from the original sources, giving complete references. It removes one of the desiderata for a satisfactory study of the vast Prakrit literature, which still remains unexplored, or explored but inadequately.

2 Puttappapita, 10.

3 Narriṣși, 391 as above.
by scholars Indian and European. It is likely to be of great assistance in promoting this desirable study. The author deserves to be congratulated upon the result of his labours in this good cause. The work is a monument of his learning and effort, and it is to be hoped that his industry will be suitably rewarded, to encourage him to go on with his work and complete it, as originally projected, in four parts.

S. K. AIYANGAR

THE HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE PALLAVAS

This is a valuable contribution to a question which seems to last at on the way to settlement. Mr. Srinivasachari has gone to the proper resources and has made a useful summary of it up to date. It is but a few years since the Pallava-Pahlava theory seemed impregnable and quite feasible. Now we know that the Pallavas were not of outside origin, but a Southern Indian family or clan. But to which clan they belonged or out of which they rose is still open to controversy. Mr. Srinivasachari sets to work deliberately to sift the evidence.

First, he takes us to the name and its origin, quoting finally Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's statement: "So far as the available evidence goes, they were a dynasty of the Andhras, probably related to or even springing out of the clan of the Sātavāhanas." Next he dives into their early history, as rulers of Kāčeśi and neighbourhood, and carries it from before the date of the Gupta Emperors to the close of the 6th century A.D. Then come the days of the Great Pallavas, when "a definite chronological arrangement becomes possible," and the great struggle between the Pallavas of Kāčeśi, and the Chalukyas of Vātāpi was carried on for a long period.

Here Mr. Srinivasachari takes us through the records of ruler after ruler by name—Sinhavishnu up to, say, 610 A.D., Mahendravarman "at first a Jain and later converted to Śaivism;" Narasimhavarman (c.630-668), whom he surnames the Great; Mahendravarman (c. 668-674); Paramēśivaravarman (c. 674-690); Narasimhavarman II, Rājasimha (c. 690-715), the great builder of the temples at Kāčeśi, the "Seven Pagodas" at Mānallapuram, the Panamalai temple; Nandivarman (715-779); Dantivarman (779-830); Nandi (c. 830-854); Nripatunga (c. 854-880); Aparājita Pottaray (880—c. 900). The succession, however, is not quite so clear as the above statement would appear to make it, and there is much room for further research as to details. The outline, however, is now before us of this great ruling race, which did so much for Southern India in times now long past and forgotten.

In fact the times and work of the Pallavas are of such importance to South Indian history that we cannot know too much about them. Like Vijayanagar, Kāčeśi is a "Forgotten Empire", and students who would illuminate the story of the rise of South Indian religion and administration, would do well to unearth all that is possible of the remarkable episode of the Pallavas in times now long gone by. Mr. Srinivasachari has done quite rightly in adding to his summary of the political history of the Pallavas another of the social institutions of the time.

Kāčeśi was the chief seat of Pallava power all through the first millennium of the Christian era—the centre of the art, religion and civilisation they insculpted. "The Pallavas brought to Kāčeśi the culture of the North, as distinguished from what may be called Dravidian or Southern culture;" though this is not to say that by race they were of the Northern people.

By religion they were, generally speaking, Śaivas, though Vaishnavism and Jainism flourished under them, or some of them, and they were the great temple and cave builders of the South. Buddhism also flourished at times under their tolerant rule. Then they were the chief promoters of literature, and many a famous name flourished under their encouragement. Theirs was also a glorious epoch of art and architecture, and fortunately it is still represented by many a noble ruin.

In the practical administrative side of life they were no less distinguished. Under them the administration was "complex and hierarchial in character, and the tax-system was heavy and cumbersome." But the great point was that "the real unit of administration was the village community, either an individual village or a collection of villages," ruled by a special committee or sabha. The outstanding feature of Pallava rule was the attention paid to irrigation, and their works for the purpose were very large.

The levying of the village affairs in the hands of the villagers themselves did not relieve the Pallava kings from the general administration of the country, which was entrusted to viceroys and petty local rulers, who tended to become hereditary. This led to the creation of a number of minor chiefs of a feudal character, and as the superior central power diminished and then died, the whole country sank into the position of a collection of merely feudal chiefdoms with Pallava names and Pallava titles, working for other centralised powers; e.g., the Cholas and the Kurumbas. It was a case of a system steadily killing itself.

Be all this as it may, there is clearly a case made out for a detailed account of Pallava rule, for another History of a Forgotten Empire. The
Pallavas ruled so long and did so much for the making of Southern India that they are worth it.

R. C. TEMPLE.


The present volume of the famous Diary is furnished, like the preceding volumes, with an excellent introduction by the Editor, Mr. Dodwell, who divides the subject-matter into three main categories, viz.:—(a) the abandonment of the French policy of adventure followed by Dupleix, (b) the inauguration of a new policy by his successor, Godheu, and (c) the effects of the new policy under Godeheu's successor, de Leytit. Godheu landed at Pondicherry at the beginning of August, 1754, with orders recalling Dupleix and authorising his arrest, if he refused to comply with the summons. Mr. Dodwell explains the reasons for this action of the authorities in France, and is able from the evidence of the Diary to elucidate the circumstances of Dupleix's recall, which have hitherto been dubious in one or two particulars. He also discusses the failure of the attempt to establish French Rule over south India, and attributes it chiefly to lack of seapower and to the mutual jealousy of the French agents in the East, which rendered impossible anything in the nature of team-work. He is probably right in his view that the latter circumstance was a more potent cause of failure than even the corruption and duplicity which marred the policy and acts of the French in India. With the arrival of Dupleix's successor, Ananda Ranga Pillai came again into his own, and this portion of the Diary testifies to the gradual recovery of the influence which he had lost through the intrigues and interference of Dupleix's half-caste wife. The reference on page 69 to "a certain island with a fort thereon held by the Hubshis," is somewhat obscure. Mr. Dodwell remarks in his footnote that "Ranga Pillai writes 'Avisikal', but he probably means the Angiras, whom the Marathas attacked in the following year with aid from Bombay." This may be so; but Angria was not an Abyssinian, whereas the Sidi of Janjira (the Hubshi) certainly was; and although we have no record of any definite attack upon Janjira in 1754, the general sense of the passage in Ranga Pillai's Diary applies more closely to the island fort of Janjira than to the possessions of Angria. Possibly, however, the reference is to the Kolaba fort, lying just off the shore of the mainland; but in that case the use of the word Hubshi in the enclosure to Balaji Rao's letter seems to be erroneous. The ninth volume of the Diary, as edited by Mr. Dodwell, is a worthy companion to the preceding volumes.

S. M. EDWARDS.

REMINISCENCES OF VIJAYA DHARMA SURI. By SRI VIJAYA INDIRA SURI. Shivpuri (Gwalior State). Printed at the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1924.

This is a thoroughly Indian account of the Jainacharya, known as Vijaya Dharma Suri, who died as lately as September 1922. The hero of the story was a great and important Jain saint and teacher, making friends wherever he went, and his story has been well worth recording. It has indeed been the subject of volume after volume in at least ten languages, including four of the chief tongues of Europe, as he was on friendly terms with all the principal European students of Jainism, amongst whom his great attainments as a scholar aroused enthusiastic esteem. His scholarship was used in bringing to light unknown and even unsuspected works on his religion, and thus he earned the undying gratitude of his European correspondents. In his own country he was a religious power: altogether an admirable man.

He was of the Vaisya caste and obviously unsatisfactory as a youth, until he was about nineteen, when he turned to religion and took up the life of a sadhu, which he followed for the next thirty-five years till his death. As an ascetic, he read and preached constantly, founded schools, libraries and hospitals, and disputed with Pandits—all to the advantage of his own faith and to the great benefit of Indian scholarship generally. A liberal-minded organizer, he was able to found a periodical series of Jain works, and this besides the books he himself wrote and the fortnightly paper which he also started. He led in fact a busy life away from the political world, entirely devoted to doing good as he saw it—a typical acharya, and as regards Oriental scholarship it is a great misfortune that he did not live longer.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A STUDY IN HINDU SOCIAL POLITY. By CHANDRA CHAKRABORTY. Calcutta, 1923.

Yet another book by this indomitable writer, published in 1923, which he describes as "the outgrowth of the materials I gathered to write a cultural history of the Hindus" and as "hastily-drawn sketches." He gave up the idea of publishing the 'History' on reading Romeas Chandra Dutta’s 'Civilisation in Ancient India'.

The author has evidently been a wide and enthusiastic reader and has collected a great amount of information interesting and useful to scholars. Whether his conclusions are sound is another matter and so controversial that I do not propose to enter into it in this notice.

R. C. TEMPLE.
Fig. 1—General View of the Interior of the Fort from the foot of Chandrayandrug, in the foreground the Temple of Venkataramanas; in the background the Rajagiri and the Square Tower.

Fig. 2—Rajagiri

H. Heras, S.J.

Fig. 3—The Square Tower in the Inner Fort
THE CITY OF JINJI AT THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

By Rev. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

It is well known that in the days of its glory the old fortress of Jinji, in the South Arcot District, was one of the strongest and most impregnable in the whole of Hindustan. It rightly deserved to be called 'The Troy of the East,' a name given it by European travellers.

To one of these travellers, Fr. Nicholas Pimenta, S.J., we are indebted for an account of the whole city, which will repay careful study. This Portuguese Jesuit was appointed Visitor of the Missions of the Society of Jesus in India by the Most Rev. Fr. Claudius Aquaviva, Superior General of the Society. In the course of his travels he spent a few days at Jinji, in the year 1597. There were no Jesuits then at the Court of the Jinji Nâyak, but he wanted to pay his respects to Krisñappa Nâyaka (1580-1620), the then ruling chief, and to thank him for his hospitality to several of the Jesuit Missionaries who had visited his Court on business.\(^1\)

The above mentioned account sent by Fr. Pimenta to his Fr. General, and published in Purchas His Pilgrims, vol. X, chapter VII, pp. 205-222, reads as follows: "Wee went thence to Ginji; the greatest Cittie we have seen in India, and bigger then any in Portugal, Lisbon excepted."\(^2\) While visiting the place last April,\(^3\) it struck the author of the present article that the fortress could not possibly contain within its walls a city 'bigger than any in Portugal, Lisbon excepted.' My conclusion was that the city must have been outside the walls, the fortress being the citadel of the old Nâyak capital. And on closer examination of Pimenta's narrative my supposition was confirmed by the following description: "In the midst thereof is a Castle like a Cittie, high walled with great hewn stone and encompassed with a ditch full of water: in the middle of it is a Rocke framed into Bulwarkes and Turrets, and made impregnable."\(^4\) No doubt the actual remains of Jinji mark only the site of what must once have been the heart of the old city, viz., the fort and the royal palace. The position of the rest of the town, or rather of what is left of it, was my objective.

I had a full day in which to effect my purpose, and at length I succeeded. Seated on the steps that lead up to the summit of Râjagiri I consulted Orme's Plan of Jinji referred to in his Military Transactions. There it was; the map gave an outline of the old Fort. It was triangular in shape; the points where the bounding lines intersected were three hills; whilst the bounding lines themselves consisted of a continuous long black wall, which crowned the top of each hill, and ran across the valleys that separated the three hills, one from the other. It likewise showed the course of a small pettah running on the east side of the fortress outside the walls, at the very foot of the Chandrâyan-drug, the southern hill; while the present village is situated below the Kistnagiri, or northern hill. The pettah that existed in Orme's time and was surrounded by thin walls, of which no traces have remained, can only have been an insignificant quarter of the town. On the map there was also (what was more suggestive) a small path marked immediately in front of the Vellore Gate, on the north side of the fortress. It led westwards and curved a little to the south after passing in front of the Râjagiri; by the side of this path as marked on the map, the following inscription may be seen: "Road to old Ginji." Where was the old Jinji, of Orme's days? That was the main question.

Thereupon with map in hand I tried to identify the places. I found the path after a diligent search; it led us to a small village three miles north-west of the fort, named Mêlachêri. I opened the Gazetteer of the South Arcot District to get some information about this settlement, and came across the following description: "Mêlachêri ... It was known in days

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2 P. 217. I keep to the spelling of the old translation.
3 I have much pleasure in publicly acknowledging my gratitude to the Rev. T. Gavan Duffy, Diocesan Visitor of the Catholic Schools, Tiruvannam, South Arcot, for his kindness in taking me to the place and showing me the interesting historical remains so familiar to him.
4 P. 217.
gone by as ‘old Gingi’ and was apparently fortified.” Here then was the “old Gingi” of the time of Orme, the name being retained even to the present day, as one of the villagers informed us. Probably the city of Jinji, when Fr. Pimenta visited it towards the end of the 16th century, extended as far as, and included, the village of Mélachéri. The retention of the actual name of the village confirms this supposition; for Mélachéri means in Tamil, ‘the settlement or the suburb of the west,’ which evidently shows that it was originally a part of a large town.

Another fact also proves that this village was nothing else but a quarter of the old town of Jinji, viz., the existence in Mélachéri of vestiges of an old palace, which was the scene of interesting events. When Zu‘lökhar Khân, Aurangzeb’s general, took possession of Jinji after the escape of Râja Râm in 1696, he appointed a noble Râjpût, named Sarûp Singh, as Governor of the city and fortress of Jinji. Sarûp Singh was succeeded by his son Tej Singh, the famous Dâsing of the Southern folklore, who broke allegiance with the Nawâb of Arcot, Sada’tu’llah Khan, refused to pay him tribute and declared himself the independent Râja of Jinji. The Nawâb marched against him, and defeated and killed in battle the unfortunate Râja. Nevertheless, his descendants were recognised as Jâgírđâr of the Jinji Jâgîr, which primarily consisted of seven talâks. These Jâgírđârs during the 18th century had their palace in the middle of the present village of Mélachéri. The latest male descendant of the Râja Tej Singh, called Sûrúbanâdên Singh, owing to financial troubles, mortgaged the palace grounds to the Catholic Mission at the end of the 19th century. Does all this not go to show that the old Governors of Jinji resided where Mélachéri stands to-day?

That the Singh family lived in those surroundings is also proved by the fact that the small village built half a mile from Mélachéri is called Singavaram, which means the town of Singh. There is here a famous old shrine of Rangânâtha, cut out of the rock of a small hill, and surrounded by several little chapels which bespeak the ancient grandeur of the place. No traces of other monuments are at present to be found in the neighbourhood, but as late as Orme’s time, as his map of the Carnatic shows, the whole space between Jinji and Mélachéri was covered with monuments.

Now, knowing that the old city of Jinji extended three miles westwards, and supposing that the fortress was in the middle of the town, as Fr. Pimenta states, we can safely conclude that the whole city of Jinji at the end of the sixteenth century, in its most flourishing period, covered nine square miles about, and was therefore “bigger then any in Portugali, Lisbon excepted.”

Fr. Pimenta coming from St. Thome entered the fort through the northern gate called the Arcot or Vellore gate. “The Naicus,” he says (p. 217) “appointed our lodging in the Tower, but the heat forced us to the Grove (though consecrated to an Idol)” I feel inclined to think that this Tower is the eight storied square tower, 80 feet high, which still stands in the rectangular court of the inner fort. “It is the most conspicuous building in all the lower fort”, says the South Arcot Gazetteer (p. 369). “The plan of each of the stories is the

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6 W. Francis, South Arcot Gazettete, p. 364 (Madras 1806).
7 In the Baptism Register Book of the Parish of St. Michael, Jinji, it is stated that Sûrûbanâdên Singh, belonging to Chattira (Kahatriya Caste), was baptized in July 25th, 1896, by Fr. Regis (an Indian Priest) at the age of 45, his god-father being one Pannousamy (Panusswâmi). His wife Annâbâi, aged 42, and two daughters Mariambâi and Marthâbâi, aged 13 and 4 respectively, were simultaneously baptized. The parents of Sûrûbanâdên, Missorada Singou (sic) and Krishnâbâi, and at the time of the baptism of their son, they were still living in Mélachéri, according to the same book. Fr. Godec, M.A., then Parish Priest at Jinji, whom I met in Alahdi, South Arcot, informed me that Sûrûbanâdên used to call himself King of Jinji. The terrible cyclone that swept the country on December 22nd, 1916, was probably the cause of his death. He was found dead on the road the following morning, as recorded in the obituary book of the same Parish. When passing through Jinji last April, there was still living in the village in a pitiable condition the second daughter of Sûrûbanâdên, childless and abandoned by her husband.
Fig. 4—The Vellore Gate

Fig. 5—Plan from Orme's Literary Transactions

H. Heras, S.J.
same and consists of a single room about eight feet square surrounded by a verandah built on arches from which, on either side, two narrow stairways lead upwards and downwards. I was not able to identify the situation of the grove referred to by Fr. Pimenta. The circumstance that it was "consecrated to an Idol" makes me suspect that it was at the west of the gate of the inner fort, which leads from the foot of Rājagiri to the south-west forest. There is still a small grove in that place; and just outside the same gate is a little shrine to Vēnugopālāswāmi, which may perhaps be the idol mentioned by Pimenta.

"The next day," he continues, "the inner part of the Castle was shewed us, having no entrance but by the Gates which are perpetually guarded. In the Court the younger sort were exercised in Tūts. Wee saw much Ordnance, Powder, and Shot; a Spring also of Cleare water. The Naicus had been here kept by his Uncle, whom yet by helpe of his friends he forced to become in the same place his unwilling successor, having put out his eyes." Fr. Pimenta in this passage does not speak of the citadel on the top of Rājagiri, nor of the inner fort alone, but of the whole fortress. I am almost sure that Purchas' letter has been shortened. Fr. du Jarrie, who saw either its original or the first printed copy in the Relacum Annum, published at Lisboa, clearly distinguishes these three places. His words are as follows: "It is the largest and widest city of the whole of India. The fort stands in the middle, being itself like a town, surrounded by high walls of hewn stones and a ditch full of water." Here, no doubt, the whole fortress is meant. "Within the fort stands a steep hill, which nature has made secure and art impregnable" (p. 369). These words evidently refer to Rājagiri. "There are many temples in the city and in the fort. The private dwellings are not elaborate, except some belonging to the rich and to the influential people. Among these the palaces of the King are the most prominent, built in a peculiar style with towers and verandahs." We know from this extract that the Nāyak possessed two palaces, one in the fortress (that is the inner fort at the foot of Rājagiri), the other in the city. Perhaps the latter was the one located in Mēlāchēri and occupied afterwards by the Singh family. As to the palace in the fortress, Fr. Pimenta speaks of it a little further on. "The following day the Naicus brought the Fathers into the fort [viz. to the fortress which was already called by the author arz]; as they entered, the reports of the guns and the songs of the buglers excepted them, being the soldiers in parade. Whatever rare and precious the fort contained was shown that day to the Fathers. Every thing belonging to an impregnable fort seemed to have been adopted in this one. Here the Naicus had been ordered by his uncle to be kept after the death of his father, but freed by his subjects he confined his uncle in the same fort, whom he preferred to deprive of his eyes and his liberty than of his life. Then the king riding on horse back and accompanied by a thousand armed soldiers took over Fr. Pimenta to the palace" (p. 641). These words are not given in full in Purchas' edition, because the passage we read in Purchas runs as follows (p. 218): "He was guarded homeward with a thousand armed men". Nevertheless, we learn from both passages the distinction between the fortress (arz) and the palacie (regia). Hence in the following extract he spoke of the palace of the city, to which he went from the fortress on horseback, surrounded by a thousand soldiers: "In the Streete were ranked three hundred Elephants as it were fitted to the warre. At the Porch [in the vestibule of the palace according to du Jarrie] one entertained him with an Oration in his praise, a thing usual in their solemn pompe" (p. 641). Fr. du Jarrie also describes the dress of the orator mentioned by Purchas: he was veste purpurea amictus, dressed in red robes.

Though the history of Jinji still remains to be written, travellers who passed through it at the time of its splendour are by no means the worst sources of information for the scholar who may attempt to write it. I shall feel more than satisfied, if my comments in regard to Fr. Pimenta's account of Jinji may perhaps throw some light on the subject.

8 Du Jarrie, S.J., Theatrum Rerum Indicarum, i, p. 640. (Coloniae Agrippinae, MDCXV).
SPURIOUS GHOTIA PLATES OF PRITHVIDEVA II.

BY RAJBAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.

These copper plates were brought to light by Mr. Ishwar Seagram, Tahsildar in Baloda Bazar of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. They were found by a cultivator of Ghotia in his field. Mr. N. J. Roughton, I.C.S., the Deputy Commissioner of the District, was good enough to send the plates to me for deciphering the record on them.

The plates measure 13½ in. × 8½ in. and are strung with a ring having the King's seal on it. The weight of the plates with the ring is 294 tolas or a little less than 7½ lbs. The seal is circular with a seated figure of Gaja Lakshmi, having an elephant on each side pouring water on her. Below the figure of the goddess is inscribed Raja Srimat Prithvideva in two lines, the letter Śri being reversed.

The characters of the record are Nāgari of the Kalachuri type, belonging to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

There are 36 lines in all containing 26 Sanskrit verses, the invocation at the beginning and the name of the engraver and date at the end being alone in prose. The record bristles with spelling mistakes, not one verse or line being free from them, but this is apparently due to the ignorance of the engraver, who left out several letters which he could not read, leaving blank spaces for filling up afterwards, a thing which was unfortunately never done. Had only one ellipsis, viz. — the date of the month, been filled up, it would have been possible to demonstrate at once the forgery of this record, to be referred to later on.

The inscription purports to record the grant of a village Goṭhaya, apparently situated in Sagatta Mandala, to one Gopāla Sarma of the Aśvalayana Gotra, having the three pavaras Vāśishṭha, Maitrāvanuṣa and Kaundinya. He was born of Rihiya, son of Hari Brahman, and was a learned man, as he had studied the Śrutis, Smritis and Purāṇas. To me it appears that it was he who made use of his great learning in committing this forgery, the composition whereof has been attributed to a Vāstavya (Kāyastha) Vatsarāja, son of Kirtiṣhara. The Hāhitaya King Prithvideva II has been made the donor, and his genealogy is given, commencing from Kokkala (Kokkula), the name of Kārttavīrya being mentioned as the originator of the family. The descendants of Kokkala who find a mention are his son Kalinjaraja, grandson Kamalaraja, and great-grandson Ratnaraja I. The latter's wife was Nonallā, from whom was born Prithvideva (I), whose son was Jājalladeva (I), whose son was Ram habe (Ratnadeva II), whose son was Prithvideva (II), 'of bright fame.'

The charter is dated Samvat 1000 on a Thursday of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada month, the most important item, the date being omitted. The record does not state what Samvat it refers to. If it be taken to be the Kalachuri or Chedi era, which was started in 248 A.D. by the ancestors of the King mentioned in this record and which was universally used in Kosal or Chhattisgarh, of which Ratnadeva II is mentioned as an ornament in the tenth verse of this record, we would arrive at a period (1248 A.D.) when Prithvideva II's great-grandson and namesake, Prithvideva III, had ceased to rule and the latter's grandson or great-grandson was occupying the throne. Clearly, therefore, the Samvat referred to in the record cannot be a Kalachuri one. After the disuse of this era in Chhattisgarh we find no other Samvat in use, except Vikrama or Śaka. The latest date in the Kalachuri era found on inscriptions of Chhattisgarh is 933 (1181 A.D.), of the time of Ratnadeva III.1 A record belonging to the time of his son Prithvideva III, (after whom no successors find an inscriptive mention, though the line continued up till

1 Clearly the present Ghotia, where the plates were found.
2 He may not have enjoyed the grant himself, but surely he left it as a legacy to his descendents. He may not have been even a contemporary of Prithvideva II.
THE KING'S SEAL ON THE SPURIOUS GHOTIA PLATES
1732 A.D.) is dated in the Vikrama year 1247 or A.D. 1190. In this record the word Vikrama is not specifically mentioned, but in the Khalari stone inscription, which refers to the Raipur branch of the Haihayas kings, the date is specifically given as Vikrama 1470 or Saka 1334 corresponding to 1415 A.D., as found by Dr. Kielland after the correction of some inaccuracies. From this it would appear that the dating in Vikrama era had gained currency by the middle of the tenth century of the Kalachuri era or the end of the twelfth century of the Christian calendar. It may be noted that the Saka era was not much in vogue in Chhattisgarh, as we do not find it used except in sporadic cases, and that too in conjunction with the Vikrama era as in the Khalari record. In the present case the Saka year would be as unsuitable as the Kalachuri year, as it would correspond to 1078 A.D., which falls about the reign of Prithvideva II's great-grandfather's grandfather.

In my view the present forgery was committed when about a hundred years since the death of Prithvideva had passed away, that is, about the middle of the 13th century A.D., when any date could have been assigned to him without being easily detected. To give the record the sanctity of great antiquity, the date of the grant was apparently put back 300 years and dated in the Samvat prevalent at the time, viz:— the Vikrama era, whose year 1000, corresponding to 943 A.D., gave the desired age. But the effect of this (apparently not noticed at the time) was a reference to a time anterior to the advent of the Haihayas in Chhattisgarh. It fell about the time when Kokalla's father reigned at Tripuri in the Jubbulpore District.

In fact it was not Kokalla who came to Chhattisgarh, but one of his 18 sons, Kalingraja, who was great-grandfather of Prithvideva I, who in turn was as far removed from Prithvideva II, the alleged donor of Gothay village. What is most wonderful in this record is the audacity with which it was forged, throwing dust in the eyes of such great kings as the Haihayas. Perhaps this would not have been possible, but for the fear inculcated in the imprecatory texts of the Dharma-Śastras, for do they not enjoin that they who seize property dedicated to Gods or Brahmans are borne as black serpents, and do not the confiscators of a Brahman's lands or those who consent to such an act live sixty thousand years in Hell?

A facsimile of the plates is reproduced from the impressions kindly taken for me by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, B.A. The text is so corrupt that a corrected version of practically the whole record would be necessary, which appears inexpedient in view of its being a forgery. The record is published to prevent scholars from taking it as a genuine record and uselessly labouer over it. The only lacunae of any importance which need be filled up are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>का । शीर्षः</th>
<th>कालिंगराजः</th>
<th>गौरव विहिरिम्</th>
<th>धर्माध्यक्षः</th>
<th>संवारित्वः</th>
<th>गोर्षवायम्</th>
<th>भास्त्रव्यः</th>
<th>नास्तिकः</th>
<th>युरी</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कः । शीर्षः</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>कालिंगराजः</td>
<td>in line 3</td>
<td>कोङ्कलः</td>
<td>in line 4</td>
<td>गौरव वि० रिं</td>
<td>in line 5</td>
<td>धर्माध्यक्षः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Hira Lal's C.P. Inscriptions, pp. 107-108.  
IV

Brown's Andaman Islanders: Theories.

(1) Ceremonies.

I now pass on to what Mr. Brown calls (p. 229) "an attempt to interpret some of the beliefs and customs of the Andaman Islanders, as they have been described in the earlier part of this work." It will be perceived that it is necessary, in dealing with the theories Mr. Brown works out upon his observations, to treat all the observations as correct, despite the criticisms to which I have hitherto subjected them.

He explains (p. 229) that "by the interpretation of a custom is meant the discovery, not of its origin, but of its meaning." He then launches out into his theories as to the meaning of the Andamanese customs, arriving, it will be seen, at novel results upon a novel system, though he does not claim novelty for it, as in a footnote (p. 325) he gives the honour of originating it to Prof. Emile Durkheim and Messrs. H. Habert and M. Mauss. He divides his interpretation into two long Chapters on "Andamanese Customs and Beliefs: Ceremonial" (pp. 229-329) and "Myths and Legends" (pp. 330-406). I propose now to follow him in these two Chapters.

Mr. Brown then explains his method, and here it is necessary to observe him closely in order to do justice to his argument. He continues (p. 229):

"To seek the origin of customs, as the word origin is here used, is to seek then know the details of the historical process by which they have come into existence. In the absence of all historical records, the most that we could do would be to attempt to make a hypothetical reconstruction of the past, which, in the present state of ethnological science, would be of very doubtful utility. It is otherwise with the meaning of customs.

And in regard to the term 'hypothetical reconstruction' he says: "the making of hypothetical reconstructions of the past has been regarded by a number of writers as the principal, if not the sole, task of ethnology. My own view is that such studies can never be of any great scientific value."

On p. 230, Mr. Brown goes on:—

"The problems that this chapter presents are therefore not historical but psychological or sociological. We have to explain why it is that the Andamanese think and act in certain ways. The explanation of each single custom is provided by showing what is its relation to the other customs of the Andamanese and to their general system of ideas and sentiments. Thus the subject of the present chapter is not in any way affected by questions of historical origin of the customs as they exist at the present day. Nor are we concerned with the comparison of the customs of the Andamanese with those of other savage races. Such comparisons are not only valueless for our purpose, but might be misleading."

He does not consider such a method to be "a true comparative method . . . . What we used to compare is not institutions but serial systems and types." And he does not approve of separating description from interpretation, as "the field ethnologist has a great advantage over those who know the facts only second hand." He is however aware of the practical difficulties in the way of combining observation with interpretation, and says (p. 232):—

"I have tried to present the argument in such a way that the various steps of the analysis shall be immediately apparent, so that the reader may be able not only to judge the value of the conclusions, but also to form a clear idea of the psychological methods by which they are reached. Any attempt to explain or interpret particular
beliefs and customs of a savage people is necessarily based on some general psychological hypothesis as to the real nature of the phenomena to be explained. The sound rule of method is therefore to formulate clearly and explicitly the working hypothesis on which the interpretation is based. It is only in this way that its value can be properly tested."

Mr. Brown then states (p. 232): "the hypothesis that seems to be most usually adopted by English writers on anthropology is that the beliefs of savage peoples are due to attempts on the part of primitive man to explain to himself the phenomena of life and nature." And on p. 233 he writes: "A second hypothesis explains the beliefs of primitive man as being due to emotions of surprise and terror, or of awe and wonder, aroused by the contemplation of the phenomena of nature. Both these hypotheses may be held together, one being used to explain primitive beliefs and the other to explain others." In this way Mr. Brown dismisses Frazer, MaxMüller, Marett and McDougall and sets up Durkheim as his guide.

We now come to a very important statement for the present purpose (pp. 233-234.):—

"Stated as briefly as possible the working hypotheses here adopted is as follows:

(1) A society depends for its existence on the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of sentiments (an organised system of emotional tendencies centred about some object), by which the conduct of the individual is regulated in conformity with the needs of the society.

(2) Every feature of the social system itself and every event or object that in any way affects the well-being or the cohesion of the society becomes an object of this system of sentiments.

3) In human society the sentiments in question are not innate but are developed in the individual by the action of the society upon him.

(4) The ceremonial customs of a society are a means by which the sentiments in question are given a collective expression on appropriate occasions.

(5) The ceremonial (i.e., collective) expression of any sentiment serves both to maintain it at the requisite degree of intensity in the mind of the individual and to transmit it from one generation to another. Without such expression the sentiments involved could not exist."

Mr. Brown then says (p. 234):—

"Using the term 'Social function' to denote the effects of an institution (custom or belief) in so far as they concern the society and its solidarity or cohesion, the hypothesis of this chapter may be more briefly resumed in the statement that the social function of the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islanders is to maintain and to transmit from one generation to another the emotional dispositions on which the society (as it is constituted) depends for its existence. The present chapter contains an attempt to apply this hypothesis to the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islanders."

These remarks are followed up by others equally important (p. 235):—

"For the clearer understanding of the argument it is necessary to draw attention to a few rules of method that will be observed.

(1) In explaining any given custom it is necessary to take into account the explanation given by the natives themselves.

(2) The assumption is made that when the same or a similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them.

(3) It is assumed that when different customs are practised together on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs. This rule is the inverse of the last.

(4) I have avoided, as being misleading as well as unnecessary, any comparison of Andamanese customs with similar customs of other races. Only in one or two instances have I broken this rule, and in those I believe I am justified by special considerations."

We have now Mr. Brown's argument clearly before us. There is to be no comparison and no history. The theorist is to work out his theory for himself from the facts as he understands them. Prima facie, this is a very dangerous position to take up. Let us see how Mr. Brown sustains it,
The Marriage Ceremony.

Mr. Brown commences (pp. 235 ff.) with the marriage ceremony. "The main feature of it is that the bride and bridegroom are required to publicly embrace each other." After discoursing on the subject in simple language, he says (p. 236) : "the meaning of the marriage ceremony is readily seen. By marriage the man and woman are brought into special and intimate relation to one another; they are, as we say, united."

He next remarks that "the ceremony brings vividly to the minds of the young couple and also to those of the spectators the consciousness that the two are entering upon a new social relation," and later that it "serves to make it clear that marriage is a matter which concerns not only those who are entering into it, but the whole community." And again he says (p. 238) : "at marriage the giving [of presents] is one-sided, no return being expected, for it is an expression not of personal friendship on the part of the givers, but of the general social good-will and approval." In these words Mr. Brown adumbrates his main theory, as will be seen later.

The Peace-Making Ceremony.

In this ceremony, Mr. Brown's special discovery, in the North Andaman, the dancers are in two parties, the one aggressive and the other passive: so (p. 238) "anger appeased dies down; wrongs expiated are forgiven and forgotten: the enmity is at an end." The ceremony ends with an exchange of weapons, which "would seem to ensure at least some months of friendship, for you cannot go fighting a man with his weapons when he has yours." "The social function [of the ceremony] is to restore the condition of solidarity between two local groups that has been destroyed by some offence."

Mr. Brown's method of explanation makes it necessary to leave parts of ceremonies to be explained separately later on, and as the argument proceeds this habit will be found to be constant. In this case the passive party stands against a fibre screen left for future examination, and in both this and the marriage ceremony there is ceremonial weeping which is next examined.

Ceremonial Weeping.

"The principal occasions when ceremonial weeping occurs are as follows (p. 239): —

1. When two friends or relatives meet after having been for some time parted, they embrace each other and weep together.
2. At the peace-making ceremony the two parties of former enemies weep together, embracing each other.
3. At the end of the period of mourning the friends of the mourners (who have not themselves been mourning) weep with the latter.
4. After a death the relatives and friends embrace the corpse and weep over it.
5. When the bones of a dead man or woman are recovered from the grave they weep over it.
6. On the occasion of a marriage the relatives of each weep over the bride and bridegroom.
7. At various stages of the initiation ceremonies the female relatives of a youth or girl weep over him or her."

Mr. Brown observes (p. 239) that the weeping is always a rite, the proper performance of which is demanded by custom . . . . It is an example (p. 240) of what I have called ceremonial customs. In certain circumstances men and women are required by custom to embrace one another and weep, and if they neglected to do so it would be an offence condemned by all right-thinking persons."

Mr. Brown explains the weeping thus (p. 240): "the purpose of the rite is to affirm the existence of a social bond between two or more persons." And he sees in it (p. 242): "an affirmation of solidarity or social union [in the peacemaking ceremony] between groups, and that the rule is in its nature such as to make the participants feel that they are bound to each
other by ties of friendship.” Similarly (p. 242) the weeping at the end of the mourning is regarded as “the renewal of the social relations that have been interrupted.” So that the rite in the three cases above is (p. 243) “a ceremony of aggregation.”

So again at marriages and initiation ceremonies, which are (p. 244) “long processes that are only completed by marriage,” the rite of weeping (p. 243) “serves to make real (by feeling), in those taking part in it, the presence of the social ties that are being modified.” At death the social ties are profoundly modified and the weeping rite (p. 244), “which is obligatory . . . . is similar to that at marriage and initiation.”

After mourning the bones of the dead are recovered, and the dead is (p. 245) “now entirely cut off from the world of the living.” Mr. Brown then takes the weeping as “a rite of aggregation whereby the bones, as representative of the dead person (all that is left of him), are received back into the society henceforth to fill a special place in the social life.” On the whole he regards the ceremonial weeping as “the affirmation of a bond of social solidarity between those taking part in it.”

Mr. Brown then draws up certain conclusions, (pp. 245-6) :—

“1) In every instance the ceremony is the expression of an effective state of mind shared by two or more persons.
(2) The ceremonies are not spontaneous expressions of feeling : they are all customary actions to which the sentiment of obligation attaches.
(3) In every instance the ceremony is to be explained by reference to fundamental laws regulating the effective life of human beings. It is not our business here to analyse their phenomena, but only to satisfy ourselves that they are real.
(4) Each of the ceremonies serves to renew or to modify in the minds of those taking part in it some one or more of the social sentiments.”

These points exhibit Mr. Brown’s theory and his reasoning. My criticism of his actual argument is that the line of reasoning might easily vary with each observer. If his method of “interpretation” is generally adopted, we shall have as many different interpretations as there may be independently-minded theorists.

Dancing.

In considering this subject Mr. Brown breaks into that of several others connected therewith in rather a confusing manner. Firstly he observes (p. 247) that dancing signifies enjoyment and next that it is rhythmical: then that dance and song, rhythmical clapping and stamping on a sounding board, are all parts of common action. Next he observes that the function of the dance (p. 248) is to “bring into activity as many of the muscles of the body as possible,” and also the two chief senses, sight and hearing, and finally that every one joins in it,—all the men in the dancing and all the women in the chorus. Lastly, he concludes with some diffidence (p. 249) that “the Andamanese dance (with its accompanying song) may be described as an activity in which, by virtue of the effect of rhythm and melody, all the members of a community are able harmoniously to co-operate and act in unity.”

After discussing awhile the psychical effects of rhythm on the individual and the whole party present in creating “what we call esthetic enjoyment,” Mr. Brown considers (p. 251) the effect of the dance as a social and collective activity, coming to the conclusion (p. 252) that the primary social function of the dance is to “produce a condition in which the unity, harmony and concord of the community are at a maximum.” This argument, he holds, explains the dance before setting out to a fight. It arouses (p. 252) “in the mind of every individual a sense of the unity of the social groups, of which he is a member,” and it serves (p. 253) “to intensify the collective anger against the hostile group.” Similarly dance meetings in ordinary times serve (p. 253) “to unite two or more groups into one body.” The whole argument and the conclusion are rather trite and quite as dangerous in ordinary hands as those on weeping.
Personal Adornment.

The consideration of dancing leads to that of personal adornment by ornamenting and painting the body (p. 254). "The most important function of any adorning of the body [of the dancer] is to express or mark the personal value of the decorated individual." But "the occasions on which such personal decoration is used are strictly defined by custom." Brides and bridegrooms are (p. 255) painted to express the "increased social value to the pair." So in the painting of the newly initiate and of the dead is carried on (p. 256) to express the regard of the living. Here Mr. Brown remarks that he does not believe that the personal ornament and dancing among the Andamanese are connected with sexual emotion.

Protective Ornaments and Objects.

Some ornaments, however, (p. 257) are worn, (e.g., strings of human bones), as a protection against sickness or the Spirits. Other objects that cannot be worn, (e.g., fire), have the same properties. They are considered together. "The interpretation offered is that the customs connected with this belief in the protective power of objects of various kinds are means by which is expressed and thereby maintained at the necessary degree of energy a very important social sentiment, which, for lack of a better term, I shall call the sentiment of dependence."

The object affording protection on which the Andamanese is most dependent is fire. It is his most valuable possession, for he could not make it. Says Mr. Brown:--

"The belief in the protection power of fire is very strong. A man would never move even a few yards out of camp at night without a fire-stick. More than any other object fire is believed to keep away Spirits that cause disease and death. This belief it is here maintained is one of the ways in which the individual is made to feel his dependence upon the society.

Now this hypothesis is capable of being very strictly tested by the facts; for if it is true, we must expect to find that the same protective power is attributed to every object on which the social life depends. An examination of the Andamanese beliefs shows that this is so, and thereby confirms the hypothesis."

Mr. Brown then goes into details as to the protective qualities of the bows and arrows, and of their parts or of the materials from which they are made, worn as amulets and necklaces. They apply, too, to the string of the bow and other strings or rope, to the canoe and paddle used in fishing; to the very trees, canes and fibres from which they are made; to the materials, such as bees-wax used with them. The argument here is well worked out (pp. 257-263), but Mr. Brown confesses that he did not enquire whether iron for arrow heads, materials for basket-ware, or clay for pottery were looked on as protective. Two other articles—bones of animals and human bones used for personal ornament—he leaves over for future discussion.

Mr. Brown here makes a statement of such value to his subsequent argument that I must quote it in full (p. 264):--

"It would seem that the function of the belief in the protective power of such things as fire and the materials from which weapons are made is to maintain in the mind of the individual the feeling of his dependence upon the society. But viewed from another aspect the beliefs in question may be regarded as expressing the social value of the things to which they relate. This term 'social value' will be used repeatedly in this latter part of this chapter, and it is therefore necessary to give an exact definition. By the social value of anything I mean the way in which that thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by anything that contributes to the well-being of the society, negative value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being."

This statement Mr. Brown follows up by making three propositions, which he thinks he can demonstrate (pp. 264—265):--
Any object that contributes to the well-being of the society is believed to afford protection against evil.

(2) The degree of protective power it is believed to possess depends on the importance of the services it actually renders to the society.

(3) The kind of special service it does actually render.

Mr. Brown commences by the consideration of the use of odu clay, (1) in mourning, (2) at initiation, (3) in the erapuli design. Here he disagrees with Mr. Man (pp. 265-268), especially as to the meaning of the term 'hot' to an Andamanese. So we are not on firm ground as to the interpretation of language. Mr. Brown's explanation (p. 268) is Mr. Man's second explanation,—the Andamanese paint themselves for protection against being smelt by the spirits. This leads Mr. Brown to an interesting observation (p. 268) that the Andamanese "identify the smell of an object with its active magical principle." They also think that if they do not destroy the smell by painting themselves after eating certain objects they will become ill.

**Dangerous Foods.**

This argument leads to that of certain foods being dangerous in association with sickness and the Spirits. The danger of foods is not equal, and Mr. Brown gives a sort of gradation (p. 269) from dugong to vegetables: the most difficult to possess is the most highly prized and dangerous. Hence Mr. Brown puts forward (p. 270) a proposition, "that the custom of painting the body after eating food is an expression of the social value of food." What the Andamanese feels, therefore, is (p. 272) "not a fear of food, but a sense of the social value of food."

This interpretation brings Mr. Brown into a difficulty, which he thus expresses (pp. 272-273): "the sense of the social value of such things as fire and the materials used for weapons translates itself into the belief that these things afford protection against danger. This would seem at first sight to be contradicted by the explanation that I have just given of the belief in the danger of food." He proceeds to face the difficulty and to show that the materials of food that are dangerous (i.e., cause harm) in themselves are a protection when used "according to custom": e.g., (p. 273) "wearing ornaments of the bones of animals that have been eaten," and thus expressing the social value of the animals. He believes that the preservation of the skulls of animals difficult to kill is regarded (p. 274) "as a means of ensuring success in hunting as well as a protection for the hunters."

**Initiation Ceremonies.**

Mr. Brown then embarks on the initiation ceremonies, (p. 276): "I hope to show that these ceremonies are the means by which the society powerfully impresses upon the initiate the sense of the social value of food, and keeps the sense alive in the minds of the spectators of the ceremony." He holds that they are the means "by which the child is made an independent member of the society," and he takes them into consideration from the point of the whole society and of the initiate. They form the child's (youth or girl) moral education by a "long series of abstentions and ceremonies,"—abstention from favoured articles of food and social functions: ceremonies creating "intense emotional experience" and sense of personal social value.

As regards the foods eaten at initiation ceremonies, Mr. Brown explains (p. 283) the purpose of the ceremonies to be "to endow the initiate with the power to eat the dangerous foods with comparative safety," and (p. 284) "to endow the individual with a social personality."

**Sleekness.**

The danger from eating food is sickness, which is caused by an attack of the spirits of the dead (p. 285). Mr. Brown explains the Andamanese notions about the Spirits by considering the customs as to death and burial.
Death and Burial.

The consideration of the general subject carries Mr. Brown into that of several minor ones. A death to the mind of the Andamanese does not destroy a personality. It creates a profound change, however, and turns the deceased (p. 285) from "an object of pleasurable states of the social sentiments into an object of painful states." The burial customs (p. 286) are "a collective and ritual expression of collective feeling."

The burial customs do not depend as much on the fear of the dead as on their social value. The dead man's ties of solidarity have not ceased to exist, but (p. 288) "continue until the society has recovered from the effects of his death." This, Mr. Brown thinks, explains the burial customs—abstention from particularly valued foods, painting the body with white clay and so on.

At the end of the mourning ceremonies (p. 292) "the dead man becomes completely absorbed in the spirit world and as a spirit he has no more part in or influence over the social life than any other spirit, and the mourning is brought to a close by means of a ceremony. This ceremony has two parts. One is the recovery of the bones and their reaggregation to the society, a rite that we may regard as the final settling of the dead man in his proper place." The bones are dug up as soon as the society has recovered from the disruptive shock of the deceased's death, and are worn in various ways as the greatest power of protection to the wearer, just as are the bones of eaten animals. The mourners return to the normal social life with a dance and ceremonial weeping as a rite of aggregation.

Nomenclature.

A person's name is dropped from use after his death and this custom Mr. Brown explains at some length (pp. 294 ff.): "there is a very special relation between the name of anything and its fundamental characteristics ... and a very important connection between a person's name ... and his social personality ... The name is always avoided whenever the owner is for any reason prevented from taking his or her usual place in the life of the society." The name of a girl from her first menstruation to the birth of her first child is dropped and she is given "a flower name." At initiation and mourning, after marriage and after other important occasions boys' names and girls' flower-names are dropped for a time. In fact (p. 297) "at any period, in which a person is undergoing a critical change in his condition in so far as it affects the society, his name falls out of use [is tabued]. The reason for this is that during such periods of change the social personality is suppressed or latent, and therefore the name which is closely associated with the social personality must be suppressed also."

The Spirits.

The basis of Andamanese beliefs about the Spirits, Mr. Brown maintains (p. 297), "is the fact that at the death of an individual his social personality (as defined above) is not annihilated, but is suddenly changed."

"The Spirits are feared and regarded (pp. 297-298) as dangerous. The basis of this fear is the fact that the Spirit (i.e., the social personality of a person recently dead) is obviously a source of weakness and disruption to the community, affecting the survivors through their attachment to him, and producing a condition of dysphoria, of diminished social activity ... The fear of the dead man (his body and his spirit) is a collective feeling induced in the society by the fact that by death he has become the object of a dysphoric condition of the collective consciousness."

The people's own explanation of their fear of the spirit of the dead is a fear of their own sickness and death. The basis of this notion is this (p. 298):
The near relatives of the deceased, being bound to him by close ties, are influenced by everything that happens to him, and share in his good and evil fortune . . . (p. 299). The feelings of the living towards the spirits of the dead are therefore ambivalent, compounded of affection and fear, and this must be clearly recognized if we are to understand all the Andamanese beliefs and customs.

Nevertheless (p. 300) Mr. Brown holds that there is a hostility between the society and the world of spirits, which induces him once in a way to make a comparison with other peoples. And then he proceeds (p. 301) to say "that the Andamanese do not regard the power that is possessed by the Spirits as being essentially evil." This brings him to the consideration of the medicine-man (p. 301 ff.).

**Medicine-men and Dreamers.**

A man can become a medicine-man in three ways:—

1. by dying and coming to life again.
2. by straying into the jungle and being affronted by the Spirits.
3. by having intercourse with the Spirits in dreams.

The difference between a medicine-man and an ordinary man is the possession of the same power as the Spirits: i.e., he can cause and cure sickness, and can arouse and dispel a storm. He produces his effects by communicating with the Spirits in his dreams.

Sleep is "a condition of diminished social activity" and therefore dangerous. All such conditions (e.g., sickness) are dangerous, when (p. 303) "it is necessary to take ritual or magical precautions." Sleep is visited by dreams, "by which the nature of the spirit world may be represented by the imagination," and (p. 304) the Andamanese "regards the dream-world as a world of shadows and reflections. In his dreams he acts as his double and it is his double that becomes his spirit. "To summarize the argument, the belief in the world of spirits rests on the actual fact that a dead person continues to affect the society."

**The Principles underlying the Ceremonial.**

These considerations bring Mr. Brown to his 'Principles,' which he states thus (p. 306):—

"(1) There is a power or force in all objects or beings that in any way affect social life.
(2) It is by virtue of this power that such things are able to aid or harm the society.
(3) the power, no matter what may be the object or being in which it is present, is never either essentially good or essentially evil, but is able to produce both good and bad results.
(4) Any contact with the power is dangerous, but the danger is avoided by ritual precautions.
(5) the degree of power possessed by anything is directly proportioned to the importance of the effects that it has on the social life.
(6) The power in one thing may be used to counteract the danger due to contact with the power in some other thing.
(7) If an individual comes into contact with the power in anything and successfully avoids the danger of such contact, he becomes himself endowed with power of the same kind as that with which he is in contact."

Here Mr. Brown adds a caution (p. 305): "remembering always that the Andamanese Islanders themselves are quite incapable of expressing their beliefs in words and are probably only vaguely conscious of them."

**The Social Life.**

Mr. Brown now becomes more difficult to follow (p. 307): "It has been held in this chapter that the society or the social life is the chief source of protection against danger for the individual." That is to say on the whole argument that the society is both the danger and the protection of the individual.
He then goes deeply into matters of the 'dangerous' conditions after certain foods, heat, odour and painting the body; making comparisons by the way with the ideas of the people of the Malay Archipelago and Melanesians, in the course of which he makes the notable remark (p. 312) regarding the Andamanese Calendar, that it "is a Calendar of Scents." His argument finally leads him to the hypothesis (p. 315) that "in the Andamans the customary regulation of personal ornament is a means by which the society acts upon, modifies and regulates, the sense of self in the individual."

Mr. Brown then states (p. 315) that "there are three methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans; (1) by scarification, (2) by painting, and (3) by the putting on of ornaments. By scarification (p. 315) "the society makes use of the very powerful sentiment of personal vanity to strengthen the social sentiments." By painting the body the society makes (p. 315) "both the painted individual and those who see him feel his social value." Red paint (p. 316) has a double purpose,—as a protector and as a declarer of social value. Similarly, by putting on ornaments the society is moved by a double motive (p. 319) : "the desire for protection and the desire for display."

"We are thus brought (p. 330) to the final conclusion that the scarification and painting of the body and wearing of most, if not all, of the customary ornaments are rites, which have the function of marking the fact that the individual is in a particular permanent or temporary relation to that power in the society and in all things that affect the social life, the notion of which we have seen to underlie so much of the Andaman ceremonial."

**Ornamentation of Objects.**

Lastly Mr. Brown considers (pp. 323 ff.) the ornamentation of objects such as bows, canoes and baskets:

"Such ornamentation consists of
(1) Incised patterns (on bows, etc.), which may be compared with the scarification of the body.
(2) Painting with red paint and white clay (bows, canoes, skulls, etc.), or with prepared wax (Nautilus shell cups, etc.).
(3) patterns made with the yellow skin of the Dendrobium (baskets, etc.).
(4) shells attached by thread (baskets, baby-sling, etc.).

Here Mr. Brown remarks (p. 323) : "The important point to note is that the decoration applied to utensils is of the same character throughout as that which, when applied to the body, has been shown to be an expression of the social value of the person."

**Conclusion.**

Mr. Brown's conclusion is stated on p. 324:
"It is time to bring the argument to a conclusion. It should now, I hope, be evident that the ceremonial customs of the Andaman Islanders form a closely connected system, and that we cannot understand their meaning if we only consider each one by itself, but must study the whole system to arrive at an interpretation. This in itself I regard as most important a conclusion, for it justifies the contention that we must substitute for the old comparative method—by which isolated customs from different social types were brought together and conclusions drawn from their similarity,—a new method by which all the institutions of one society or social type are studied together so as to exhibit their intimate relations as part of an organic system."

On p. 225 Mr. Brown says that the ceremonial of the Andaman Islands involves "the assumption of a power of a peculiar kind" which "is the source of all good and all evil in human life." And finally he says (p. 325) : "It is, in a few words, the moral power of the
society acting upon the individual directly and indirectly and felt by him in innumerable ways throughout the whole course of his life.” Mr. Man calls this power ‘God’. All this is to say that Mr. Brown is a follower of the “new method,” —the method of Durkheim.

I have tried to let Mr. Brown tell, in these pages, his story in his own language, and it seems to me that if we are to abandon the “old method” of comparative study for the new, we shall find ourselves involved, not in a scientific discussion, but in the formulation of an empirical philosophy. As regards Mr. Brown’s own argument, it is a pity that it is based only on his own observations in the field, which reject all Mr. Man’s that do not justify his theory.

(To be continued.)

MANDANA AND BHAVABHUTI.

It is encouraging to note that the query of Prof. B. N. Sharma (Modern Review, Nov.) about the identification of Maṇḍana and Bhavabhūti, has after all met a response (Modern Review, May). It is indeed a very important question; but Mr. V. R. Bhathe, I regret to remark, has not paid to the question the sustained and careful attention that it deserves. In settling such important historical problems, the first necessity is to cast off all our prejudices and pre-suppositions, not warranted by logical reasons. The arguments put forward by Mr. Bhathe carry us not an inch further from where we were left by the original query. The identification of these two great historical personages is still an open question.

Now I shall try, as briefly as possible, to show that the arguments, presented by Mr. Bhathe, prove nothing at all.

Mr. Bhathe calls Bhavabhūti a braggart, and expects that had Bhavabhūti been known by the name of Umbeka, he must have mentioned it in the prologues of his three dramas. But it may be said that, if the commentators, who follow the tradition, are to be believed, the name Bhavabhūti itself was not the poet’s genuine name. They tell us that Śiva himself appeared to the poet and gave him मुख्यत्रि and therefore he became known as Bhavabhūti. (नवालं भवायःसः.). Whatever may be the significance of this tradition, the name Bhavabhūti seems to have been a kind of pseudonym only. It is quite possible that when Bhavabhūti had passed away, his real name might have been forgotten by the coming generations. It is not a single case in the literary history of the world. The mystery about the names of Shakespeare and George Eliot is too modern an example to require any elucidation here.

The fact of Bhavabhūti’s being a pupil of तारानाथि does not bar him from becoming the pupil of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa or any other person, especially as he mentions himself as a great scholar. Jagnānāth Pandit-rāja was a pupil of a numerous persons, as he tells us in his Rasajñapāthisāra. This argument of Mr. Bhathe is still more weakened by the fact that the name तारानाथि is one of the least known and the most mysterious names met with in Sanskrit Literature. Unless and until तारानाथि is traced, it can prove nothing at all.

It would be a very hard task for any person, who has carefully read Mālati Mādhava, to agree with Mr. Bhathe that Bhavabhūti favours Buddhism. We find quite the reverse. The character Kāmaṣṭakī, though it has many merits, does not reflect credit on the Buddhism of his time. Is a Baudhā Systemin permitted by older Buddhism to engage in love intrigues? Certainly not. If we are to follow the same trend of reasoning, we can say that he still more favours the Tātrītas when he introduces Saudāmini. On the face of it, it would be absurd to say so. The object of a real dramatist is never to favour or disfavour any sect. He simply holds a mirror to nature and gives us a true picture of the society of his time. Bhavabhūti was living in the time of the Vedic renaissance, and so it is no wonder if he throws side-lightson Buddhism etc., not favourable to them but rather showing their decay and degeneration.

The fourth argument of Mr. Bhathe has really surprised me. He has not even taken the trouble to understand the passage quoted from Chitsukhi. Umbeka has been quoted there, not for identifying himself with Bhavabhūti, which, had it been so, would be, as Mr. Bhathe observes, really absurd. He has been quoted with reference to quite a different topic discussed there. Even if the identification is not borne out by evidence other than the statements of the commentator, the passage quoted from Chitsukhi is quite sufficient to show that Bhavabhūti had written some philosophical work also.

1 Vide Uttarārdrāmcharita—Virarāghava and Goswāmi editions.
With regard to the well-known Kārikā रूपेकः: कार्यिका वैदिक etc., we may say that it is found written in a number of ways. At one or two places Maṇḍana is no doubt separately mentioned; but such an old authority as गुप्तरक्ष, the commentator on पुरातन समुदर्भ, does not mention Maṇḍana. Even if the Kārikā has the name of Maṇḍana in it, it will not carry much weight; for it is found in a later work. When once a tradition, whether right or wrong, becomes afoot, even scholarly persons begin to follow it blindly.

Whoever Maṇḍana might have been, it is well known that he lived in Māhismatī Puri, the modern Mandla, which is in the Central Provinces, not very far from Berar. So it in no way contradicts the statement of Bhavabhūti.

The seventh argument of Mr. Bhate is not his own. This difficulty was also felt by Prof. Sharma, who has in his query stated arguments, both in favour of and against the identification. But it may be said that Maṇḍana, if the author of the Naṭakarma-vīdā is to be believed, was in the habit of writing commentaries on his own works, and he might have done so even in the case of Bīhārvand-viveka.

It is not only in the Śaṅkara-dīvīṣajaya that we find Maṇḍana identified with Umbeka. Kriṣṇadeva, in his Tenṭra-chāṭṭhāni, mentions the name of Umbeka as one of the commentators on Tenṭra-edūtikaa. Aurore and Hall 4, in their excellent catalogues of manuscripts, tell us that Umbeka was the vulgar name of Maṇḍana. Moreover, Śaṅkara-dīvīṣajaya, though it abounds in so-called exaggerations, can not be so easily swept aside. Exaggerations may be made in the case of descriptions, but they are not possible with regard to personal names. अमृत may be called पापे, बुद्धाक्रम, पवित्र श्रृवं etc., at different places, but not सौभग, द्रव्य etc.

The few lines which have been written above are intended simply to remove mis-representations, which are liable to stop further research on this very important question. The question of the identification of these two bright luminaries, is as important from a historical standpoint as it is interesting from a literary point of view. It should attract minds, unprejudiced and trained in higher oriental research work.

V. N. Shastri.

BOOK-NOTICES.


Mr. Edwards, for reasons of health, resigned the arduous post of Commissioner of Police in Bombay in 1916, shortly before the agitation for Home Rule commenced in India. His tenure of office came to an end, therefore, just as the old conditions of Indian Government were giving place to those now still in their infancy, and he has done well to place on record what kind of achievements he and his predecessors managed to perform in the cause of order.

In 1668 Charles II transferred Bombay to the E. I. Company and in the following year Gerald Angier was appointed Governor and at once organised a "rude militia" consisting largely of "black Christians" (Portuguese Eurasians), to keep order. So the Bombay Police may be said to be as old as the place itself as a British possession. This body developed into a Bhandari Militia after the suppression of Keigwin's Rebellion, which it joined in 1783, largely as a result of the chee paring policy of Sir Josia Child. In one form or another the Bhandari Militia lasted on to 1800. It was primarily a military body for protection against neighbouring powers, but police duties were also an integral part of its occupations. The times were lawless and judicial functions were performed by officials without any real legal knowledge, added by native functionaries known as cereatores. By 1720 the Mayor's Court was instituted by Charter and justice became a little more regularly administered. The police arrangements remained however so unsatisfactory that in 1771 the Bhandari Militia were definitely employed on regular police duties, under rules, some of which were severe—all Europeans ever had to obtain passes. Coffees (runaway African slaves) seem to have been very troublesome at that time to the general public.

General Wedderburn was in charge of the Militia and organised a system of night patrols "from which sprang the later police administration of the Island." Crime, however, did not diminish, and in 1778 the Grand Jury complained vigorously, bringing about the appointment of Mr. James Tod as Chief of Police, who framed regulations, which were the commencement of the Bombay Police Code. He had a chequered career as head of the Police and he was never really successful, coming finally to downright

2 भो (स) भेंक: कार्यिका वैदिक समुदर्भ क्रिया रूपेक भवाभूति समुनदा नमन उभेका फुल।

3 Vide Catalogus Codicum Sanskritorium Bibliothecae, 255b, 1884.

4 Vide Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems, pp. 166, 170, 1859.

5 Populare sāgur, Maṇḍana nomen Umbeka fuit.
grief on a conviction of corruption in 1790. Crime in his day was as rampant as ever and professional begging by so-called faqirs and jogis was a public nuisance. It is so largely still.

In 1793 a Commission of the Peace was established in Bombay under an Act of Parliament, and Mr. Simon Halliday was appointed to be first Superintendent of Police up to 1800. Under his regime, police arrangements outside the Fort were thoroughly revised and placed under a Deputy Superintendent, Mr. James Fisher. At that time the Superintendent had multifarious duties, which were afterwards gradually distributed among other officials.

Crime, however, remained rampant and public protection more than indifferent, until in 1809 reform was demanded. A Recorder’s Court had been established in 1798, but the powers of the Police Superintendent remained very wide, until Sir James Mackintosh, Recorder, 1803-11, declared them illegal; and indeed the procedure of the police at the time was undoubtedly arbitrary to the European legal mind. So in 1810 a Committee of Enquiry was set up under Mr. Warden, Chief Secretary to Government, which produced a famous document known as Warden’s Report. The Police had become notoriously inefficient and corrupt, and no wonder, for Halliday’s successor as Superintendent was tried for corruption. Warden’s Report ended in Regulation I of 1812 which “formed the basis of the police administration of Bombay, until 1856.” But Warden demanded the services of an “admirable Crichton” in the Superintendent, and such a person was not forthcoming till 1855, in Mr. Charles Forjett. Consequently the new Regulations effected “little or no improvement” in the state of public safety. Every householder “was compelled to employ private watchmen, the forerunners of the modern Ramosi and Bhaya.” Punishment of ordinary folk continued to be barbarous, and it was not till 1846 that a Brahman was executed for a crime of violence. In 1832 occurred the serious Parsi-Hindu riots, precursors of many of the like in later years. The cause was thoroughly Indian, as they arose out of a Government order for the destruction of pariah-dogs. There may have been some improvement in general security at this time, but property remained in an unsafe condition. This is not to say that no attempts at improvement were made, for indeed such were constant. To go into a minor matter,—at some period before 1838, the uniform peculiar to the Bombay Police—a-poy was established:—dark blue with a yellow head-dress.

One of the causes of failure on the part of the police administration lay in the class of official appointed to the executive control of the force. They were junior military officers, appointed without reference to their capacity for the work, poorly paid and never encouraged to do well. In 1850 there were serious riots between Parsis and Muhammaddans, and the outcry against the police had become so great that there was a fresh enquiry in 1856 and Mr. Charles Forjett was appointed Superintendent just before the outbreak of the Mutiny. This was a fortunate appointment indeed. Thereafter the history of the Bombay Police resolves itself into an account of the proceedings of the seven successive Commissioners up to 1816.

Charles Forjett (1855-1865) was a Eurasian (the modern Anglo-Indian). “He owed his later successes as a police-officer to three main factors, namely his great linguistic faculty, his wide knowledge of Indian caste-customs and habits, and his masterly capacity for assuming native disguises.” He owes his fame to his action during the Mutiny, but he did many things for the city in his charge and the body he controlled. How he saw where the real danger was locally in the Mutiny, and how he discovered the plot and met the situation generally is well told by Mr. Edwards, who writes truly when he says: “one hesitates to imagine what might have happened in Bombay, if a man of less courage and ability had been in charge of the force in 1857.” Forjett lived on in England in dignified retirement in the enjoyment of many well-earned rewards till 1890.

He was succeeded by an equally capable man, Sir Frank Souter (1864-1888), in whom the city was peculiarly fortunate, as he was in charge for 24 years. In the last years of Forjett there had been an enormous increase of every kind in Bombay, due to the profits in cotton during the American Civil War, including a great influx of bad characters. There was accordingly a re-organisation of Police, but not of the Magistracy till 1877, and it was not till 1883 that the Police Commissioner began to issue reports on the working of his department. His great difficulty was the under-manning of the force, and for one reason and another that has been the trouble of all his successors. In Souter’s time too, commenced another trouble, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca from Bombay, nowadays a matter of great consequence owing to increased facility for travel. He had to face also serious riots, Sunni and Shia in 1872 and Parsi-Muhammadan in 1874, which were partly aggravated by the extreme constitutional theories of the Governor. An injudicious police magistrate also interfered disastrously in the searching of suspicious characters at night. Another new difficulty arose at this time, due to facilities of travel, in the care and guarding of distinguished visitors, and yet another in the matter of housing the police, which it took the Government 14 years to rectify after admitting its immediate importance. All this and much more Sir Frank Souter had to face, and during his long administration the city had progressed in size and importance almost beyond belief.
Sir Frank Souter was succeeded by Col. W. H. Wilson (1838-1893), another remarkable man, who again was troubled with insufficient buildings and staff, which he did not succeed in getting made up to proper strength. He did, however, succeed in putting a stop to the mischievous rain-gambling—an ingenuous form of indulgence in a vice to which Bombay is addicted. In one case in which he was concerned—the poisoning of a whole Memon family by a dissolve member thereof—he was hampered by a peculiarly Indian habit—the whole Memon community persistently made every effort to render enquiry abortive.

The next Commissioner was Mr. R. H. Vincent (1893-98), who was a foreigner by birth. He too was hampered by an insufficient force. During his five years of service occurred the most serious riot (Hindu-Muhammadan, 1893) ever known in Bombay; the outbreak of plague which threw an enormous amount of risky labour on the Police, so gallantly met as to draw an eloquent panegyric from Mr. Edwardes; and the initiation of the political Ganapati festivals (1894), organised by the notorious agitator, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and subsequently a constant source of trouble to the public peace.

Mr. Vincent was succeeded by Mr. Hartley Kennedy (1899-1901), who managed to do a good deal during his short term of office and, like Forjett, was successful in assuming native disguises. He was at once faced by a great volume of crime as a consequence of the plague,—the immediate causes being disease, starvation and unemployment, and a minor cause the reluctance of the judicial authorities in India to convict on the evidence of police alone. Mr. Kennedy also did much to reduce the beggar nuisance and to reduce the number of those who procured women, Indian and European, for prostitution.

The next Commissioner, Mr. H. G. Gell (1902-09) was a popular selection, but he had an anxious career and had to deal with Royal visits, riots and strikes, including those of the Post Office and Indian Police themselves, and a dangerous revolutionary movement, to meet which last his office was not organised, besides being understaffed. There came the inevitable "enquiry," but it did not lead to any practical result during Mr. Gell's occupancy of the Commissionership. There was trouble also about the low pay of the police which constituted a legitimate grievance, the setting straight of which occupied so long a time that a large portion of the force struck, and unfortunately the situation was not righted until the settlement had the appearance of the rights of the men being extorted from the Government. At this period the great cotton fires occurred, which were believed to be incendiary, though the culprits were never detected, partly owing to the system of insurance; the regulation of street traffic owing to the great increase in wheeled traffic which showed the inability of native police to direct it; the system of the deportation of beggars which was stopped by the Government, leading to a serious and permanent increase in the nuisance. The illiteracy of the Indian subordinate officers, too, had become a serious handicap to efficiency, but was not remedied in Mr. Gell's time. He also had to face serious Muharram riots and strikes in consequence of the conviction of the agitator Tilak, in the settlement of which his successor, Mr. Edwardes, played an important part. Finally towards the end of his time the Morison Committee reorganised the detective branch of the Police force into the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.).

Mr. Gell was followed by the author himself, Mr. S. M. Edwardes, (1909-1916), who had drafted the Report of the Morison Committee. He was the first member of the Indian Civil Service to hold the post and met with some opposition at first, in consequence, from the Imperial Police Service. Like all his predecessors Mr. Edwardes was hampered by an inadequate force owing to financial stringency. He managed, however, to accomplish much in the seven years that he held the Commissionership; establishing the Police Gazette, issued three times daily with all details of recent crimes, setting up many new stations, teaching English to the Indian constabulary; controlling motor traffic and the Mecca pilgrimage; improving the Finger-Print Bureau; looking after delinquent girl children; and finally during the great war clearing the city of undesirables. He had also to face Royal visits and a great increase in the cocaine traffic and also the collapse of improperly formed Indian banks, a feature of the Bombay habit of speculation. But his main achievement was "the abolition of the dangerous and rowdy side of the annual Muharram celebration," the story of which is excellently told. Another very important matter for the time being were his excellent arrangements, well backed by his subordinates, during the Great War.

Such in brief is the story of the Bombay Police and its leaders—to those who can look back to life in Bombay a very instructive tale. "History" is so much taken up with the general doings of the great that one cannot be too thankful for the story of the guarding of public safety, which so intimately concerns private life. The present writer can recollect Bombay when there was a big gap in the Railway route to Calcutta and the official Military method of proceeding to Madras was by sea down the west coast to Beyrampore near Calicut in a small six-knot British India steamer and thence by rail to Madras; when the kindly old Parsee, Pesonji, still ruled at the bygone Byculla Hotel, and when the ladies of his race were only beginning to show themselves to European friends here and there.
Afterwards he was in Bombay for varying periods occasionally and saw its immense progress until the days of the plague, when fear was great and the courage of very many magnificent, when men went about quietly and the funeral pyres at the burning ghats were always alight; and then again, not many years ago as a man's life goes, when the motor car and other things had once more greatly changed the superficial aspect of the city. One knew of course that the police existed. They were in the streets and their superior officers were acquaintances, but how life and property were kept safe and the struggle to secure that safety were unknown quantities. One read, equally of course, of riots, strikes and disorders, but they did not personally concern one, and whatever the period, either in the old Bombay or the new, the feeling always was that one was in the forefront of life—up to date in fact—and that there was no reason to be anxious as to the safety of property. The book lifts the veil and shows us clearly how great the difficulty of preserving life and property has always been; how continuous the anxiety and the labour and the self-sacrificing skill and thought that has been bestowed by many men devoted to the public welfare. Thinking over these things, one cannot but be grateful to them, and to Mr. Edwardes for explaining their work so well.

R. C. TEMPLE.


The author describes this work as "notes for the study of the rites of the pilgrimage." It is much more than that; for he has given in great detail the result of a prolonged enquiry into the various ceremonies and rites connected with the Muhammadan pilgrimage to Mecca, into the history and character of the principal buildings and edifices round the Ka'aba, and into the significance and origin of the customs which are imposed upon the devout Hājī. He has not touched upon the political aspect of the Hāj, considering this to be of far less importance than the religious aspect, "If we except," he writes, "certain personages of avowed sanctity and the shool of professional beggars, the entire population of Mecca lives by and for the pilgrimage. It prepares it, leads it, exploits it, and that done, it sinks into a somnolent existence, broken only by low intrigue, meagre calculation and petty passion. The pilgrimage places an aureole on the brow of the Musalman and gives him, without doubt, an ineffaceable memory of great religious emotion and of solid kinship with unknown people from far distant countries. But these exalted ideas are tempered by sentiments of a meaner character. The political consequences of the Hāj are of but feeble growth."

After a close analysis of the haram and the various tabus and rites connected with it—particularly the rites of ihram, known by the technical name of mīqāt (plural mawdqi'ūt), he investigates the history and character of the famous Ka'aba, which is to-day an irregular cube of heavy stones, containing the black stone which forms, as it were, the focus of the pilgrimage. The Ka'aba has been destroyed more than once. Abd-el-Malik bin Merwān, for example, rebuilt it in A.D. 693 in the form which it was supposed to have had in the time of the Prophet. It was later reconstructed by El Walid bin al-Moghaira, who transformed it from a simple enclosure into a regular temple or mosque, covered by a terrace. Later again it was destroyed and rebuilt by Ibn ez Zubair, who added new features, including a second door. The author explains fully the character of the alterations and restorations of the haram which have been carried out since the seventh century. As regards the black stone, he suggests that in ancient pre-Islamic times the Ka'aba may have been the shrine of a pagan Arab deity, Hoba. There is some evidence that in the time of the Prophet's youth it was surrounded by divers idols and served as a kind of pagan pantheon, and that the principal deity was the black stone, regarded as "the right hand of Allah on earth" or "the eye of Allah." He indicates that the sanctity of this stone was derived from the fact that it was the corner-stone of the haram, and that in this respect its worship was identical with the reverence accorded to, and the sacrificial rites connected with, corner-stones among the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Hebrews. When the Prophet founded his monotheistic faith, he was forced, like the original propagators of other creeds, to assimilate a good deal of pagan custom and superstition; and, consequently, when the old shrine of the haram became the dwelling of the One God, the black stone was permitted to retain its sanctity as the corner-stone of the transfigured shrine. Some of the rites formerly connected with the Ka'aba and its black stone have been abolished in the course of ages; and two of them, which are described by old Muhammadan writers, indicate that the worship belonged to a very ancient form of popular and pre-Islamic superstition.
One of the author’s most illuminating chapters is concerned with the sacred well Zemsen, which was an essential feature in the ancient worship of the Ka‘aba and was closely connected with the rite of sigâya or ceremonial potation by the pilgrims. At one time the right of superintending and arranging this congregational drinking was vested in a particular Meccan family. Ancient literature shows that there were once three buildings beside the sacred well, one of them a tank for ablation and other two, pavilions. In one of these pavilions was manufactured a fermented liquor of dried grapes and barley or corn, called nabidh or sadrig; in the other the liquor, which was very bitter, was mixed with the water of Zemsen. Up to the eighth century A.D., the pilgrims, or rather the worshippers at the ancient shrine, drank only the liquor (sadrig), which was first offered to the deity and then consumed, as a pledge of a good harvest. Moreover, the actual ceremony of drinking took place at the moment of tawfîf al ifâda—the ceremony which, so to speak, desanctifies the worshipper and sets him free to indulge in worldly avocations, including especially sexual acts. When Islam took the place of the old pagan cult, Muhammadan orthodoxy could not tolerate the consumption of sadrig; but finding the custom too old and firmly founded to be wholly abolished at once, it combined it with the cult of the well of Zemsen—thus, so to speak, diluting the pagan superstition with the pure water of a higher faith, and preparing the way for the ultimate abolition of the drinking of sadrig, which occurred some time in the eleventh century A.D.

In describing the other edifices which stand near the Ka‘aba, the author discloses fresh traces of the pre-Islamic cult which centred round the shrine. He regards the maqâm Ibrahim as a pagan relic, which may once have been a stone of sacrifice. After the foundation of Islam, tales had to be invented to explain its presence and importance in the new faith, and so gradually it became the qibla, behind which the principal Imam stands when leading the prayers within the sacred enclosure. The sacred pigeons of the mosque, el masjid el haram, are another link with the pagan past and take the mind back to the worship of pigeons, connected with the cult of Astarte of Byblos, which was widely known throughout the lands bordering the Mediterranean Sea. This same Syrian cult probably provided the basis of the prohibition of sexual union during the period of ihram. The asceticism of Islam, if we are to accept the author’s view, had nothing whatever to do with this embargo upon carnal pleasures, which was a definite part of the ancient rite at the annual worship of the mother-goddess. But whatever its origin, the prohibition for a fixed period during the ceremonies at Mecca still operates; and it is only after the sexual tabû has been raised by the tawfîf al ifâda, or rite of desanctification, that the pilgrim is free to seek the embraces of woman. The fact that by far the greater number of pilgrims are men, who travel without their women folk, is probably responsible for the growth of prostitution at Mecca. Other ceremonies now performed there, which originated in the paganism of pre-Islamic ages, are the sacrifice of animals and the ceremony of cutting the hair or shaving the head; and these, as well as other features of the annual Hajj, such as ablation, prayer, costume, and the tâbiya, which have to be observed by every pilgrim before he is fit to approach the shrine, are discussed by the author with the help of all available evidence as to their character and significance.

This review may suitably conclude with an extract from the final note in which the author sums up the lesson of his researches: “Entre temps sans doute quelques pratiques ont disparu, celles du saurig par exemple. Mais le formalisme reste dominant, et c’est lui qui continue à régler le hajj. Et les pratiques les plus anciennes et les plus nettement magiques persistent, même contre l’effort de la doctrine orthodoxe. Il faut constater que ce ne sont pas les peuples lointains, nouveaux venus à l’Islam, qui ont apporté des pratiques heterodoxes, et que, comme on le sait, "l’innovation condamnable" (bida) des docteurs musulmans est presque toujours une coutume ancienne, plus puissante que tous leurs écrits; ce sont les Arabes d’Arabie, les Beduinois, les Mekkais eux-mêmes qui conservent les vieux usages antéislamiques, qui ont cependant perdu leur signification. Ici, comme en d’autres matières, l’élargissement de la pensée est venu de l’extérieur, des centres nouveaux de culture où se mêlaient des pensées diverses, et la capitale religieuse de l’Islam est restée, et rien n’est plus normal, un centre de pratiques mesquines, de discussions étroites et de mercantilisme religieux. Le mouvement de l’Islam moderne doit tenter, ici comme ailleurs, de combiner, en une doctrine harmonieuse, les traditions d’un glorieux passé intellectuel avec les exigences de la pensée moderne.”

S. M. Edwards.
THE COPPER-PLATES OF UTTAMA-CHOLADEVA IN THE MADRAS MUSEUM.

BY THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., AND
M. K. NARAYANASAMI AYYAR, B.A., B.L.

The set of copper plates containing the subjoined inscription belongs to the Government Central Museum, Madras. The plates are bound together by a ring, which bears on it an inscription in Sanskrit, which distinctly tells us that it belongs to the Pândya king Jañilavarman, one of whose documents is also found in the Museum. The seal, which must have belonged to our plates, is put on another set: it also contains an inscription in Sanskrit, mentioning the fact that it belongs to the Chôla king. Evidently therefore the rings and seals have got mixed up and have been affixed to wrong sets.

As early as 1891 this set of copper-plates was reviewed by Dr. Hultzsch: he writes, "No. I is an inscription on five copper plates, for the loan of which I am indebted to the Superintendent, Government Central Museum, Madras. The character is Tamil and Grantha. Both the beginning and the end of the inscription are lost. The plates are strung on a ring which bears a well-executed seal. The chief figure on the seal is a seated tiger, the emblem of the Chôlas, in front of which are two fish, symbol of the Pândya kings. These three figures are surrounded by a bow, the emblem of the Chêra king, at the bottom, a lamp on each side, and a parasol and two chauris at the top. Round the margin is engraved a Sanskrit ślokā in Grantha characters, which may be translated as follows:—'This is the matchless edict of king Parakâsarivarman, which teaches justice to the kings of his realm.' The full name of the king is found at the end of the first side of the first plate: Kô-Parakâsarivarman, alias Uttamachôladêva. The legend Uttama-Chôla is engraved in Grantha characters on both sides of a gold coin, and the legend Uttama-Chôla in Nâgari characters on the reverse of a silver coin, both of which are figured in Sir Walter Elliot's Coins of Southern India (Nos. 151 and 154). The obverse of the silver coin bears the figures of a tiger which is seated between two fish and a bow, while a sitting tiger and a single fish are represented on both faces of the gold coin. The resemblance of the devices on the coins to those on the seal of the inscription leaves little doubt that both the coins and the inscription have to be attributed to the same king Uttamachôla. The edict was issued by the king in the sixteenth year of his reign at Kachchhipêdu, i.e., Conjeevaram, and at the request of a minister of his, in order to confirm the contents of a number of stone inscriptions which referred to certain dues to be paid to a temple of Vishnu at Kachchhipêdu. Thus, according to a stone inscription of the twenty-second year of some Kô-Parakâsarivarman, the villagers of Kûram and of Ariya-perumbâkkam (Nos. 15 and 18 on the Conjeevaram taluk map) had to supply 500 kâdi of paddy per year as interest for 250 kâlañju of gold, which had been lent from the temple treasury, and the villagers of Ujaïyû (No. 115 on the same map) had to supply 150 kâdi of paddy as interest for 50 kâlañju of gold. According to a stone inscription of the ninth year of Kô-Vijaya-Kambavarman, the villagers of Oûkkaippâkkam had to pay 1 kâlañju and four mañjâdi of gold per year as interest for 24 kâlañju of gold. As one mañjâdi is 1/20th kâlañju, the rate of interest comes to 5 per cent., while in all the Tanjore inscriptions it is 12½ per cent. In the sixteenth year of some Kô-Parakâsarivarman, the inhabitants of four different quarters of Kachchhipêdu received 200 kâlañju of gold, for which they had to pay an interest of 30 kâlañju. Here the rate of interest is 15 per cent. The last date referred to in the preserved part of the inscription is the eighteenth year of some Parakâsarivarman, 'who took Madura and Ceylon.'

1 This article was contributed to the Journal in 1911, but was unfortunately mislaid until a recent date.
The inscription\(^3\) is recorded in Sanskrit and Tamil; a large portion of the former is lost with a few plates which are missing at the beginning. Thus we have lost the most important portion, that dealing with the praśasti of the Chōla dynasty; but the Tamil portion is sufficient to indicate the name of the king by whom, and the purposes for which, the grant was issued. The Sanskrit portion and the Sanskrit words occurring in the Tamil portion are written in Grantha alphabet, and the Tamil in Tamil characters. The Tamil writing is quite similar to the beautiful writing belonging to the reign of Rājarāja I., found in the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore and on the Chōlesvara temple at Mēlpadī. The orthographical peculiarities are not many and we may therefore notice the few striking ones. Distinction between \(i\) and \(v\) is made by impressing a gentle curve at the bottom of the former; see \(kuḷa\) occurring in ll. 6 and 10 in which \(i\) is found; compare it with \(v\) occurring in \(bhava\) in l. 8. The long \(i\) in secondary vowels is written with a distinct loop, which the short \(i\) has not; e.g., \(dariṇi\) in l. 10; in \(niṭi\) in l. 22, etc. Difference is also made between short and long secondary \(u\) symbols of the consonant \(m\); e.g., \(mūvēnda\) in l. 14; \(mūru\) occurring in ll. 38, 39, etc. The letter \(ti\) has the secondary \(i\) joined to \(t\) on the top of it; compare \(paḍi\) occurring in l. 23, \(paḍi\) in l. 25, \(paṇṭi\) in l. 50, etc.

The document belongs to the 16th year of the reign of Parakṣarivarman Uttamachōla-dēva and records that, while the king was seated in the south Chittura-mañḍapa in the palace at Kachchippēdu, the adhikārin, Nakkaṇa Kāṭhechēn ālias Śōla-mūvēnda-vēlar of Śikkar, requested His Majes y that, as the grants made to and enjoyed by the city of Uragam had not been registered, they might be reduced to writing in proper form. The king commissioned this same adhikārin to attend to this business. Thereupon, this specially deputed officer examined all the old records and, after getting himself properly equipped with the details of the income and expenditure, makes the necessary arrangements.

The items of income according to the inscription are:—

1. Taxes on articles sold by weight or by measure in the city of Kachchippēdu.
2. The produce of the lands purchased from the temple funds in the following places:—
   (a) In Tunḍunukkahērē, the plot of land on the south of Śendaraippottān; the cheppu north of Kiṣāḍikkuṇḍil and Va akki-lauṇḍil, which is in the enjoyment of Kōgēriyār.
   (b) Bought from the citizens of Kachchippēdu, the plots of land called Chitravalli-ppanurjērū, Lōka-mārāya-ppanurjērū.
3. Interest on the following amounts lent out from the temple treasury to the following public bodies:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kaḷaṇṭiṣ.</th>
<th>Interest.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>500 kālīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>150 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1 kl.—4 mj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>73½</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>73½</td>
<td>35 kl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Taxes on houses situated in the suburbs of Sōlāniyamam at the rate of 1 nāḷi and 1 uḷakkō of oil and 2 nāḷis of rice.

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\(^3\) This inscription is edited from impressions kindly furnished to me by Mr. Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Madras Museum, in 1905. Though this copper-plate grant was noticed so far back as 1891 by the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, seeing that nothing was done towards publishing the same, I applied for impressions to Mr. Thurston who under the orders of the Government readily supplied them to me.—M.K.N.

\(^4\) Kl and mj stand for kaḷaṇṭiṣ and maṇḍiṣi respectively.
From the amounts realised from these four sources the following expenditure has to be incurred:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Item of Expenditure</th>
<th>kāṇi, padakku, nātis, kl. mj. a year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Rice offering to the god of Ĉragam three times a day</td>
<td>3 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Two different vegetables to do.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ghee, uṭakku a day</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Curds three times at a ursi for each occasion</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Betel leaves and nuts three times a day</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Firewood</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Pay of the officiating priest at one padakku paddy per diem and five kulaṇju of gold per annum for cloths</td>
<td>1 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Do. his assistant at 6 nātis a day and 1 kulaṇju of gold a year for cloths</td>
<td>6 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Do. guard of the temple at one kuruni of paddy per diem and two kulaṇju of gold per annum for cloths</td>
<td>1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Pay of the two gardeners at one kuruni and four nātis a day, and one kulaṇju of gold a year for cloths, for each</td>
<td>3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Achlorya-puja on each Shākhrānti at 1½ kulaṇju of gold, for twelve months, 15 kl.</td>
<td>3 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>For sandal and incense at ½ poñ a month; for one year, 1½ kl.</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Three baths per diem; for the whole year, ½ poñ</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Three cloths for the deity for a year, one kulaṇju of gold</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Pay of Musicians as under:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) One big-drummer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Two small-drummers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) One player on karaṇikai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) Do. tājam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e) Do. śekaraṇikai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(f) Do. kājam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(g) Do. kai-maṇi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number, nine persons, 150 kāṇis of paddy per annum due as interest from the sabha of Ulaiyur and the lands purchased from the citizens of Kachchhipōdu and Tūṇḍūnakkachchēri</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Pay of cleaners and sweepers of the temple premises, per diem 3 nātis</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>For the two deities set up in the Karikkāla-ṭerī:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Rice offering for each at 6 nātis three times a day, for both the deities</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Vegetables three times a day</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Fuel</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No. | Item of Expenditure | kāṇi. padakku. nāṭi. kl. mj. a year.
--- | --- | ---
(d) Ghee three times a day, one ulakkku at 5 nāṭis of paddy | 5
(d) Two lamps, one for each deity, at one uri of ghee | 1 4
(f) Sandal and incense at 1 mj. per mensem, for one year | 12

We have seen above, under the heading of income, that the two following were set apart for a festival to be celebrated in the month of Chittirai, lasting seven days; viz., the interest on 200 kalaṇjus of gold amounting to 30 kalaṇjus, the taxes on houses in the suburbs of Sōlāni-yamam amounting to some quantity of oil and rice. The expenditure on the first item was arranged as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oil consumed in burning torches, etc.</td>
<td>7 kalaṇjus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flowers and sandal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the dēvarājīyārs</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeding Brahmans</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the bearers of the palanquin of the deity and to the specially invited musicians</td>
<td>1–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total gold</strong></td>
<td><strong>30 kalaṇjus</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The accountant of Sōlāni-yamam was to keep accounts for this temple, and the remuneration for his service was to be one kuvu of paddy per diem and two kalaṇjus of gold a year.

A perpetual lamp was to be burnt from the interest on the sum of 25 kalaṇjus borrowed by the Saīkarappādīyār of Irańajappādi, Ekavirappādi and Vāmanappādi. The evening lamp was to be burnt from the oil collected from the inhabitants of Sōlāni-yamam.

Now about the extra expenses on account of the two deities already mentioned:

1. For bathing them on the Uttarāyana Sākramaṇam and Chittirai Vishu, for the torch bearers and banner carriers and the Parushaināyamārs, one tūni of paddy.
2. For him who arranges the ghōshī, one tūni and one padakku.
3. For pūja, half a kalaṇju of gold.

Besides these, other items of expenditure might be incurred slightly over and above the arrangements herein made. If any obstacle occurred in the proper management of the temple affairs, those of the eighteen nāṭus were to settle the differences. The officers in charge of this city, the Āṭṭai-vāriyar, (the municipal members), the members of the (sabha of) Ėṟṟuvāḷi-chehāri and of Kaṅjagappādi were to audit the temple accounts immediately after the festival was over. Those of the above-mentioned chēris alone could nominate the temple guards in conformity with the rules laid down in the records kept in the temple. The temple manager, the guards and the accountant were not to be taxed by the city. If the temple authorities were not able to obtain, for the conduct of the pūja, the services of those who had already learnt to officiate as temple priests, they should appoint only such Brahmans as are well versed in the vēdas.

This document was written at the command of the adhikārin by madhyasthan Nāṟṟapattu-nāyira Māi galādityan of Iravirappādi, belonging to this city.

At the end of the inscription a statement is made that the citizens of Kaḵchhippēdu sold the plot of land called Mārājapparunjīruvā to the temple of Ėṟṟugam.

The engraver of this document, who has done his duty most satisfactorily and splendidly, was one Aranṭāṅgi Pōrmīgavīran alias . . . . So far about the contents of the record. We shall turn our attention to the historical side of it.
The king Parakṣesirvarman Uttamacholadēva, to whose reign this record belongs, must evidently be later than Parakṣesirvarman Parantaka who took Madurai and Ilam, an epigraph of whose 18th year is quoted herein. We know from some other inscriptions that Rajaρaja I bore the surname Uttamacholadēva, but he was a Rajaρacakṣesirvarman. Therefore the Uttamacholadēva of the present grant must be different from Rajaρaja I, for the person mentioned in the present grant was, as we already stated, a Parakṣesirvarman. We know on other epigraphical evidence that Maduratekka, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, was also known by the name of Uttamacholadēva. In No. 199 of the collection of the Epigraphist with the Government of Madras for the year 1901, we read ‘Parantaka Mādeviyar, the queen of Gaṇḍarādityadēva, alias the great queen of the Śembiyana, (the Chōla),—the queen who had the fortune to bear as her son Madurantakaḷaḷa alias Uttamacholadēva.’ Almost the same terms are employed in describing this queen in two other records, one of Tiruvakkarai and the other of Uyyakondān-tirumalai. The former runs thus:—‘Śembiyana Mādeviyar, the queen of Śri Gaṇḍarādityadēva,—the queen who had the fortune to bear Uttamacholadēva.’ The latter reads, ‘Parantaka Mādevadigal alias Śri Śembiyana Mādevi, the queen who bore Madurantakaḷaḷa alias Uttaṭamacholadēva.’ From these quotations it is clear that Madurateka, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, went by the name of Uttamacholadēva. As the names Parakṣesari and Rajaρacakṣesari are alternately borne in the Chōla dynasty, they must have belonged to the kings of that dynasty as follows:—

Parakṣesari Parantaka I.

Gaṇḍarāditya
Parakṣesari Maduratekka alias Uttamacholadēva.
Arimjaya

Parantaka II.

Rajaρaja I.
Rajaρacakṣesirvarman.

Again, an inscription of the 24th year of the reign of Rajaρaja I., found in the Dārukaṇvaṇēsvaṭa temple at Tiruppalattūra, actually quotes an inscription of the 13th year of Uttamacholadēva. No doubt the Uttamacholadēva here must refer to Maduratekka, the king to whose reign the Madras Museum plates belong. Sir Walter Elliot describes two coins with the legend Uttamachōla, and Mr. Venkayya also mentions in his Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1904 that Dr. Hultsch describes several bearing the same legend, in both Nāgarī and Grantha; some of these would appear to be attributable to the king of our record, while others are said to belong to the reign of Rajaρaja I. All these facts conclusively prove that, prior to Rajaρaja I., there lived a king named Uttamacholadēva, and that he was identical with Maduratekka.

The date of this king is obtained by No. 265 of the collection of the Madras Epigraphist for 1907. It belongs to the Mahālīḷaśavāmin temple at Tiruviṭiṭaṁurarudur and is dated in Kali year 4083, in the 13th year of the reign of Uttamacholadēva alias Parakṣesirvarman.

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5 An inscription in the Śiva temple at Tiruvāsī near Trichinopoly which calls this king by the name Uttamacholadēva.
6 “Śri Gaṇḍarādittadēvar nambrāṭiyar Pirantaka maḍedvagūl Pirāṭiyar Śembiyana maḍedviyar magagana Maduratekkaḷaḷa alias Uttaṭamacholadēvaṇa tirtuvaṉiyṟa-vāykkka-uḍaiya Pirāṭiyar.”
7 No. 200 of 1904: “Śri Gaṇḍarādittadēvar nambrāṭiyar Śri Uttaṭamacholadēvaṇaṭtiruvaṉiyṟa-vāykkka-uḍaiya Pirāṭiyar Śembiyana maḍedviyar.”
8 No. 95 of 1892: “Maduratekkaḷaḷa Śri Uttaṭamacholadēvaṇa tirtuvaṉiyṟa-vāykkka-uḍaiya Pirāṭiyar Pirantakkaṇgaṅda vaṭigalaiya Śembiyana maḍedvaiyar.”
9 No. 278 of 1903.”
From this, the date of his accession is inferred as 969—70 A.D. The last known date of this king is the 16th year, which corresponds, to 985, the year in which, we know, Rājarāja I ascended the throne. Hence it is very likely that Madurantaka died that year and was succeeded by his nephew Rājarāja.

Another inscription, No. 325 of 1905, mentions that Madurantaka’s wife was the daughter of a Mālāṇāyār, and we know from the Leiden and Tiruvālamāṇa grants that his son was Gaṅdarādityadeva. He led a very pious life, visiting and setting right the affairs of several temples and singing their praises. A decade of his verses is included in the collection of hymns called the Tiruvaiśaippa.10

The Tiruvālamāṇa plates state that the people urged Rājarāja I to take up the reins of the government, but that he sternly refused to accept their kind solicitations, saying he would not take up the sovereignty as long as his uncle, Madurantaka, was fond of ruling. It is said that eventually Arumolideva, (Rājarājadēva I), was anointed as heir-apparent, even while Madurantaka was ‘bearing the burden of the kingdom.’ This step might have been taken by Madurantaka on perceiving what direction the inclinations of his son Gaṅdarāditya took.11 From amongst the youngsters he seems to have picked up the fittest and the most popular, Rājarāja I, to be his successor.

Uttamachōlā’s mother was called Pirantakaṅ Maṭēvādīgal alias Āmbiyaṅ Mahādēvīyar. She seems, like her grand-son, to have been a very pious lady. She built a number of temples for Śiva; for instance, the Chandramaulisvāra temple at Tiruvakkarai,12 the Āparasagāvāra temple at Aduthurai,13 the Tiruvaṭānuri temple at Tiruvārur, etc.14 were built by her. Some of these constructions were completed in the reign of Rājarāja I., and therefore she seems to have survived her son Madurantaka and to have lived fairly long during the reign of Rājarāja I.

In connection with the name of the mother of Madurantaka, Mr. Venkayya has committed a mistake. He speaks of her as Udaiyaṇaṅaṭṭiyār alias Āmbiyaṅ Maṭēvīyar.15 The compound Vaiṭiṇu-vāyktal means ‘becoming pregnant with’ or ‘bearing so and so’; hence ‘Uttamachōlādeva, ai vaiṭiṇu-vāyka-udaiyaṇaṅaṭṭiyār’ means ‘the queen who had the honour of bearing Uttamachōlādeva as her son.’ This wrong interpretation has brought into existence an altogether fictitious queen named Udaiya Pirāṭṭiyār. The phrase vāyika-vāyktal occurs in several places in Tamil literary works; e.g., in Perumāl Tirumoḷi, the saint Kulaḥkharā address’s Sri Rāma as ‘Kauṣalai-taṅ maṇi vaiṭiṇu-vāyktave!16

The inscription refers to transactions that took place on the following occasions:

1) In the 22nd year of the reign of Kō-Parakṣaravaram.
2) In the 9th year of the reign of Kō-Viṣaiya-Kampavaram.
3) In the 16th year of the reign of Kō-Parakṣaravaram.
4) In the 18th year of the reign of Sri Parakṣaravaram who took Madurai and Iḷam.

Of these, the transactions that took place in the first two reigns, are said to have been found engraved on the wall of the temple.

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10 He has sung a decade of verses beginning with miṣṭā-rv restaurants in the temple at Tikkalivallam (Tiruvallam, near Kapālī) set right the affairs of the temple and bathed the central shrine with 1,000 pots full of water. He set up an image of Śiva in the temple at Guḍimallam, etc. (S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 102, and No. 222 of 1903 respectively.)
12 No. 357 of 1907.
13 No. 357 of 1907.
14 No. 200 of 1904.
16 Perumāl Tirumoḷi, 8th Decad e, v. 1.
One of us has shown elsewhere that Kampavaran must have ruled only after Parakēsarivarman Parāntaka I. Dr. Hultzsch takes him to be a brother of Nripatunigavaran. We are inclined to take the Parakēsarivarman mentioned thrice in this record to be identical with Parāntaka who took Madirasi and Ilam.

The following are the names of places mentioned in the inscription:—Üragam, Tūṇḍupukkachēri, Kambulāṇapādi, Adīmanēppādi, Kāṇjakappādi, Kūrām, Oļu;kai;ppakkam, Ėṛṟuvaḷičēri, Raņajayappādi, Ėkavīrappādi, Vāmanappādi, Sōḷāniyam, and Kachehippēdu. Of these, Kūrām and Oļu;kai;ppakkam excepted, all others appear to have been the names of the various quarters in Kachehippēdu, which is a modified form of the name of Kāṇchipuram. The Vishnu temple at Üragam has been praised by the Vishnuva saints, Tirumalāisai and Tirumangaiyālvār. The village of Kūrām is situated at a distance of six miles from Kāṇchipuram, and is famous as the birthplace of Śrīvatsa-china-mīśra, better known as Kūrattālān, who was the foremost of the disciples of Śrī Rāmānuja, and who wrote down the Śrī-Bhāṣya to the dictation of Rāmānuja. It is in this place that Vidyāvīnita Pallava built a temple for Pinākapāni, under the name of Vidyāvīnita-Pallava-Paramēśvara-garam. Oļu;kai;ppakkam is perhaps identical with Ozhakkōpaṭṭu in the Conjeeveram tālkka of the Chingleput District.

In the course of this inscription we come across the name Tōḷāchcheviyar Ėlākkaiyar. We are unable to say if it is the name of a single person or of a class of men. The first vertex of this compound literally means 'he or they with ears unboled'; the second means, 'he or they whose hands shall not receive (alms and such like things).’ It is said that their line became extinct, a statement which precludes the taking of these for an order of recluses. After they became extinct, in the suburb of Sōḷāniyam, which was enjoyed by them free of taxes by royal sanction, a number of people seem to have squatted. Since the abolition of taxes on Sōḷāniyam was solely for the benefit of the Ėlākkaiyar, the small taxes mentioned in an earlier part of the paper were levied upon these squatters, for the benefit of the temple.

The inscription informs us that there were three images in the temple of Üragam, one the principal deity and two others in a quarter of the temple called the Kārikāla-terū. This latter word means a pial, a raised platform. The platform seems to have been named after Kārikāla, one of the early sovereigns of the Chōla dynasty. There is also a likelihood of its being called after some later member of the same dynasty, for we know other kings, who bore the same name as that early king, reputed to have built the embankment of the Kāvēri.

The fact that the festival is mentioned to be of seven days’ duration, seems to indicate that the tantra that was followed in the service of temple was the Vaiṭhānasa and not Pāṭhakāratra system. The latter was systematically introduced in almost all the important Vishnu temples in Southern India by Rāmānuja.

The present inscription is of more than merely historical interest, in that we learn a good deal about the state of civilisation of the times, what the staff generally employed in temple in those days was, what the qualifications of the officiating priests were, etc., etc. We have also some knowledge of the comparative value of bazar articles and the rate of interest and other similar matters. The rate of interest does not appear to be constant: it must be admitted that in some instances it was rather heavy. Interest was received either in money or grain.

17 Christian College Magazine for 1905.
19 Verses beginning with 'niś-r-iṇuṇa ydha-nidī' and 'niś-r-adandaśi-ḷa-gattu’ of Tirumalāsaiyālvār (vv. 63–4 of Tiruchchenda-viruttam), and ‘Nīragatiḍa’ (Tirunelvândagam, v. 8), ‘kelleduttu’ (ibid., v. 13), ‘mudī Kachkhi-ḷra-gattu’ (Śrīya-tirumudal, l. 69), ‘ḷagattuḷiḷiḷiḷai (Pērīya Tirumudal, 127).
20 These might be the gods at Tirukāragam and Tōniniragam, sung by Tirumāgaiyālvār.
TEXT.21

First Plate: First Side.

1. तत्त्व तम तथा | ुमाराणािश्यायाणििव्यावेश ् [ कृष्ण ] अन्वाधि वेषणप्राण —
2. ासिनानादीििवृत्तािनििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
3. या ियािशििश्यायाणििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
4. या ियािशििश्यायाणििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
5. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
6. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
7. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
8. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
9. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
10. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
11. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
12. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
13. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
14. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
15. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
16. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
17. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
18. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
19. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
20. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
21. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
22. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
23. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
24. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
25. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
26. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
27. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
28. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
29. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
30. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
31. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
32. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
33. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
34. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
35. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
36. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
37. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
38. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
39. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —
40. ासिनानादीििवर्षू िपाित्र प्रििा सत्तवन्नाििवाय न्याय —

Second Plate: First Side.

21 From inked impressions kindly furnished by Mr. Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Government Central Museum, Madras.
Third Plate: First Side.

49. kalāñjum Saṅkiránti oṁpiṅku ṣańjya pāiṣaṇi uṭpada poṇ kalāñjey kālā- 
   ga Saṅkiránti pāṇiṅraṇiṅku poṇ pādiṇaṅ-gaḷañjum tīrumeypāchchou- 
   51. kum tīrumpaṅgākum tīgaḷ araikkal poṇnyaṅa oṁṭtai nāḷaikku 
   52. poṇ kalāñjārajiyum tīrumanāṅgai mūṅrakku oṁṭtai nāḷaikku po- 
   53. n mukkāḷum tīrumpaṅgaśṭṭam mūṅrakku oṁṭtai nāḷaikku poṇ kalāñ- 
   54. jum ugaḥchagāl tāḷaippayai oṁṛum maddal iṛaṇḍum karaṇḍiṅ oṁ- 
   55. ṛum tāḷam oṁṛum śekāṅḍīṅ oṁṛum kāḷaṁ iṛaṇḍum kai- 
   56. maṇi oṁṛumā āl oṁbāṅiṅku puḍavai mudaḷ-uṭpada Uḷaṇiūr poli- 
   57. uṭṭu nel nūraṁbaddiṅ-kādiyum Kachhippēṭṭu nagaṇaṭṭarkaḷkai vilai ko- 
   58. ṇḍudaiṅnilatlil Tīṭṭiravallī-ppurṣāṇuvāṇa paṭṭiyum Tuṇḍu- 
   59. nukachēṛiyil vilai koṇḍudaiṅ nilatlil mēṭṭu madagārō pāṅja 
   60. Sendaiṅpottaiṅ nilatlukku vāḍakkil taḍi mūṅṛum Kadāḍikūṅ-

Third Plate: Second Side.

61. dīḷiṅ vāḍakkil cheṅuvuoṁṛum pāḷa madagārō pāṅja nilatlil] 
62. Kōṅēṛiyar poṅgatil vāḍakkil kundilumāṇa taḍi aṭṭiṅiṅl pā- 
63. ūṭi nilamumāṅa inninam iṛaṇḍu paṭṭiyum iṛppoliṅuṭṭu nel nūr- 
64. raṁbadil-kādiyum uvaḥchagāḷ oṁbāṅinmarkku nivandamāṅgavum [1] tīrune- 
65. lūkkiduvarkku nōsā-del mūṅñläyium Kāriṅkāla-tēṛriṅ iṛuvar Dēvark- 
66. ku mūṅṛu sandikkum nōsādm-āṛiśiy-ārunāḷiṅyāṅs nōsādm-āṛiśi kūrūn nā- 
67. nāḷikku nel mukkuṛuni nārunāḷiyum kariyammu mūṅṛu sandi- 
68. kku nel nānñläyium viḷagukku nel mūṅñläyium mūṅṛu sandikkum ney- 
69. yamudu uḷajkiniṅkku nel-māḷṁiṅyum iṛuvar dēvaṅkum tīrumbondā-nilakk- 
70. raṇḍinukku ney-urikku nel kūrūn-nāñḷiṅyum tīrumeypāchchukku 
71. tīrumpaṅgākum tīgāl maṅjādiṅppaṅgaṇa oṁṭtai nāḷaiṅkku poṇ pān- 
72. niṛaṇḍu maṅjādiyum ivvihuṅvar dēvaṅkum nivandamāṅgavum [1] KōṅPāṛakēsaripa-

Fourth Plate: First Side.

73. nmarkku yāṇḍu pādiṅṇāṛavada Kachhippēṭṭu Uṭranguṭṭa nīṇṭaruliṇa dēvaṁpakkali- 
74. vūr Kambulāṇpādiyāṅ konda poṇ eḷuṛaṭṭu mukkaḷañjāraiyum A- 
75. dimāṇaṛppaṇḍiyāṅ konda poṇ eḷuṛaṭṭu-mukkaḷañjāraiyum Kāliṅga- 
76. pādiyāṅ konda poṇ muppatatāiṅgaḷañjum Ėṛuvaliñeṭṭhirīyāṅ 
77. konda poṇ pādiṇeṅ-kalāñjum ēgappon iṛuṇṇṛu-kkāḷaṅ- 
78. jīṅkku kalāñjinvāy pilavu-polisiṅyāṅa oṁṭtai nā- 
79. laṅkku vanda polisiṅppu muppadiṅ-kalāñju ippo- 
80. n muppadin-kalāñjum ēdvar Chittirai tīruvilāvukku nivandaṅjeyda 
81. pāḍi tīruvilā ēḷumāṅlaṅkiṅkku enpaṅkku poṇ ēḷu-kalāñjum ēḷu nāḷaṅkku nā- 
82. ṛu pūvum nāru śandukku poṇ irukalāñjum ēḷumāḷum kōṭṭi sēy.
83. yum dēvarādiyarkku korukkum pūsanaikkum-āga pong aiṅgaḷaṅjum ēḻu
84. nāḻum brāhmaṇa-bhōjanattukku anādāgattāl ner-kondu

Fourth Plate: Second Side.
85. utṭṭuvadāna pong padin(k)aṅjum dēvar pāḷīchēhiyagai kauṇṭhiyagai-
86. gaiyarkkum śirappu vanda uvāchēharkkum ēḻu nāḷaiṅkku pong kalaṅjum
87. kandaḷivai pong niṅgaḷaṅju āgappong nē tiruvilavakkuk vilakku pi-
88. dipārุม kodi edupprārum Kambulānppadiyārum Adimānppadiyārum
89. Eṟruvalchēhiyārum Kāṇjagappadiyārum i dēvar śeriyaṅa Śōlāniya-
90. matu muṅbulla Tāḷačheviyārāna Ėḷākkaiyai echehērāmāi-
91. yil ivvellākkaiyai pūrva-marijādi īrai īrū[k]a ādavarallāmāi-
92. yil icēhērīkku-ppurattu nīṟṇu vanderīna kuḍigai maṇaiyai tāṅgal nāḷi
93. uḷak-kunaiyam irunalīri arisīyum i dēvarkkayi yiraḷiyaga kondu maṟṟum inna-
94. garaṇjūṭinī īrai edupprattadum kollādāgavum[*] ivargai laiṇṟi maṟṟu-
95. ru iraiḳṭṭinīr Gegei īrai Kumari idai sēydar sēyda pāvaṇ-koll va-
96. dāgavum ēṟru īppariṣu Madiraiyum īḷumum-gōṇḍa sēri Parakēsarianmarkku-

Fifth Plate: First Side.
97. yāṇdu padinettāvadu ikachehipēṭṭu nagaratār sēya vyavastaippadīyē(yi) i-
98. dēvarum ivargalai ivirai(yē) yē kolvadāgum icēhērīyē i dēvarkku
99. kaṇakkū īduvadāgavum ivanakkū i dē var bārdartātiṡadam kuṟunī nēllum
100. āṟduvarai īrukaḷaiṅjum pong īduvadāgavum[*] ivvū Īranaṇayappādi Eka片面-
101. pādi Vāmanā Śaṅkara Śaṅkarappadiyārum mūṅḍu sēri-chāṅgarapadiyārum
102. kondu pong
103. irupadīn-kalaṅjīnāl muṅbu nīṟṇu sēriyārē kāḍava nonda-vilakkon-
104. rum Śōlāniyamattārāṭrum ēṟṇai sandi vilakkeppadāgavum[*] ira-
105. ndu sīrhūlyulu dēvargalai Uttaramayana Saṅgrāntiyum Chittirai Vishuvum san-
106. panmaṭṭuvaḍarkum tiruvilāvīrku vilakku-pippipparkum kodi edukkul-āṅku-
107. kum tirurumkērugum paruha-śāyaumārku aṅśći tuniyyum gōṣhti sēydu-
108. kku arisū tunipadakkum pūjaṅkai-ppong ariai-kkalaṅjum maṟṟum sīrhūlyulu
109. kuraṇnalana nivandam pāṟdē kandaḷavile sēvyadāgavum itēvēr sērhāri-
110. [yu]m iṅsciūrana padinētta nāṟiyāruṁma kāḍai kandu thundi kuḍup-
111. rāgavum[*] īnagaratū nagaram-āḷṟumum aṭṭai-vāryarum Ēṟruvalchēhiyēryārum
112. Kāṇjagappadiyārum itēvarviṣam alinādu āndutūrūm tiruvilāchēheyēyā-
113. valavē kaṇakkū kāṇbdāgavum icēhuṭṭappattē irandu sēriyārumē dēvar baṅ-
114. dārattu vaiṭṭa nivandaṅ-gōṇḍu tirumē[y]kēppu īduvadāgavum[*] itēvēr
115. sērhārya-
116. m kāḍaṅkāṅbaṟaiyum tirumeyḵāppapaiyum kaṇakkeḷuduvānai-
117. yum nagaratē jayāṣhai sēydu iraiḳolla-ppperādāgavum[*] sīrhōy-
118. -lukku sīrhōy namāby niṟmāṇinārāi-ppirāduvidi vēدام vala brā-
119. hmarṇaṣiyē arādiṅkka īduvadāgavum īppariṣu ādiḍgārējuvārēva arai o-
120. lai sēyēn inagaratū Iravirapāḍi madhyasthaṅ Nāṟpatteyāra Maṅgalāditta-
121. nēn eluttu[*] ikKachhipēṭṭu nagaratārppakkāl vilai konda nilam Olōga-
122. māravaperufieldset kilakkil mēr-migudikkuruvi utṭpada virū-kkuduttom mā
123. nagaratām[*] īnda sāasanam eluttu veṭṭina Arandāṅgī Pōrmigavāṅgā . . . .

Translation 22
Lines 1—11. (In) the sixteenth year of (the reign of) the king Parakēsarianvarman alias Utamaśodāvēva, when His Majesty was pleased to be seated in the south Chittirān-marṇaṅpu in the palace at Kachhipēppē, the adhiṅkārī, Chōla-muṅvēnda-vēḷār, (humbly) submitted

22 The Sanskrit portion has been left out of the translation as it is fragmentary and as what little it contains occurs in the Tamil portion of the document.
The Copper Plates of Tirava-Cholandra in the Madras Museum

Indian Archeology
thus:—"My lord! 33 The taxes on (articles) weighed in the balance and on (articles) measured by the foot, which belong to the deity who is pleased to stand in the temple of Uragam; the (lands) that are in the enjoyment of this deity and which were purchased, for this same god, at Kachchippe ã and Tundunukkachhéri and besides these, the (amounts) that carry interest, were not in past times reduced to writing; 34 therefore, may it please your majesty to command that these might be reduced to writing and the people of the two chéris belonging to Kachchippe ã be made to look after the business of (of the temple of) this god." The king was pleased to command; 33 Be the reducing to writing the (enjoyment of the) taxes on (article) weighed in the balance and those measured by the foot, the lands purchased and those items that fetch interest, done by yourself. Be it also arranged that the (people of) Kambulappâdi and Adimânappâdi, the two chéris belonging to this town (Kachchippe ã), should scrutinise the business of (the temple of) this god."

This is what was written (as the result) of the prayer of the adhikärin, Nakkan Kanchchhân alias Chóla-mûvënda-vêlär of Sikkar:—

(The following is the account of:) the taxes on (articles) weighed in the balance and measured by the foot and the produce of the lands purchased by the deity (or in the name of the deity) and the interest-bearing amounts of this god, as gathered from stone inscriptions:—

In the twenty-second year of the reign of the king Parakâsarivarman, the gold received by the sabhas of Kûram and Ariyar-pparumbakkam (is) two hundred and fifty kaâñjus of gold; the paddy, that has to be measured as interest on this amount, is five hundred and fifty kâdis of paddy per annum.

The gold received, according to the stone inscription, by the sabha of Ulaïyûr is fifty kaâñjus; the paddy, that has to be measured as interest on this amount, is a hundred and fifty kâdis a year.

(In) the ninth year of the (reign of) king Visiya Kampavarman, the gold received, according to the stone record, by the sabha of Ojukkaippakkam is twenty-four kaâñjus: the gold, that has to be paid as interest on this amount, is arranged to be one kaâñju and four mândas.

Lines 25—65. (This is how the above income was arranged to be spent and accordingly) reduced to writing:—

For rice offerings three times a day, the (quantity of) paddy (sanctioned for this purpose is) three kuriñjis and six nâjis: for two vegetables three times a day, paddy, three nâjis: and for ghee daily a u/kku, paddy five nâjis; curds at a uri each time, three times a day, one nâji and a uri, paddy three nâjis; betel leaves and nuts three a day, paddy three nâjis: for the brâhmañ who does the ârdhana, (the quantity of) paddy (to be given daily is) a padâkkâ; and for his clothes, five kaâñjus of gold annually; for the young man (a brahmachedârîn) who does the subordinate services of the temple, paddy (per diem) six nâjis: and for him for clothes, annually a kaâñju of gold; for the temple guard, paddy daily one kuriñji and for his clothes, two kaâñjus a year; for two persons who labour in the flower-garden, paddy per diem one kuriñji and four nâjis and for clothes for these one kaâñju of gold a year; for twelve Saîkârântis, including the âchárya-pâja, fifteen kaâñjus at the rate of a kaâñju and a quarter of gold for each Saîkârânti: for sandal and incense at the rate of an eighth of a pûn per mensam, for a year one and a half kaâñjus: for bathing the image thrice daily, three-fourths of a pûn per annum; for musicians (as under:—); for the (sounder of the) talai-ppâraî, one man; the...

33 The word emberumânda might be taken in the vocative case and translated, as it has been done, as addressing the king, or taken as a noun in apposition with Uragattu nivaraïyâdevâr.
34 nibandham means not simply binding, but also a literary composition. Hence it has been taken as reducing to writing.
maddaṭi, two; the karaḍikai, one; the tāḷam, one; the śekanḍikai, one; the kāḷam, one; and the kai-maṇi, one; thus the (total number of) men (is) nine: for these, including their clothing, annually a hundred and fifty kāḍis of paddy which is got from the sābha of Uḷaiyur, as interest (on the sum they have borrowed from the temple) and the block of land called the Chitravalli-pperufijeṟuvu, one of the plots of land purchased from the citizens of Kachhippēdu and the three tāḍi of land in the northern portion of the plot called the Sendaraipottan, watered by the canal coming from the higher sluice; the northern cheruva in (the plot of) the land called Kāḍādi-kuṇḍil together with the northern kuṇḍil of the land which is in the enjoyment of Kōṅgēriyār and which is watered by the canal issuing from the lower sluice; (thus making a total of) five tāḍi and in terms of paṭṭis, two paṭṭis; (this land), together with the (above mentioned) one hundred and fifty kāḍis of paddy received as interest, shall be written down in the name of the musicians, nine in number: for those that clean the (the temple precincts), daily three nāṭis of paddy.

Lines 65-72. For the deities on the Karikāla-ṭerri; for rice offerings thrice a day, at six nāṭis each time, the quantity of rice (amounts to) a kuṇṇi and four nāṭis daily; for this, paddy three kuṇṇis and six nāṭis; for fire-wood, paddy three nāṭis; for ghee three times a day, one uḷakku; paddy for the same five nāṭis; for the two deities, for two perpetual lamps, ghee at one uṇi, paddy for it, one kuṇṇi and four nāṭis; for sandal and incense for one year twelve maṇḍāḍis at the rate of one maṇḍaḍi a month: may this be the written arrangement for these two deities.

Lines 72-103. (In) the sixteenth year of (the reign of) the king Parakēsarivarman, the inhabitants of Kambulānpādi, belonging to this city, of Kachhippēdu, received from (the treasury of) the god, who is pleased to stand in the temple at Uṟagam in Kachhippēdu, the sum of seventy-three and a half kaḷaiṉujus of gold: the gold received from the sābha of Adimāṇappādi is seventy-three and a half kaḷaiṉujus of gold: the gold received by the citizens of Kaṉjaṉagappādi, thirty-five kaḷaiṉujus: the gold received by the inhabitants of Erṟuvalichchēri, eighteen kaḷaiṉujus: the total gold (thus lent out on interest is) two hundred kaḷaiṉujus, the total of the interest, per annum on the individual sums making up this two hundred kaḷaiṉujus of gold is thirty kaḷaiṉujus. (This amount was) written down for the celebration of a seven days' festival for this god in the month of Chittirai, thus:—for oil, seven kaḷaiṉujus of gold: for (sweet) smelling sandal and flowers for seven days, two kaḷaiṉujus of gold: for the food of the darvaradiyar who entertain the gōshēri, and for their (doing) pāṍṣi (perhaps to the god of this temple), five kaḷaiṉujus of gold for the seven days: for feeding brāhmaṇs all the seven days, for (the purchasing) paddy then and there, ten kaḷaiṉujus: for the bearers of the palaṇquins and for the musicians specially come for the occasion, one kaḷaiṉujus for the seven days: total gold to be spent on these (the musicians ?) is five kaḷaiṉujus; the person who carry torches and banners shall be the inhabitants of Kambulānpādi, Adimāṇappādi, Erṟuvalichchēri and Kaṉjaṉagappādi. In Sōḻaniyamam, the chēri belonging to this god, the line of the original occupants, Tōḻācheviyirai and Elākkaiyirai, having become extinct, and since the Elākkaiyar were, according to the old arrangement, exempt from all taxes, those that have now come from outside and settled down in this chēri are obliged to pay to this god a tax of a nāṭi and a uḷakku of oil and two nāṭis of rice per mensem; besides this, the city shall not gather any other taxes from these people. Those that would receive any other taxes from them, shall make incur all the sin committed between the Ganges and the Kumari. Thus, according to the arrangements made by the inhabitants of this city in the eighteenth year of the reign of the king Parakēsarivarman, who took Madirai and Īlam, this god shall also levy this one tax alone on these people. The people of these (or of this) chēri shall keep accounts for this deity. For (the accountant) a kuṇṇi of paddy per diem and two kaḷaiṉujus of gold annually shall be paid from the temple treasury. The amount of gold taken by the Śaṅkarappādi of
Iraṇjayappādi, Ėkāvīrappādi and Vāmanappādi is twenty kalāṇjuś: from (the interest on) this amount, the aforesaid chēris shall burn a perpetual lamp (during the day) and from the collected from the inhabitants of Sōḷaniyamam, the evening lamp shall be kept up.

Lines 104–108. For the two deities of the temple; for bathing them on the Uttarāyana-Saṅkrānti and Chittirai-vishu, for the carriers of torches and banners and for the parusha-nāyaṇamārś, who come to temple, rice one tāṇi; for him who arranges the ghōṣṭi, rice one tāṇi and a padakkam: gold for pāja, half a kalāṇjuś and for any other deficiencies, expenditure might be incurred without reference to the written arrangements.

Lines 108–117. If any hindrances to the service of the temple occur, they shall be settled by the people of the sixteen nāḍus (in assembly). The officer (administering the municipal) affairs of this city, the annually elected members (of the sāha) of the city, the inhabitants of Ėṟṟuvālīchenēri Kaṉjagappādi, shall, as soon as the festival comes to an end, audit the accounts of this temple for the year. The people of the abovementioned chēris shall appoint the temple guard according to the rules maintained in the temple treasury. The citizens shall, themselves not resolve to tax those that do the business of the temple, those that keep the account and the guard of the temple. If those, that have served in temples already as officiating priests, cannot be obtained (for the pāja of the temple), only a brāhmaṇ who has studied the vedas must be appointed (in their place).

Lines 117–121. Commanded by those who do the duties of the adhikārīn in this city, I, Nāṟpatṭenṇayira-Maṅgalādittan, the madhyasthan of the Ėṟṟivīrappādi, wrote this arrangement on palm-leaves; this is my signature. The engraver of this Āsana is Arandāgi Pōrmigaviran.

THE FIGHT AT THE GAUNA OF QUEEN BELA.

BY THE LATE DR. WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E., F.B.A.

Prefatory Note.

[Among the papers left behind by the late Dr. William Crooke was a MS. account of part of the Alkaṅhand as heard in a Northern Indian village by Rām-Gharib Chaube. As any version of this great cycle of legends is of value what Dr. Crooke’s agent collected is now published.]

Text and Translation.

166

Khaberāh hoī gaṅ Pādshāh ko :—“ dolā leai Mahobā jāi.”
Tab bulwāl layo Chaundā ko aru, lāh kahi Ār Chauhān.
Came news to the king :—” (Belā’s) palankeen has gone to Mahobā.”
Then he summoned Chaundā and told the news to the Chauhān hero.

167

Kūdī sawār bhayo hāthī par, Chaundā dīnho hukm phirāī.
Titani phauj hatī, Chaundā ki ginaī mei sawā lākh jawān.
Chaundā sprang upon his elephant and sent his orders round.
In Chaundā’s reckoning, his army was one and a quarter lākh of men.

168

Sang Chaundiyā ne lai lino aur āgē ko karī payān :
Jahān pai dolā tho Belā ko Chaundā, wahāā garāso jāi.
Chaundā started as the head of his army, and it went forward
And where Bela’s palankeen was he surrounded it.
"So sârmâ jo hai dolâ sang, sanmukh hoe ke deyâ jawâb;--
Chori karîke tum bhâge hâî, ab tum khâbdâr hoe jâî."

"The hero that is with the palankee, come forth and make answer:--
As thou hast committed theft and run away, thou must now have care."

170
Sunike bâteî yâ Chaundâ kî, tab Lâkhan ne kahi sunâî;--
"Na ham chori tumhâri khîn, sa girah kâtî Pithaurâ kyrâ." 
Hearing Chaundâ's words, spake Lâkhan;--
"Neither have I committed theft from you, nor have I cut Pithaurâ's waist-band."

171
"Bâr biyâhî Chandele kî dolâ dâye Mahobe jâyân." 
Sunike bâteî yâ Lâkhan kî, Chaundâ agni jwâl hoce jâîn. 
"The girl that was married to the Chandel is going to Mahobâ." 
Hearing these words of Lâkhan, Chaundâ became as a flame of fire.

172
"Dolâ Mahobe jân na pahai; mâno kahi Kannauij Râî.
Dolâ dhari dewâ Rânî Belâ ko, apno künk jâû karwâî." 
"The palankee shall not go to Mahobâ: mind the word of the King of Kanauij.
Put down Rânî Belâ's palankee and march you from this place."

173
Tab phir Lâkhan bolan lâge aru Chaundâ se kahi sunâî;--
"Dolâ chhînai gai mâi nà dekhôn jo yah dolâ deyâ chhînâî." 
Then again began Lâkhan to speak to Chaundâ;--
"The palankee snatcher I do not see—who this palankee can snatch from me."

174
Sunike bâteî yâ Lâkhan kî, Chaundâ dînho hukmâ phirai;--
"Dolâ chhîn leî Lâkhan se; sab ke mundâ leî katwâî." 
Hearing these words of Lâkhan, Chaundâ sent out an order;--
"Take the palankee from Lâkhan, and cut off their heads."

175
Hukum pêke tab Chaundâ ke Kahatri dhare agârî pae: 
Khainchi sirohi lai kammar se, dolâ pai chalanî lagi talwâr. 
Hearing the orders, Chaundâ's Kahatriyas rushed forward.
Drawing their arms from their waists, they raised the swords to the palankee.

176
Donaî or ke jhuke sipâhî, sab ke 'mûru, mûru' rat lågi. 
Sher bachâ âs chalai tamanchâ, bhâlâ barchî chhûtan låg. 
Soldiers on both sides fell upon each other—all with the cry of "kill, kill."
Pistols went off like tigers' cubs, 4 spears and lances began to hurtle.

177
Chalai katiri Kotâkhâni; donoî dal ik mil hoe jâîn: 
Chalai sirohi Mânâshâhî: ânâ chalai vilâyat kyrâ. 
There were Kotâkhâni daggers: and both armies became mixed up. 
There were Mânâshâhî swords, and ânâs from foreign lands.

178
Teghâ chatakaiî Bardwân ke kati-kati; girain arekhâ jawân. 
Uthain kabandh bîr ran khelaîî: ghailâ uthahîî kabâhî-kabâhî. 
Bardwân swords clashed together roughly: and beardless youths fell.
Headless men got up and fought in the field, and the wounded got up and fetched sighs.

4 The meaning is that the pistol bullets were as agile as tigers' cubs.
179
Lákhan samu hâwaî Kshatriî ka :— “Yâro, sharam tumhâre háth.
Muharâ mårô tum Chaundâ ko, duhari talabai deû bhâhî.”
Said Lákhan to the Kshatriyas : “My friends, my honour is in your hands.
If you slay Chaundâ, I will double your pay.”

180
Kanwajwâre man ke bâ[r]he, jin nirloh kari talwar.
Bhaje sipâh Chaundawâle ; tab Chaundâ ne kahi sunâi :—
The men of Kanauj were encouraged, who had used their swords without interest.
Chaundâ’s men took to flight : then spake Chaundâ :—

181
“Das das rupiâyâ ke chûkar hain : náhaq darîho inheî katâî?
Hamari tumhari hôe larâî : dekhîn kahi karaîn Bhagwân.”
“These are servants for ten rupees : you are killing them for nothing.
Let the fight be between you and me : let us see what the Lord will do.”

182
Lákhan jawâb dayo Chaundâ ko :— “Niki kahi, Chaundiyâ Râî,
Chot agmanî Chaundâ korî le, aur mân ki hanse lewâ bujhâî.”
Lákhan made answer to Chaundâ :— “Chaundâ Râî’s word is right :
Aim first at my breast, O Chaundâ, and satisfy the desire of your heart.”

183
Chaundâ ne tab gurj uthâyo, aur Lákhan par dayo chalâi.
Gurj ki chot lagi haudâ par ; dhakka lagi Kanaui kyâr.
Then Chaundâ raised his mace and aimed at Lákhan.
The mace struck the haudâ and shook the king of Kanauj [Lákhan].

184
Dolâ gheri liyâ Chaundâ ne, tab Sayyard ne kahi sunâi :—
“Lâye dharohar jo Kanwaj se, so Dillî men gai nighâî.”
Then Chaundâ surrounded the palankeen, and the Sayyad spoke :—
“What I brought from Kanauj as security, has been robbed in Delhi.”

185
Khâî sanâkâyo Sayyad, wah man meû lagyo bahut pachhitân.
Sayyad bârhike gayo Lákhan teû, dekhî chot Kanaui kyâr.
The Sayyad lost his head, and great remorse was in his mind.
The Sayyad went forwards to Lákhan and saw the wound of the king of Kanauj.

186
“Kyoû kumhûlâne, Lákhan Rânâ? Æo ghâwâ denhâ meû nâhiû.”
Lákhan jawâb dayo Sayyad se :— “Châchâ, suno hamâri bût.”
“Why are you fainting, Lákhan Rânâ! You have received no wound.”
Lákhan answered the Sayyad :— “Uncle, hear my words.”

187
“Garâî chot kari Chaundâ ne ; lagi ghâwâ kareje mâhiû.”
Lákhan lalkâro Chaundâ ko :— “Bakleshî, khabandâr jâo.”
“Chaunda gave me a deep wound : the wound has reached my heart.”
Then Lákhan shouted to Chaundâ :— “Leader, have a care.”

188
Taulî ke bhâlâ Lákhan märe, laike Ajaipâl ko nâm.
Bhâlâ lagyo ikdânta ke, wah gir paryo dharanî bhaâhî.
Weighing his spear well Lákhan struck, taking the name of Ajaipâl.
The spear struck the one-toothed one, and he fell to the ground at once,
Chaundâ bhâjyo ran khêtan se; bhâji phauj Pithaurâ kâr.
Khabarâh hoyâ gâhû badshâh ko: murchâ hatyo Chaundiyâ kâr.
Chaundâ fled from the battlefield: fled the army of king Pithaurâ.
The king heard the news that the enemy had beaten king Chaundâ.

Dolâ Lâkhan laye jât haiû, rakhi haiû nagar Mahobe jâi.
Sunîke batîyân dolâ kî, Pirthi gaye sanâkâ khâî.
Lâkhan took the palanquin at once, and placed it in Mahobâ city.
Hearing the story of the palanquin, Prithvi was greatly disturbed.

Dhândû Tâhar ko bulwáyo, aur yat bât kahi samujhâi:
"Nagar Mahobe jo dolâ jâi, tau jag hoe haiû háâsi hamâr."
He called Dhândû and Tâhar, and spake this word to them:
"If the palanquin goes to Mahobâ city, then the world will laugh at me."

Itanî sunîke, tab Tâhar ne lashkar dînho hukmâ phirâf:
"Mârû dankû ke bâjat khân, Kshatriû bândhî layo hathiûr."
Hearing this Tâhar sent out orders to the army:
"As soon as they hear the mârû and the drum, the Kshatriyas are to put on their arms."

Sûr surmâ háthû charhî gayû; Turkâh bhaye ghûrâ aswâr.
Dalganjan par Tâhar charhî gayo; Dhândû Bhaulrâ paî aswâr.
Brave mounted-men mounted on elephants, and Turks [Musalmâns] on horses.
Tâhar mounted his [elephant] Dalganjan, and Dhândû on his [horse] Bhaulrâ.

Jujh naqûrâ ke bâjat khân, lashkar kûnch dayo karwâi.
Top raikalâ āge baûhîge, pîchhe phauj chalî sab jâî.
As soon as the beat of drum has heard, the army was on the march.
Cannon went in front, and behind them all the army.

Bajati jâweî ye ran mahuûrî, Kshatriû bûr rûp hoe jâîû.
Andhî aisi lashkar âwai, hâhâkâr bítati jâî.
The more the drums resounded, the more excited became the Kshatriyas.
Like a storm the army came and the people cried out and wept.

Sût kos ke chau pherâ meî phaujû Pritthî kî dîkhûlî.
Prithî Râj ne tab lalkûro, dolâ châri khet rahi jâî.
Prithî’s army was seen in a circle of seven kûs.
Then Prithi Râj shouted out, while yet the palanquin was four fields off.

"Kehî ki mâtâ nûhar jâe? Kehî Râjpût lûc autâr?
Kaun ki siûshî ko jayî hai dolû laye Mahobe jâî?"
"Whose mother brought forth a lion? Which Râjpût has begotten an heir!"
Who is the son of the lioness that is taking the palanquin to Mahobâ?"

Sunîke bâteû Prithrîjî kî, tab Lâkhan ne diyâ jawâb:
"Hamari mâtâ nûhar jaye: hamare jame kareje bûr."
Hearing the words of Prithî Râj, then Lâkhan made answer:
"My mother bore a lion? In my heart doth grow a hair!"

Prithvi Râj, or Râî Pithaurâ, of Delhi,
"Dolā Mahobe liye jāt hai : chori na kari, Bir Chauhān."
Itanī sunīke Prithirāj ne phir Lākhan se kahi sunāi :—
"I am taking the palanquin to Mahobra, I have committed no theft, O brave Chauhān."

Hearing this Prithi Rāj again spake to Lākhan :—

"Kāj tumhāre nā atko hai, Lākhan. Kyoṁ thāno tum rāi !
Ālā Īdal jo āye haiin, khāyo namak Chandēle kyār."
"Your work is not stopped, Lākhan. Why do you pick a quarrel !
If Ālā and Īdal were to come, they have eaten the salt of the Chandēla king."

"Tum kyoṁ āye san jūjhan ko, Lākhan ? Kahāṁ tumhāro kām ?"
Sunīke bāteṁ Prithirāj ke, tab Lākhan ne kahi sunāi :—
"Why have you come into this battle, Lākhan ? What is your business here !"

Hearing the words of Prithi Rāj, spoke Lākhan :—

"Rāthī kī Ālā ge Kannaūj meṁ : ham ne Rājgīr dae inām,
Dharm hamāro Ālā rākhyo : Gānjar paīsa lāyo ugāh."

In anger [with the Chandels] Ālā went to Kannaūj : I gave him Rājgīr in reward.
Ālā [now] maintains my prestige, he realizes the revenues of Gānjar.

"Gangā kīnhi ham Īdal se pagiyā palati Banāphar māth :—
Ālā Īdal jo ran jūjhai : pahile jūjhai Kannaūji Rāi.""
"Swearing on the Ganges I exchanged turbans with the Banāphar (Īdal) :—
If Ālā or Īdal fall in the field, the King of Kannaūj [i.e., myself, Lākhan] will fall first."

"Sang na chhoraiṁ ham Īdal ko ; tum sunī lewā, dhanī Chauhān."
Sunīke bāteṁ yā Lākhan kī, Prithi rahe krodh meṁ chhāī.
"I will never give up Īdal : hear me, thou wealthy Chauhān."

Hearing the words of Lākhan, Prithi was filled with wrath.

Prithirāj ne tab lākhāro : "Tāhar nāhar, bāt unāu.
Topāiī lagāī dewā marchan pai, in pājī jī ko dewā upāī."

Then shouted Prithi Rāj : "Tāhar, thou lion, make true the words [of Lākhan]
Set cannon on the entrenchments and blow these scoundrels away."

Itanī sunīke tab Tāhar ne topāiī āge daī bārhāī.
Hukmāī daī dayo khālasīī koī, topāiī battī dewā lagāī.

Hearing this Tāhar ordered the cannon to go forward.
And ordered the gunners to put a light to the guns.

Donoṁ or ke chale khālasīī : topāiī battī upar pahunch rebāī.
Battī daī daī un topāiī men, dhuāna rahyo kātak meṁ chhāī.

On both sides went the gunners and reached the cannon.
They lighted and the smoke of the cannon covered the army.

* The same as palūd.
208
Golâ-olâ ke sam tutapii : golî Mâghâ bund arrâî.
Golâ lagâlu jîn hâthili ko mân(title)i chorâ sendha dai joi.
Balls fell like hail and bullets like rain in Mâgh.
When the elephants received the balls it was as if a thief had made holes in them.

209
Bamb to golâ jîn ko lâgai, hâthi chig gharî ke rahî jâînih.
Golâ lâgai jîn Kshatriî ke, so lattâ se jâîni uâpâi.
If a ball struck an elephant he expired roaring in the morning.
If a ball struck a Kshatriya he was blown away like a rag.

210
Chhotî golî ke lâgat khân Kshatriî girai karantâ khâîni.
Ek pahar bhar golî barse topê ; lâi baran hoîyâ jâînii.
When bullets struck the Kshatriyas, they fell down rolling about.
For a whole watch the guns kept shooting balls and became red hot.

211
Topaîn chhaâ ;î dai Kshatriî ne ; tit tupak ki màrainî màri.
Tiran màrainî je kamnaitâ : golî mâraîn Turk sawâr.
The Kshatriyas deserted the cannon and shot with bows and arrows.
Those who knew the work shot with arrows : the Turk horsemen shot with bullets.

212
Bholâ barchhi chhûtân lâgînii ; âpar kârâbin ki màri.
Kaibar lâgai jîn Kshatriî ke südho nikari jî jî wah par.
Spears and lances began to be let loose, and bullets out of blunderbusses, Kshatriyas struck by kaibars were pierced through their bodies.

213
Chhotî golî jiu ke lâgai chakkar kâti giraiî arrâî.
Yahl laîlî pacchhe pari gai, Kshatriî dhari agâri pâi.
Those hit by bullets fell rolling in circles.
This kind of fighting went on in the rear, while the Kshatriyas went forward.

214
Deîq qadam jab arsâ rahiyo jawâñâi khainchî lâî talwâr.
' Khâñ-khâñ ' teghâ bâjân lâge ; bolai ' chhapak chhapak ' talwâr.
When only a step and a half remained for arsâ, brave men drew their sword.
The swords began to sing ' khâñ-khâñ ' and the scimitars went chapak chapak.

215
Unâ chatakaiî wah lashkar men : kati-katî giraiî sùr sardâr.
Ulhaiî kabanî bir ran khelaîn : ghâhîâ ulhaiî kâbâhî-kâbâhî.
Unâ was fighting in that army : warriors and chiefs fell rolling about.
Headless heroes got up and fought in the field and wounded men got up sighing.

216
' Pyâs pyâs ' sab ke rat lâgi ran meî : pânî nâhin dekhâî.
Hâhâkâr paryo lashkar meî murdaî ko maidân dekhâî.
' Thirst, thirst ' cried out all in the field, but saw no water.
Confusion fell upon the army and the plain seemed to be of the dead.'

*The MS leaves off here with a note "to be continued," but no continuation has been found.*
BOOK-Notice.


This work, which comprises more than 520 pages, is concerned with certain important aspects of the Buddhist faith. The author, whose knowledge of Buddhist literature is profound, sets himself to determine the conditions, external and internal, in which the key doctrines of Buddhism exercised their influence on the mind of man; in what manner these controlling ideas or doctrines are inter-related; what effect they have produced on the conduct of individuals and on the general community; how they have been transformed by the operation of pure thought; how they have been altered by contact with other schools of religious thought; and to what excesses in theory and practice they have sometimes led. The author is, therefore, concerned with the Buddha and the Sarngha only so far as the personality of the one and the organization of the other had a direct influence upon the direction of the spiritual efforts of past ages. He lays stress on his earlier pages upon the lay character of the Buddha's teaching, and upon the fact that the Teacher, whom it has often been the practice to represent as an ascetic, divorced from everything external and profane, was on the contrary possessed of a profound sense of nature, and of the value of family and social life. His method of preaching must have been singularly impressive, for he not only organized a church, but also founded a tradition of teaching, furnishing by his own sermons and exhortations a pattern to which later his disciples found it imperative to conform.

Buddhism shattered the fundamental opposition between the sacred and the profane, and abolished the idea that certain individuals are necessarily set apart from the general body of men, owing to their possession of some mysterious inherent virtue. The householder and the monk can have an equal share of piety, though their methods of practising it may differ. This mutual blending of everyday life and religious feeling, which Buddhism taught, marked a new epoch in the history of humanity; and in offering a position in his church to the lay devotees of both sexes, the Buddha assured the success of the institution which he founded. It must not, however, be forgotten that his modification was merely an extension of a line of evolution which commences from the Upanishads, and that therefore the Buddha was the beneficiary, rather than the originator, of a change which had its roots in a more distant past. The Jain church also has had its upapashas, and has indeed tried to link them to itself by closer bonds than those which united the householder with the bhikku in Buddhism. But Mahavira subordina,to the religious, instead of co-ordinating them, and thereby robbed it of its freedom of action. He was clearly far less emancipated than the Buddha from the ancient superstition, which ascribed a separate spiritual worth to exterior forms and ceremonies. In the history of Buddhism it is the Sarngha which has been the stable element; it has maintained orthodoxy both in belief and practice. The lay brethren were more open to the influence of their surroundings, more mobile, less attached to tradition. The monks are purer, but more rigid. The lay congregation is more alive; but the novelties which creep in under their influence are occasionally opposed violently to the basic principles of the Faith. The influence of the lay brother increased, as time went on. It was noticeable in some sections of the original church; it was still more noticeable in the Buddhism of the middle ages. It is supreme to day in Nepal, where preaching and external activities are carried on by married priests, that is to say, by householders, and where the monks live in their retreats, completely cut off from all relations with the outside world.

At the close of a long and valuable chapter on the landmarks in the literary history of the Buddhist doctrine, M. Oltremare raises the question as to how and why the religion founded by Gautama disappeared slowly, but almost wholly, from the land of its origin, after achieving at the outset such a phenomenal success. The Buddhists themselves state that their religion suffered severely from the attacks of Kumarila in the 7th century and of Shakara at the beginning of the 9th, and certain facts related by the Chinese pilgrim Huien Tsang indicate that Brahman hatred of a faith, which had so often supplanted them in the favour of the powerful and ruling classes, was intense and prolonged. Even so, instances of violence were only sporadic, and there were no persecutions, properly so-called, on the part of the great rulers. Buddhism, indeed, suffered far more from Islam, which destroyed its monasteries wholesale. Yet here again the Muhammadan invasions merely hastened the completion of a religious dissolution, which had commenced long previously. What really ruined Buddhism was its ever increasing affinity to Hindu cults, and in particular to the cult of Siva. The Chinese pilgrims give numerous examples of the penetration of pagan ideas, even in the monasteries most renowned for their orthodoxy. It was especially through the Mahdyana that Buddhism became infected with the moral germs that led to its ultimate decay. The followers of the Hinayana declared openly that the monks of Nalanda hardly differed at all from Siva friars. Employing,
as it did, more and more the same methods, adoring divinities of the same class and sometimes the same gods, Buddhism was bound to be absorbed by Hinduism. The contact with the cult of Siva transformed the Mahâbharata into an esoteric doctrine replete with Tantric ideas and mysticism. This was the last āvatâra of Buddhism, which practically ceased to exist in India from the 11th century.

The third section of M. Oltramare's treatise is devoted to a discussion of the place occupied by Buddhism in the history of Indian Theosophy, and in the third chapter of that section he deals with the points of resemblance and difference between that religion and the other chief religious systems of India. The points of contact are many, but are perhaps less remarkable than those which differentiate the doctrine of the Buddha from other creeds.

First and foremost, Buddhism proclaimed the right and the duty of the individual man. It cast aside traditional ritual and established in its place a personal private faith. To acquire knowledge of the Truth by oneself and then teach it to others—that is what constitutes âtmâyâdî, the first of the five heads of knowledge possessed by the Bodhisattvas.

Secondly, as it has its seat in the heart of the individual man, Buddhism is eminently a psychological faith. Inasmuch as all religious acts and religious sentiment act directly on the inner consciousness of man, they are in effect psychological. Equally so is the benefit which accrues from adoration of the Buddha: for enlightened Buddhists know that this cult is a source of purifying emotion for him who follows it. It confirms the wisdom of the individual mind, assists the devout to destroy the germs of sin within him, and, like faith, it leads directly to Vision or Illumination. "Honour and respect the Buddha, and the mysteries of the Law will be made plain to ye."

Thirdly, Buddhism broke down the ancient barriers between the sacred and profane, and denied the division of society into two rigid groups, or the division of places into two categories. If reverence is offered to a bhikshu, declared the Buddha, he owes it to ideas associated with the garment he wears, and not to any personal sanctification or consecration. One's veneration of stupas and chaityas arises from their being monuments of mighty acts or from their serving as the casket of precious relics; but these sanctuaries are so far from being "sacred," that all the world may freely enter them. There was no trace of "fetichism" in the doctrine preached by the Buddha, and so far as the prohibitions enunciated by Buddhism in respect of food, etc., are concerned, they were manifestly dictated, not by superstitious fears and notions of tabû, but solely by a wish that the Sangha should accommodate itself to the social views and prejudices of its age. Apart from matters of social hygiene and decency, the discipline recommended by the Buddhist scriptures is purely a moral discipline, and the pollution which they seek to wipe away is that of the heart. "That which is impure is murder, theft, lying, cheating, light words, and avarice—not the food that one eats." Rules are not an end in themselves, but only the means to the one great end—Salvation. Lastly, according to Buddhism the whole soul and life of a man must be devoted to the faith. Brahmanism had regulated mortal life by successive stages—the period of tutelage, the householder's life, the ascetic stage in the forest, and finally the stage of sannyas—abandonment of all earthly ties. The Buddha on the other hand realized how brief and fragile a thing is life: no man can count on the morrow. Therefore he preached the need of immediate renunciation for them that thirst for salvation, sweeping aside the artificial distinctions allowed by Hinduism. The forest? the Bodhisattas can truly dwell there by shaping his thoughts to accord with the spirit of the true âsana-prasâda. There must be no delay, for "the slothful man who, in the days of his vigorous youth, does not arise at the right moment, will never find the path of wisdom." There must be no division of a man's spiritual energy; he must give himself wholly to his task—the task of ensuring his own salvation.

In a final brief chapter the author sums up the lesson of Buddhism, as he understands it, after elaborate and painstaking research. I cannot do better than conclude this indifferent review of a very able work by translating, as best I can, the final paragraph. "Must one assume that humanity would be wise to sit at the feet of the ancient Hindu sage? Many persons in Europe and America think so. It may therefore be worth while to state in a few words why neither the manner in which Buddhism has approached the problem of man's destiny nor the solution which it offers of that problem can really satisfy us. It is impossible for us to embrace a doctrine which puts forward as the goal of life an intellectual and spiritual immobility, and as its ideal, a wisdom which sits apart and gazes from afar upon the active struggles of human existence. Buddhism brings happiness to those who follow it with sincerity, because it teaches them to curb their desires and seek their satisfaction in the narrow sphere of retirement and contemplation. But moral restlessness, spiritual unrest, the desire for so much better, the thirst for a fuller and deeper experience of what Life signifies—these possess far greater beauty. The ideal of the Buddha is a terrible mutilation of the Man."

S. M. EDWARDS
(Continued from page 55.)

IV.

(b) Myths and Legends.

Mr. Brown's Philosophy of Social Value Developed.

I now come to the last part of the argument in Mr. Brown's book: his interpretation of the Andamanese Myths and Legends. It becomes closer and more complicated than previously and frankly philosophical. He tells us that he is dealing with the Myths and Legends "in a similar manner" with the more important parts of the ritual and ceremonial, and he commences by laying down his procedure (p. 330):

"I propose to explain, not how the legends arose, but what they mean; what part they play at the present time in the mental life of the Andaman Islander. Customs that seem at first sight meaningless and ridiculous have been shown to fill most important functions in the social economy, and similarly I hope to prove that the tales are the means by which the Andamanese express and systematise their fundamental notions of life and nature and the sentiments attaching to those notions."

Mr. Brown then starts straight off (pp. 330 ff.) on an Akar-Bale (Balawa) story.

The Night, the Day and the Cicada.

In this story the origin of the Night and the Day depends on their connection with the Cicada or cricket (p. 330): "this species of Cicada, of which I do not know the scientific name, always makes a noise (′songs′ as the natives say) during the short interval of twilight between sunset and darkness and between dawn and sunrise." Upon this Mr. Brown remarks (p. 331):

"The song of the Cicada, as the day gives place to night and as night changes to day is one of the most familiar of all natural phenomena of the Andamanese. Another fact that is made use of in the Legend is that if one of these insects be crushed as was the Cicada of the story, or even if it be taken up in the hand, it will utter its shrill and plaintive note, not unlike the cry of a human being in pain. Finally, to understand the tale, it is necessary to remember that in all the tribes of the Great Andaman division there is a prohibition against killing the Cicada."

To let the reader follow the explanation of the story and Mr. Brown's comments thereon I repeat it here as told to Mr. Brown: (p. 214):

"Da Tengat [Sir (?) Spider] lived at Golugna Bud. He went fishing one day and got only one small fish of the kind called chelau (Glypheidodon Sordidus). He turned to go home, and as he went he shot his arrows before him into the jungle [a very unusual act.] Then he went after them to find them again. As he went he spoke to the fruits of the jungle, asking them their names. In those days the ancestors did not know the names of the fruits and the trees. First he asked the puiam, and then the guluwa, and then the chakli, but none of them replied. Then he found his first arrow. It was stuck fast in a big yam (gono). He took the arrow and said to the yam: 'what is your name?' At first the yam did not answer. Tengat turned to go away. He had gone a few steps, when the yam called him back, saying 'my name is Gono.' Tengat replied: 'Oh! I didn't know. Why didn't you say so before?' He dug up the yam, which was a very big one. He went off to look for his second arrow. As he went he spoke to the stones in the jungle, asking their names, but none of them replied. Then he found his second arrow fixed in a large lump of resin (tug). He took the arrow, and as he was going away the resin [which the Andamanese regard as a 'stone'] called him back, saying 'Here, my name is Tug: you can take me along with you.' So Tengat took the resin. Then Tengat forward a cicada (ritak) and he took that also. When Tengat got to the hut (bud), every one came to look at the things he had brought. He showed them the yam. He told them its name and showed them how to cook it. This was the first time that the ancestors ate gono. Then Tengat took in his hand the Cicada and squashed it between his palms. As he killed
it the Cicada uttered its cry and the whole world became dark. When the people saw that it was dark they tried to bring back the daylight. Tengat took some of the resin and made torches. He taught the people how to dance and sing. When Da Kongoro (Sir Ant) sang a song, the day came back. After that the day and night came alternately."

Next Mr. Brown says that the skeleton of the Legend, (p. 331) is this: "one of the ancestors killed a Cicada (a forbidden act), the Cicada uttered its cry (as it does when hurt), and as a result, darkness covered the world (as it always does when the Cicada sings in the evening). Leaving aside, for the present, the rest of the story, we may try to make clear to ourselves just what this part of it expresses."

Then he goes on (p. 331): "the explanation that I propose is to the effect that the Legend is simply an expression or a statement of the social value of the phenomenon of the alternation of day and night."

He next remarks that "the one outstanding feature of the first importance is that the day is the time of social activity, whereas the night is a period when the society is, as a rule, not active;" and that "one of the most important elements in the mental complex revealed by a study of the ceremonial is the recognition of the fact that it is on the activity of the society that the individual depends for his security and well-being." Also (p. 332): "it is the inevitable result of this that the daytime, when the society is active, should be felt to be a period of comparative security, while the night, when all social activity ceases, should be a period of comparative insecurity."

Mr. Brown's next note is (p. 332): "the Andaman Islander, like many other savages, is afraid of the dark . . . . But I would hold that in the Andaman Islanders and probably in other savages, the fear of darkness, of night, is a secondary induced feeling, not by any means instinctive, and is in a large part due to the social sentiments, to the fact that at night the social life ceases . . . . Because any condition of the individual in which he is withdrawn from active participation in the common life is regarded as one of danger from magico-religious forces antagonistic to the society."

Having read all this into the tale Mr. Brown says (p. 332): "the interpretation that I would offer of the Akar-Bale [Balawa] Legend is that it is an expression of these sentiments relating to the night; an expression that takes advantage of the connection between the song, the Cicada and the alternation of the night and day . . . . The necessity of this particular form must be accepted as a postulate." After this he proceeds (p. 333) to show at length "that the Legend does express the social value of Night."

Prohibitions as Precautions.

Mr. Brown harks back, however, for a moment to discuss the fear of night in a paragraph of the first importance to his general argument. He says (p. 333): "The fear of night, or rather, since that fear is rarely more than potential, the feeling that night is a time of insecurity, is part of the general attitude of fear or respect towards the forces of nature that are believed to be possible sources of danger to the society. Now, it has been shown that this particular attitude towards nature finds expression in ritual prohibitions of various kinds. For instance, the Andaman Islander translates his feeling of the social value of food substances into the belief that such things must be treated with ritual precautions."

And then he goes on (p. 334) with the argument:
"Applying this to the case before us, we must first recognise that to the Andaman Islander the alternation of the day and night and the singing of the Cicada are not separate phenomena, but are two parts or aspects of one and the same recurring event. Now, the night and day are things that cannot be handled, i.e., cannot be immediately subject to the actions of human beings, while the Cicada can be handled. Hence it is to the Cicada that the need of precaution is referred. Any interference with the Cicada is forbidden, and this prohibition serves as a mark or expression of the social
value of that alternation of night and day with which the Cicada is so intimately associated. The Legend of the Akar-Bale [Balawa] Tribe is simply an elaboration of this theme."

The Invention of Singing and Dancing.

Mr. Brown proceeds to examine other aspects of the Legend (p. 334): "the Akar-Bale story, besides giving an account of the origin of night, relates the invention of singing and dancing," which to the Andamanese "are merely two aspects of one and the same activity . . . . Dancing, except on a few special ceremonial occasions, always takes place at night." This is because of the belief that "dancing and singing are means by which the evil influence of darkness can be overcome, . . . . as they possess magical efficacy against the dangers prevalent at night." On this he says (p. 335): "this relation between the (negative) social value of night and the (positive) social value of dancing and singing is simply and clearly expressed in the Legend." It was the "singing" of the Cicada that produced the darkness, and it was the singing and dancing afterwards that produced the day, "so effectual was the means adopted of neutralising the evils of darkness that finally resulted in the return of the daylight in which ordinary social life is possible."

To this Mr. Brown adds (p. 335): "the reference to the resin in the Legend can be easily understood. The Andamanese use resin to provide the light by which they dance, as well as for torches for fishing on dark nights . . . . Thus the social value of resin is that it affords a means of neutralising to a certain extent the effects of darkness."

Then he remarks (p. 335): "one of the ancestors, under the influence of an anti-social passion, killed a Cicada, which uttered its cry, and thereupon the world was covered with darkness . . . . but men have learnt how to use resin for artificial light, and how to remedy the effects of darkness by dancing and singing."

Last, Mr. Brown comes to the conclusion (p. 335) that the 'Legend of the Night, the Day and the Cicada' is this:

"Simply the expression in a particular form of the relation between the Society and a certain natural phenomenon in terms of what have been called social values. We find expressed the social values of night and of resin and dancing. It may be noted that the Legend also gives a special social value to the ancestors, different from and greater than that of men or women at the present day. The Ancestors were able to do many things that men cannot do now: they were able to affect the processes of nature in a way that is no longer possible."

The Discovery of the Yam.

Mr. Brown passes on (p. 336) to discuss the discovery of the yam, a minor point in the Legend, which Mr. Man relates, (see p. 211 of Brown), as being the result of a chance shot with an arrow. Mr. Brown thinks it likely to be really a separate story brought into the present tale, as there is the shooting of an arrow in both. In this story, by chance shots with three arrows Da Tengat discovered new objects of three different kinds,—animal (cicada), vegetable (yam), mineral (resin, which to the Andamanese is a 'stone'). On this fact, Mr. Brown observes (p. 337): "in common with other primitive peoples, the Andaman Islanders regard what we call luck or chance as due to the action of the magical powers possessed by objects and by human beings."

The Killing of the Cicada.

And then, although he feels the points not to be plain in the Legend, Mr. Brown says (p. 337): "I think we must take it that Da Tengat was disgusted at his lack of success in fishing . . . . His shooting of the arrows must be regarded, I think, as the result of his anger." In his irritation he crushed the Cicada, thus bringing darkness on the world."

Then Mr. Brown remarks: "it is a principle of the Legends that evil results follow from evil action . . . . (p. 338). It was the wickedness of the ancestor in giving way to his
feeling of irritation that led to the social disaster of the coming of the night. Inversely it was through the combined effort of the ancestors joining in a harmonious action (singing and dancing) that the day was brought back."

**Major and Minor Motives in Legends.**

Mr. Brown here breaks off (pp. 339-340) to lay down a principle of interpretation. He begins by saying that he had "drawn a distinction between what may be called major and minor motives in the story. The validity of the interpretation of the legends offered in this chapter depends on the validity of this distinction, and it is therefore important to provide a method by which we separate major from minor motives. This can only be done when there are several versions of the same legend."

And then he goes on to say (p. 339): "If we compare the Akar-Bale [Balawa] Legend with the Aka-Bea version recorded by Mr. Man, we see that they have in common:

1. the explanation of the origin of night as due to the breaking of a rule:
2. the training back of the trouble to the anti-social passion of anger on the part of an ancestor:
3. the account of the origin of dancing and singing as a means of neutralising the effects of darkness.

All other elements of the story are different in the two stories. . . . Both the Legends express the social value of night, and they both express it in very much the same way."

**Beliefs about the Moon: Personification.**

Here Mr. Brown says, (p. 340): "An exactly parallel explanation can be given of the Andaman notions relating to the Moon. The social value of moonlight is due to the fact that it enables the natives to fish and catch turtle and dugong by night. A clear moonlight night affords the best opportunity for harpooning dugong," the most valued of all food. "Therefore, we may say that during the second quarter the Moon gives valuable help to the natives, but during the third quarter withdraws that help."

Then he proceeds to say (pp. 340-341):

"At the beginning of the third quarter the Moon rises in the evening with a ruddy hue. The natives explain this red and swollen appearance by saying that the Moon is angry. When a man does something that hurts or damages another it is generally (in Andamanese life) because he is angry. So to say that the Moon is angry is equivalent to saying that he is damaging the society by withdrawing the light by which for the past week or so they have been able to capture fish and turtle. The phenomena of the change of the Moon, in so far as they affect the social life, are represented as if they were the actions of a human being. We may describe this briefly by saying that the moon is personified."

But (p. 341): "Even the Moon is not expected to be angry without a cause. The natives say that the anger is due to some bright light having been visible at the time the Moon rises. The personification is thus further elaborated. The moon gives the light by which fishing and turtle hunting at night are possible. The light has a positive social value and its withdrawal is an evil." The Moon is therefore regarded as jealous of artificial light, and by that belief "the value of the moonlight is recognised." The beliefs about the Moon and the Legend of the Night in fact (p. 341) "both express, in accordance with the same psychological laws, the social values of natural phenomena."

**The Fire Legend.**

Mr. Brown treats (pp. 341 ff.) the Fire Legend in a different manner:

"I will next consider not a single legend but a number of different stories, running through all of which we can find a single major motive. I have recorded three legends
which relate, with some differences of detail, how in the beginning the ancestors had no fire, how fire was introduced by one of them, and how many of them, being burnt and frightened, were turned into animals of different kinds."

And then remarks (p. 342): "the story serves as an explanation of the markings on birds and fishes, there being where the ancestor who became the species was burnt by the fire."

Mr. Brown then lays down (p. 342) that "the clue to the true interpretation of the three stories [above mentioned] must be sought in the social value of Fire: " a proposition which he then sets out prove (pp. 342 ff.).

"We may say, in a word, that it is the possession of fire that makes social life (as the Andamanese know it) possible . . . . Amongst all the creatures that inhabit the world, man is the only one that possesses and makes use of fire. Here, then, is the fundamental notion that is expressed in these Legends. At first, so the story runs, animals and human beings were one, and were not distinguished. Then came the discovery of fire . . . . (p. 343). It is the possession of the fire that makes human beings what they are, that makes life as they live it possible. It is equally (according to the Legend) the lack of fire, or the lack of the ability to make use of fire, that makes the animals what they are, that cuts them off from participation in human life."

Upon this Mr. Brown argues (p. 343):

"The three stories considered above contain three motives:
(i) They express the social value of fire, by making the foundation of human society (through the differentiation of men and animals) depend on the discovery of fire.
(ii) They express a peculiar notion as to the relation of the human species to the other animals which is found in the Legends.
(iii) They give a legendary explanation of some of the characteristics of animals, such as the bright colours of certain birds and fishes."

And then he argues (p. 343) that "these same motives are present in many of the Legends relating to the origin of fire."

The Flood Myth.

Further consideration of the Fire Legends leads Mr. Brown to the Andamanese stories about the Flood. He commences with a remarkable statement (p. 344):

"We have seen that one explanation (in the mythological sense) of how the birds arose is that they were ancestors who fled from the fire. There are other stories that give a different account and relate that the animals came into existence through a great flood or storm that overwhelmed the ancestors. Both of these Legends are to be found in the same tribes. Their incompatibility does not prevent them from being both equally accepted. If it can be shown that the story of the flood is simply an alternative method of expressing the same set of representations that underlie the story of the origin of the animals through the discovery of fire, the interpretation of the latter will be in some degree confirmed."

And then Mr. Brown proceeds (p. 344):

"I think that it was because some of the ancestors kept their fire alight that they remained human, while those who lost their fire were turned into animals. If many personal impressions are of any value, this is really the idea that does underlie the Legend in the native mind. Thus it would appear that this version of the Flood myth is simply a reversal of the Fire Legend previously considered. They both express the same thing in different ways. They both make the possession of fire the thing on which social (i.e., human) life depend, the fundamental difference between man and animals."

Mr. Brown next (pp. 344-345) disagrees with Mr. Man's account, who "seems to have come to the conclusion that there were two floods,"—an idea which interferes with Mr. Brown's argument. But passing this by, it must be noted that Mr. Brown then says; p. 345:

"On the interpretation here suggested the major motives of the Flood Myth are (1) the social value of fire as expressed by making the difference between man and animals depend on its possession by the former and not by the latter;"
(2) the notion of the animals as having once been one with the ancestors. These two motives are both present in the Legends of the origin of fire that were previously considered."

The Three Worlds.

Mr. Brown now becomes ingenious (pp. 346-347):

"In a number of their Legends it is stated that the ancestors saved themselves by climbing up into a tall tree and into the trees. This is to be explained by the fact that the birds all live up in the trees, and many of them can never be seen save overhead. The top of the forest is where the birds live: it is their world, raised above the world of men and women. The flood drove the inhabitants to the tops of the trees. The birds remained there and only the human beings came down again . . . . (p. 347). This is, I think, what the Legend really means. The story of the flood gives a picture of a three-fold world . . . . For the natives of the [Andaman] Islands the top of the forest is an alien world into which they can only penetrate with extreme difficulty by climbing, and with the life of which they have little to do. Similarly the waters of the sea are another world into which they can only penetrate for a few moments at a time by diving."

Mr. Brown then carries the idea further (p. 347): "the same three-fold division of the world is seen in the beliefs about the three kinds of spirits, those of the forest, those of the sea, and the Morua who, while spoken of as spirits of the sky, are often thought of as living in the tops of the tall trees." But he is aware that here he is in a difficulty (p. 347): "it may be said that, on this view, no allowance is made for the existence of terrestrial animals." This he skims over by saying: "That is true, but it must be remembered that there are very few such animals in the Andamans."

The Origin of Animals.

Mr. Brown is thus led on to examine "the story of the Origin of Animals in the Akar-Bale (Balawa) Tribe." Comparing the variants of the tale he says (p. 349):

"The main purpose of the story is to relate how a great storm or cyclone visited the island in the times of the ancestors and turned many of them into animals. The storm was brought about by the action of one of the ancestors, who in anger did some of the things that are known to anger Puluga and cause a storm . . . . The purpose of the elements of the Legend is to explain how the great flood came about, by tracing it to the anti-social action of some or more of the ancestors, just as the night is supposed to have been produced by an ancestor who performed a forbidden action . . . . The origin of the catastrophe that separated the once united ancestors into animals and human beings is thus traced to the fact that they could not live together socially and in harmony."

After reasoning at some length on these general statements, Mr. Brown (p. 350) draws the moral from the animals legends thus: "human society is only possible if personal anger be subordinated to the need of good order; the animals are cut off from human society because they could not live peaceably together without quarrelling."

The Personification of a Natural Phenomena.

Mr. Brown is next, as it were almost naturally, led on to consider what he (p. 377) calls the Personification of Natural Phenomena, or what Mr. Man would call the Andamanese ideas of God. This point he examines at great length in some 32 pages of his book (pp. 351—383). He launches into the mythology of this all-important subject with the statement (p. 350). "In the various stories [of the Fire and Flood] there are two separate elements": viz., firstly "the explanation of how a disastrous flood or storm caused by the non-observance of ritual prohibition connected with Biliiku (Puluga)," and secondly "how, through the flood and storm, animals "became separated from the human race."

"The clue to the understanding" of Andamanese mythology (p. 351) "lies in the Andamanese notions about the weather and the seasons." He then describes the seasons
as he understands them, and again alludes to the meaning of the term *kimil* (*gumul*) in connection with them, which here (p. 352) "denotes a condition of social danger or of contact with the power possessed by all things that can affect the life and safety of the society."

Mr. Brown here remarks (p. 352) that "the life of the Andaman Islander is profoundly affected by the alternation of the seasons," and in relation to the occasional cyclones in the islands he remarks (p. 352): "an old man recounted to me how on the occasion of a violent cyclone he and others of his village took refuge in the sea and on the open shore from the danger of falling trees, and remained there till the violence of the storm had abated." Here I would note that either Mr. Brown did not understand the old man or the old man was rhodomontading. I have personally been through three cyclones,—twice at sea and once on the sea-shore. The sea on such occasions is about the last place any one would or could seek in a cyclone. He is right, however, in saying that the visit of such a storm is a time of real terror and extreme danger to such a people as the Andamanese.

Then Mr. Brown shows how the seasons (pp. 352-353) affect the food supply: "roughly we can say that the rainy season is the season of flesh food, the *kimil* season is the season of grubs, the cool season is the season of fruits and roots, and the hot season is the season of honey."

**Biliku (Puluga) and Tarai (Deria).**

To follow his own expressions Mr. Brown then states:

"I propose to show that the Andaman Islanders express the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, i.e., the way these phenomena affect the social life and the social sentiments, by means of Legends and beliefs relating to the two mythical beings whom they call Biliku and Tarai. Using the word 'personification' in a sense to be defined later in the chapter, we may say that the Andamanese personify the weather and the seasons in the persons of Biliku and Tarai."

These are the Northern forms; in the South they are Puluga and Deria. Biliku is associated with the North East Monsoon, i.e., the cold and the hot season: Deria with the South West Monsoon, i.e., the rainy season. "It is possible (pp. 353-354) to show that the Andaman Islanders associate with these two beings all the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, and are able to represent the changes of the latter as though they were the actions of human or anthropomorphic beings."

Mr. Brown's form of argument is that where there is general agreement as to beliefs on a particular subject, those are the major or important points: where there is a lack of agreement, those are the minor or less important points. On this argument he treats as a matter of lesser importance the fact that in the South Puluga is male and in the North Biliku is female. Then he says (p. 354): "applying the strict method outlined above, we may begin by noting that there is completely unanimity in regard to the connection of Biliku and Tarai with the North East and the South West respectively, and therefore with the monsoons. No interpretation of the myth can be adequate unless it sets out from this fact. The connection is so firmly fixed that it appears in the names of the winds themselves."

As to the ascription of the winds, Mr. Brown remarks (p. 355) that "only the South West wind is associated with Tarai and all the other winds with Biliku," and he says that the point is one of "considerable importance in the interpretation of this myth." Biliku is therefore naturally connected with the chief winds and storms, and so is more important than Tarai. "This preponderance (p. 356) will need to be explained as one of the essentials of the myth." In fact on p. 365 Mr. Brown asserts that it is Biliku that sends all the storms and Tarai that sends nothing more than heavy showers of rain. With the fear of Mr. Brown before me I cannot help saying that these assertions require modification. Storms do occur in the North East Monsoon and are occasionally severe: cyclones are terrible and
occur usually then, but they are rare, no one individual being likely to experience more than one or two in his life; whereas in the South West Monsoon storms are constant and on the West Coast of the Andamans very severe.

The Anger of Biliku (Puluga).

Mr. Brown now carries on the argument, p. 356: "the Andaman Islander represents any natural phenomenon having negative social value as though it were the result of the action of a person in anger, this being the one anti-social passion with which he is most familiar in his own life ... The negative social value of a violent storm is obvious," and they are therefore clearly due to the anger of Biliku.

He next remarks (p. 357): "another law of Andaman Mythology is that a person, such as the Moon, is never angry without cause," and he examines three actions of extreme importance which "cause the anger of Biliku." The first is the melting or burning of bees-wax. The season for doing this is necessarily the hot season, and "year after year the wax-melting season comes to a close in showery weather." So (p. 358) "the anger of Biliku following the melting of bees-wax is in one sense simply a statement of actual observable fact. The second point is the cutting down or digging up in the hot season of certain plants, which include the most valuable vegetable food. Here again, Mr. Brown argues (p. 359): "there is a definite ground of association [of Biliku's anger] in familiar natural phenomena." The third action that can cause Biliku's anger is (p. 359) "the killing of a Cicada or making a noise while the Cicada is singing in the morning or evening." Here the explanation is (p. 360) that "the grub of the Cicada is eaten during the kimil [danger] season and at no other time of year," i.e., only in the cyclone season.

The Andamanese are represented here as a kind of ceremonial homoeopathics. They do ceremonially the very acts that anger Biliku in order to cure or avert her anger E.g., (p. 359): "the efficient way of stopping a storm is to go into the forest and destroy the plants that belong to Biliku," and (p. 361) by performing the ceremony of "killing the Cicada" they ensure fine weather.

Reviewing the whole subject, Mr. Brown writes (p. 362): "The explanation that I have to offer of their beliefs relating to Biliku and to the things that offend her is that they are simply the statement in a special form of observable facts of nature."

The Sex of Biliku.

On this subject Mr. Brown remarks (p. 365):

"There is a lack of agreement ... Tarai, (p. 366) rules over the rainy season, in which the chief food is the flesh of animals of the land and of the sea; it is the business of men to provide flesh food. On the contrary Biliku rules over the seasons in which the chief foods are vegetable products of different kinds; it is the business of women to provide such foods ... This way of thinking of Biliku as female is in harmony with her character as outlined above. Women (in the Andamans) are notoriously uncertain, changeable creatures. You can always reckon fairly well what a man will do, but not so with a woman."

After carefully qualifying this statement about women by the words he puts in brackets, Mr. Brown goes on (p. 366): "In the South Andaman, however, both Puluga and Deria are said to be male. It can be shown that this view is also appropriate in its way. The Akar-Bale [Balawa] say that Puluga and Deria were once friends, but have quarrelled and now live at opposite ends of the earth and are perpetually renewing their quarrel." The two monsoons end in unsettled weather. The combat is such as would be fought among men: obviously therefore Puluga and Deria should be male. All this Mr. Brown qualifies by the remark (p. 367): "I venture to think, however, that the Southern myth is not quite so
satisfactory as the Northern one, does not translate quite so well all the different features of the natural phenomena with which it deals." He thus shows once again that he can never regard as likely any observation in the field that does not support his theory.

**Biliku (Puluga) and Fire.**

Here Mr. Brown says that the Andaman Fire Legends (p. 367) "owe the origin of the connection between Biliku, the storm-sender, and lightning ... (p. 368). One belief is that it is a fire-brand flung by her through the sky; a second is that it is a mother-of-pearl shell (be) similarly flung; yet a third statement is that she produces the lightning by striking a pearl shell (be) on a red stone." Lightning is usually regarded as a fire-brand, but (p. 368) "the explanation of lightning as a shell depends not only on the pearly lustre of this kind of shell, but also on other features of it," and as to this point (on p. 369) Mr. Brown is not clear. I gather that the fire was stolen from Biliku, and becoming angry "she tried to punish the offender," by flinging "a fire-brand or a [pearl] shell" at him. She thus became hostile to the ancestors, and this is made a point as to her general attitude.

**Biliku, the Enemy and also the Benefactress.**

"There can be no doubt," says Mr. Brown (p. 370), "that [hostility] is the usual way in which the Andamanese conceive the relation between Biliku and the ancestors, and therefore, since the ancestors represent the society in its beginnings, between Biliku and themselves." But he sees that Mr. Man's descriptions of Puluga "as the creator of the world and the beneficent ruler of mankind" conflicts with this view. And then, although he admits (p. 370) that "there is no doubt that at times, and more particularly in the southern tribes, the natives do regard Puluga as the benefactor and even the creator of the human race," he adds a footnote (pp. 370-371):

"In dealing with the account given by Mr. Man of the Andaman mythology, it is necessary to remember that he was undoubtedly influenced by a very strong desire to show that the beliefs of the Andamanese about Puluga were fundamentally the same as the beliefs of the Christian about his God. It may be taken as certain that he did not consciously allow this wish to affect his record of the Andaman beliefs, but it is very improbable that it did not unconsciously have a great deal of influence both on Mr. Man and on his informants."

This is a dangerous line of observation, because if we are to hold that Mr. Man's view is too theistic, this book shows that Mr. Brown's view is equally too atheistic. The remark on Mr. Man's book seems all the more uncalled for when we read on pp. 371-372:

"The revolution of the seasons brings to the Andamanese new supplies of relished foods,—the grubs of the Kimil season, the yams and honey of the cool and hot seasons. One of the Andamanese names for the season of the North East Monsoon means 'the season of abundance.' Therefore Biliku, as the personification of this season, is herself the giver of good things ... This view of Biliku as a benefactress, although it conflicts to some extent with the view of her as on the whole hostile to mankind, yet, since it springs from the essential basis of the myth, cannot be overlooked ... Contrary though they be, these two aspects of Biliku are both integral parts of the myth."

**Biliku and the Sun.**

Says Mr. Brown (p. 372): "Besides the lightning, there is another natural source of Fire, the Sun. We find, therefore, two different (and contrary) developments of the myth of the beginning of the world. In one of these the Sun is associated with Biliku, is regarded as belonging to her or made by her." He does not, however, follow up this version of the creation further.

**Biliku and the Spirits.**

On this point (p. 373) Mr. Brown says:

"It is clear that Biliku and Tarai must be distinguished from the Spirits (Lau), yet at the same time Biliku is brought into relation with the Spirits by the existence of
two alternative explanations of bad weather. One of the explanations is that storms are due to Biliku, while the other is that they are due to the Spirits, particularly the Spirits of the Sea. Both these beliefs, contradictory as they seem, are held by the Andamanese.

The Biliku-Tarai Myth.

Mr. Brown winds up his remarks on the Biliku (Puluga) and Tarai (Deria) Legends with these remarks (p. 375): "I have tried to show that the whole myth is an expression of the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons. These phenomena affect the social life in certain definite ways and thereby become the objects of certain sentiments: these sentiments are expressed in the Legends . . . (p. 376). I have explained some of the more important of the Legends as being expressions or statements of the social value of natural phenomena." And finally he says (pp. 376-377) "all the legends I wish to maintain, are simply the expression in concrete form of the feelings and ideas aroused by all things of all kinds as the result of the way in which things affect the moral and social life of the Andaman Islanders. In other words the Legends have for their function to express the social values of different objects,—to express in general the system of social values that is characteristic of Andamanese social organisation."

Personification of Natural Phenomena: Definition.

Says Mr. Brown (p. 377):

"It is now necessary to give a more exact definition of this term. By it I mean the association of a natural phenomenon with the idea of a person in such a way that the characteristics of the phenomenon may be regarded as though they were actions or characteristics of the person. The simplest form is that in which the phenomenon itself is spoken of and thought of as if it were an actual person. Thus the sun and moon are spoken of as Lady Sun and Sir Moon."

And then a little later on he says: "the name of the person is also used as the name of the phenomenon of which he is (in the phraseology used here) the personification."

Process of Personification.

After discussing the process of personification in mythology generally in terms of which the key-note of the argument is (p. 378), "the first organised experience that the individual attains is all connected with persons and their relations to himself,"—Mr. Brown goes on to apply the theory to the Andamanese. He observes (p. 379) that "the Andaman Islander has no interest in nature save in so far as it directly affects the social life," and in order to express his emotional experience "he has to make use of that part of his own experience that is already thoroughly organised, namely, that relating to the actions of one person as affecting another, or as affecting the society."

The Ancestors: Tradition.

Mr. Brown next remarks (p. 381) that "the personification of natural phenomena is not the only method by which their social value can be expressed," which observation leads him on to discuss the question of the existence of "ancestors," as to whom he says (p. 382) that "the ground of the belief in the ancestor is to be found in the existence of a sentiment fundamental in all human society, which I shall call the feeling of tradition."

Finally he is led to an opinion, of which one hears more later, relating to an "ordered form:"

"To put the matter (pp. 382-383) in a few words, the individual finds himself in relation to an ordered system—the social order—to which he has to adapt himself. The two chief moments in his affective attitude towards that order are his sense of his own dependence upon it and of the need of conforming to its requirements in his actions. It is this—his sense of his own relation to the social order,—that the Andaman Islander expresses in the Legends about the ancestors, which recount how that order came into existence as the result of actions of anthropomorphic beings."
Culture Legends: Weapons and Implements.

Here Mr. Brown leaves mythology and passes on to culture. He states (p. 383) that by his Culture Legends "the Andamanese Islander expresses his sense of his own dependence on the past," and then he says:

"It is obvious that the Andaman Islander cannot regard the ancestors as being persons exactly like himself, for they were responsible for the establishment of the social order, to which he merely conforms, and of which he has the advantage. He says, therefore, that they were bigger men than himself, meaning by this that they were bigger mentally or spiritually, rather than physically, that they were persons endowed with powers much greater than those even of the medicine men of the present time. This explains the magical powers that are attributed to many, or indeed to all, of the ancestors."

As to the meaning of magical powers he has a significant note on p. 384: "In the last chapter it was shown that the attribution of magical force to such things as foods and human bones is simply the means by which the social values of these things are represented and recognised. Similarly here the magical powers of the ancestors are simply the representation of their social value, i.e., the social value of tradition."

The Order of Nature: Moral Laws.

Mr. Brown now becomes distinctly philosophical in his argument (p. 384):

"Besides the social order there is another, the order of nature, which is constantly acting upon the social order . . . The Andaman Islander finds himself in an ordered world, a world subject to law, controlled by unseen forces. The laws are not to him what the natural laws are to the scientist of to-day, they are rather of the nature of moral laws . . . Right or wrong mean acting in accordance with the laws of the world and in opposition to them, and this means acting in accordance with or in opposition to custom. Custom and law are indeed here two words for the same thing . . . The forces of the world, as the Andaman Islander conceives them, are not the blind mechanical forces of modern science: rather are they moral forces . . . (p. 385) The law of the world then [to him] is a moral law, its forces are moral forces, its values moral values; its order is a moral order."

"This view (p. 385) of the world is the immediate and inevitable result of the experience of man in society. It is a philosophy not reached by painful intellectual effort, by the searching out of meanings and reasons and causes; it is impressed upon him in all the happenings of life, is assumed in all his actions: it needs only to be formulated. And the argument of this chapter has been that it is as the expression or formulation of this view of the world as an order regulated by law that the Legends have their meaning, fulfil their function."

Function of the Legends.

Mr. Brown's philosophic argument continues (p. 385):

"The Legends of the Andamanese then, as I understand them, set out to give an account of how the order of the world came into existence . . . . A fundamental character of the natural order (as of the social order) is uniformity: the same processes are forever repeated . . . (p. 385) [The Legends] express two most important conceptions, that of uniformity (or law) and that of the dependence of the present on the past. It is the need of expressing these two conceptions that gives the Legends their function. They are not merely theoretical principles, but are both most intensely practical . . . . The knowledge of what to do and what to avoid doing is what constitutes the tradition of the society, to which every individual is required to conform."

Local Motives of the Legends.

"The Legends set out (p. 386) to express and to justify the above two fundamental conceptions. They do so by telling how social order itself came into existence, and how also, all those natural phenomena that have any bearing on the social well-being come to be as they are and came to have relation to the society that they possess. One group of facts that
have an obvious relation to the society consists of the geographical features of the islands. (p. 387) We may say briefly that the local motives of the Legends serve to express social values of localities. (p. 386) Such motives are of considerable importance; of much more importance than would appear from the stories."

**Animals as Ancestors.**

Mr. Brown next turns his attention to the subject of Animal Ancestors (p. 387): "many of the actors in the Legends bear the names of animals, but at the same time are spoken of as though they were human beings. . . . (p. 388) It is not simply that the legendary person is a man with the name and some of the characteristics of an animal; nor is it simply that the legendary person is the ancestor of the species of which he bears the name. We can only adequately express the thought of the Andamanese by saying that he regards the whole species as if it were a human being." And on p. 389 Mr. Brown remarks: "there is a parallelism between the personification of natural phenomena and the personification of animal species."

**Origin of the Legends.**

After explaining that the Andamanese have no Star Legends because (p. 393) they do not have their attention called to the stars, Mr. Brown sets about accounting for the existence of the Legends (p. 393): "the Andamanese, like other savages, have not acquired the power of thinking abstractedly. All their thought necessarily deals with concrete things. Now the story form provides a means of expressing concretely what could otherwise only be put in an abstract statement. . . . (p. 394) The chief ground for the interest in stories shown by children and by savages is, I believe, that they afford the means of exercising the imagination in certain specific directions and thereby play an important part in enabling the individual to organise his experience." And finally he makes some interesting remarks in this connection (p. 394): the point to be noted is that these tales are always frankly egoistic and boastful, and it is for this reason that they may well be compared with the day dreams of the more civilised. . . . (p. 395) By means of the personification of natural phenomena and of species of animals, and through the assumption of the existence of the ancestors and their times, they are able to develop a special kind of unwritten literature, which has for them just the same sort of appeal that much of our own literature has for us."

**Inconsistency in the Legends.**

Mr. Brown frequently points out that the Legends contain inconsistencies, and he writes on p. 396: "it is clear that the Andamanese do not always apply to these Legends the law of logical necessity." And then on p. 397 he adds:

"The very existence of inconsistencies of this kind proves without any doubt that the mental processes underlying the Legends of the Andamanese are not similar to those that we ourselves follow when we attempt to understand intelligently the facts of nature and of life, but rather are to be compared to those that are to be found in dreams and in art—processes of what might conveniently be called symbolic thought. It would hardly be necessary to point this out were it not that many ethnologists still try to interpret the beliefs of savages as being the results of attempts to understand natural facts, such as dreams, death, birth, etc."

**Social Value of the Legends.**

At length Mr. Brown returns to his main argument, (pp. 397-398):

"The thesis of this Chapter has been that the Legends are the expression of social values of objects of different kinds. By the social value of an object is meant the way in which it affects the life of the Society, and therefore, since every one is interested in the welfare of the society to which he belongs, the way in which it affects the social sentiments of the individual. The system of social values of a Society obviously depends upon the manner in which the society is constituted, and therefore the Legends can only be understood by constant reference to the mode of life of the Andamanese."
Mr. Brown’s Conclusion.

At this point Mr. Brown concludes his survey of the beliefs and customs of the Andamanese in words which justify this lengthy analysis of his book. Taking his enquiry to be one “not into isolated facts but into a culture,” he writes (p. 400):

“Here I must conclude my attempt to interpret the customs and beliefs of the Andaman Islanders, but in doing so I wish to point out, though indeed it must be fairly obvious, that if my interpretation be correct, then the meaning of the customs of other primitive peoples is to be discovered by similar methods and in accordance with the same psychological principles. It is because I have satisfied myself of the soundness of these methods and principles, by applying them to the interpretation of other cultures, that I put forward the hypotheses in these two chapters with an assurance that would not perhaps be justified if I relied solely on a study of the Andamanese.”

The importance of such a statement, if Mr. Brown’s principles are to be followed generally, will be at once apparent to the reader of these pages.

The Moral Force of Society.

But Mr. Brown goes further. On p. 402 he writes:

“Leaving aside altogether the question of how sentiments of these kinds come into existence, we may note that they involve the existence of experience of a particular type. The individual experiences the action upon himself of a power or force—constraining him to act in certain ways not always pleasant, supporting him in his weakness, binding him to his fellows, to his group. The force is clearly something not himself—something outside of him therefore, and yet equally clearly it makes itself felt not as merely external compulsion or support, but as something within his own consciousness—within himself therefore. If we would give a name to this force we can only call it the moral force of society.”

And then he adds (p. 404): “The Andamanese have not reached the point of recognising by a special name this power of which they are thus aware.” That is to say, if I read Mr. Brown aright, the Andamanese have no actual term for ‘God’—not even Biliku (Puluga).

The Andamanese Religion.

He seems, however, rather to hesitate here. He writes on p. 405: “throughout these two chapters I have avoided the use of the term ‘religion.’ My reason for this is that I have not been able to find a definition of this term, which would render it suitable for use in a scientific discussion of the beliefs of such primitive people as the Andamanese.” But should he not call his discussion philosophic rather than scientific? However, leaving this point aside, he adds (p. 405):

“The definition of religion that seems to me on the whole most satisfactory is that it consists of

(1) A belief in a great moral force or power (whether personal or not) existing in nature;
(2) an organised relation between man and this Higher Power.

If this definition be accepted, it is clear that the Andamanese have religious beliefs and customs. They do believe in a moral power regulating the universe, and they have organised their relations to that power by means of some of their simple ceremonies.

The purpose of these two chapters has been to explain the nature and function of the Andamanese religion.”

The Conclusion.

I have now taken Mr. Brown through his whole argument, using his own language as far as possible. Those who desire to know him further can study his remarkable book for themselves. It is worth the while of a student of cultural anthropology thus to go into it, because we have had the arguments of Max Müller and his School of Mythology—the Sun Myth and the rest of it—supplanted by Frazer and the School of Comparative Anthropology, and how we shall have, if Mr. Brown has his way, a School of Philosophic Anthropology. If his ideas ‘catch on’ I foresee an endless number of volumes of a philosophic nature, all equally satisfactory to the writers and their schools, and more or less flatly contradicting
each other. To start with a theory—Mr. Brown writes (p. 400), 'I have assumed a working hypothesis'—and work up the beliefs and customs of a primitive people thereon, open up a literary vista that appalls me at any rate.

It recalls to my mind a verse that has remained with me from my childhood of long ago. If I remember rightly, Southey was the author, when writing of Mob, Cob, and Chittabob, I may be wrong in the ascription. That, however, does not much matter, but after going through Mr. Brown's book, I cannot help wondering what length of a philosophy of religion could be built up round that one verse by some remote descendant, were it to remain on and be discovered: how he would 'interpret' first the words themselves and then their religious meaning: how his contemporaries would dispute with him about both points.

The Devil was dressed
In his Sunday best:

His coat was red and his breeches were blue,
And there was a hole where the tail came through.

(To be continued.)

THE YEZIDIS OR DEVIL-WORSHIPPERS OF MOSUL.¹

By H. C. LUKE.

Prefatory Note.

By Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BR.

On 25th—28th August 1924, The Times published a series of articles by Mr. H. C. Luke, sometime Assistant Governor of Jerusalem, on the "Minorities of Mosul," two of which will be of interest to the readers of this Journal, as they describe the Yezidis of that region who are called "Devil-worshippers." These people being surrounded by Muhammadans and probably of an ancient 'Persian' origin, their form of devil-worship has naturally a strong Musulman tendency. 'Devil-worship' is however very common in India, especially in the South, where its tendency, on the contrary, is towards Hinduism. Nevertheless to my mind the term 'devil-worship' is a misnomer, naturally invented by the early European travellers to the East, imbued with Christianity, to describe a form of religious practice foreign to their ideas: whereas, 'devil-worship' is really the worship of supernatural spirits by primitive Animists. It is not devil-worship at all, as some of the spirits worshipped are not credited with evil designs on human beings and their property.

In 1883 I secured from the library of my old friend and correspondent, Dr. A. C. Burnell, a long MS. entitled The Devil Worship of the Tulwars, which I got translated through the Rev. Dr. A. Manner of the Basel Mission, and published it in this Journal in 1894 (vol. XXIII). I then made the above remarks and have never since seen anything to shake the opinion therein expressed. Indeed it is strongly confirmed by the situation in the Nicobar Islands, where European missionaries taught the people to apply the term 'devil' to the images and other objects they set up to scare away the evil spirits from their homes. There the 'devil' is really the 'devil-scarer.'

In the Jebel Sinjar to the west of Mosul and in the district of the Sheikhan to the north-east there dwell the peculiar people known variously to the world at large as Yezidis and Devil-worshippers. To all appearances of Kurdish stock and speaking a Kurdish dialect, their own name for themselves is Dasnayi; the meaning of the term Yezidi, applied to them by their neighbours, is uncertain. The Shia Moslems, by way of adding to the odium which their beliefs have brought upon the Yezidis, like to ascribe their foundation to Yezid Ibn Mu'awiya, the murderer of the Shiah hero Husein; but their origin is infinitely more remote than the times of the fourth Caliph and his luckless sons.

¹ Reprinted from The Times, August 27th and 28th, 1924.
More convincing is the derivation from Yazdan, which is a Persian name of the Supreme Being; for the Almighty enjoys among the Yezidis a remote and abstract supremacy, although it is in truth little more than a succès d’estime. Their more serious attention is bestowed upon him whom we denominate, when we wish to be polite, the Fallen Angel, but whom they regard as invested by the Lord of All with full authority over this world below. Hence, though it may be difficult to love him, the Devil is a power to be propitiated, to be treated with all respect; hence their terror lest anyone should pronounce in their hearing the accursed word Sheïtan. For this is the opprobrious name bestowed on the object of their devotions by those who, in their ignorance, regard him as the spirit of evil, working in opposition to the Almighty, whereas all Yezidis know him for a supernatural potentate of the first magnitude, who has received for his activities a Divine carte blanche.

Satan Visualized.

Hence, too, this ubiquitous, if not precisely benevolent, power is personified in a fashion very different from that obtaining among those who mistake him for Beelzebub. No cloven hoofs and forked tail, no horns and luminous eyes, figure in the Yezidi iconography. It is as the regal, the divine peacock, as Melek Taus, the Peacock Angel or King, that Satan is visualized by his fearful but faithful followers. It is, indeed, not impossible that Melek Taus was once Melek θέος “the Lord God,” and was originally the attribute of the Almighty; that it was snatched from the feeble hands of Yazdan by the celestial Mayor of the Palace and conferred, with an altered meaning, upon himself. At all events, the bronze peacock, Melek Taus, is the sanjaq, the banner, the Palladium of the Yezidi people, the one object of their ritual never shown to those outside the fold.

This, then, is the fundamental article of Yezidi belief, the worship of the Peacock Angel, but it is by no means the only one. The recognition of the principles of good and evil, which it perpetuates, is derived in all likelihood from the Persian dualists; from Persia, too, the Yezidis may have drawn their cult of the sun, for Erumiah, the birth-place of Zoroaster, is very near to the lands of the Dasmay. On the other hand, their Sun worship may be much older, for they adore him at his rising and setting and kiss the spot on which his ray first rests; and on great festivals they sacrifice white oxen at his shrine. Now we know that the Assyrians dedicated bulls to the sun; and what is more likely than that this strange people, whose origin and beliefs point to a remote antiquity, should be a remnant of the race which once ruled in this very region? Another circumstance, which lends support to this theory, is the extreme hairiness of the Yezidis. The men, almost without exception, have beards abnormally long and curly, and their hair is as coarse and thick as that of the hairy Ainu. When we consider how prominent a part is played by the beard in Assyrian sculpture, it is impossible not to be struck by this curious parallel.

An Accommodating Sect.

Nothing if not broad-minded, the Yezidis regard as inspired the Old and New Testament, and the Koran. They accept the divinity of Christ, but believe that His reign will not come until that of the Devil is over, and that the latter has another 4,000 years to run. The language of their prayers is Arabic, although they do not understand it; and they assert that the water of the sacred spring at Sheikh Adi is miraculously derived from the well Zemzam at Mecca. They circumcise with the Moslems (though this may be a measure of self-protection), they baptize with the Christians, they abstain with the Jews from unlawful foods, they abhor with the Sabeans the colour blue. Moses, Manes, Melek Isa (Jesus), Mohammed, and even the Imam Mahdi combine with Melek Taus to produce a medley of undigested and half-understood tenets unequalled in any other sect. That no teacher has come forward to blend these ill-assorted beliefs into a somewhat more coherent whole is
probably due to the ignorance which is almost an article of faith among them. Before the war the arts of reading and writing were confined by an old tradition to a single family; and when, after the Armistice, the British Administration determined to open a school in the Jebel Sinjar many obstacles were encountered. The letters sh, and words rhyming with sheitan, had first to be eliminated from the text-books; and shatt, the usual Mesopotamian word for river, had to be replaced by the synonym nahr. The school, opened in the face of much opposition, did not survive for long. After a few weeks four pupils were drowned while fording a river swollen by the rains, whereupon the Yezidis regarded their aversion from learning as divinely (or infernally) vindicated.

The catholicity of their beliefs has not saved the Yezidis from unpopularity and even persecution. Layard gives, in his "Nineveh and its Remains," a graphic account of how they were decimated by the Kurdish Beg of Rowanduz, who pursued those of the Sheikhan to Mosul, and massacred the wretched fugitives on the hill of Qoyunjik in Nineveh, on the site of Sennacherib’s Palace, within full view of the exulting Moslawis. Soon afterwards came the turn of the Sinjar; and there were massacres of Yezidis in 1892 and during the war. There cannot now be more, at the outside, than 50,000 survivors, including the Yezidis in Transcaucasia, of a race which a hundred years ago mustered well over a quarter of a million. The steadfastness of the Yezidi under persecution is the more remarkable in that Melek Taus seems an uninspiring deity for whom to die. His cult rests on a basis of fear and expediency, from which love is wholly absent, yet scarcely ever have his followers been known to abjure, even when faced with torture and death, their singularly negative creed.

The Yezidi is a gentle being whose sufferings have left their mark in his cowed and melancholy demeanour. His chief enemy is the Turk, but to the Christian minorities, especially to the Nestorians, he is drawn by the bond of a common oppression. It must be accounted unto the Yezidis for righteousness that during the war, albeit themselves heavily oppressed, they gave shelter to hundreds of Armenian refugees, who crawled from Deir ez-Zor to the Jebel Sinjar in the course of the great Armenian massacres, and stoutly refused to surrender them despite the persuasion and threats of the Turks.

The Yezidi Mecca is the shrine of Sheikh Adi, called after two persons of the same name, the one a Sufi saint of the 12th century, the other a Kurdish gardener of the 13th, who appear to have been blended into one nebulous identity. Before visiting Sheikh Adi we stayed for a day and a night with Said Beg, the hereditary Mir (Chief) of the Yezidis, in his castle of Ba Idri in the Sheikhan. Ba Idri, distant a few miles from Al Qosh, is an Oriental version of the true feudal stronghold of the Middle Ages. It stands assertively on the top of a small plateau or hill, while the village crouches obediently at the bottom, some hundreds of feet below. The relative positions of castle and village symbolize not inaccurately the relations which exist between the Mir and his people.

The Power of the Mir.

Over the Yezidis the Mir exercises an absolute and autocratic sway. The best lands, the handsomest women are his without question, and he is supported by an annual due levied in money and kind upon all his subjects. So, while they are poor, he is tolerably rich, and is the proud possessor, as we learned with surprise, of five American cars. Nevertheless, his position has its drawbacks, for rarely does a Mir of the Yezidis die in his bed. Said Beg’s great-grandfather, Ali Beg, was killed by the aforementioned Rowanduz Kurds; his father, another Ali Beg, was shot by his mother’s paramour, with the connivance, it is said, of the lady. Nor is Said Beg likely to make old bones, for he loves to look upon the wine when it is red and, above all, upon the Arak when it is white. Yet a certain charm of manner never leaves him altogether, and intoxication seems but to heighten his natural melancholy.
THE YEZIDIS, DEVIL WORSHIPPERS

The Mir of the Yezidis

Shrine of the Peacock

H. O. Lube
THE YEZIDIS, DEVIL WORSHIPPERS

Sheikh Adi
He is a personage of remarkable appearance, tall and thin, with slim, delicate hands and a waving black beard gradually tapering to a point. He looks older than he is, and a slight cast in his mournful eyes gives him a faintly sinister look. He was clad, during our visit, in the finest black broadcloth, his dress consisting of full, baggy breeches embroidered with black silk, and a black Zouave jacket similarly embroidered. On his head he wore a black agal over a white silk keffiyeh. Black top-boots, lacing to just below the knee, completed his costume, the general effect of which was that of a Mephisto of the Russian ballet. No Bakst could have designed a more suitable outfit for the Lord of the Votaries of Satan, nor could Nature have endowed him with a more appropriate cast of countenance. That formidable dowager, his mother, was also at the castle, and we visited this grim, handsome, upstanding woman, who plainly despises her weakling son, in a lofty, smoke-blackened raftered hall in the women’s apartments, where, beside a blazing open fire, she was holding her court.

The Mecca of the Yezidis.

On the following day, accompanied by the Beg’s retainers, we rode over the hills to Sheikh Adi, a journey of three hours on horseback from Ba Idri. Soon we encountered a number of wayside shrines with the tapering fluted cones or spires (they can hardly be called domes) which are characteristic of Yezidi architecture. Beside each shrine there was generally a sacred tree enclosed by a wall, for the Yezidis are Nature-worshippers, and trees and water, stars and the moon compete with the Sun and the Devil for their veneration. Presently we turned sharply from the valley we had been following into another valley that runs into it at right angles. In a few minutes we crossed a stream by a small stone bridge and as we did so our Yezidi companions reverently removed their shoes. For we were now on sacred ground, in the Haram of the Yezidi holy place, not to be trodden by the faithful save with bare feet, in a region where no wild animal may be killed, no vegetation cut, no water polluted. It is a little paradise, this valley, of luxuriant groves and running water, of olives and pistachios, walnuts and figs, and silvery poplars beside the stream. The tender green of early spring was around us, and at our feet hyacinths and other wild flowers grew in abundance; the sides of the valley were white with hawthorn and pink with almond-blossom. The shrine itself lies almost entirely hidden in a bower of giant mulberry trees, and a pergola of these shades with its foliage the court in front of the temple.

But amid all this sylvan loveliness is suddenly struck another note. Up the wall of the temple, to the side of the door, there climbs, evil and sinister, a shiny black serpent. He is only cut in stone, it is true, and his colour is merely black-lead; but he comes as an abrupt reminder that here, despite the innocent charm of spring, the spirit of Apollyon broods. Other devices, such as lions, combs, and hatchets, are carved in low relief on the façade, and inscriptions in Syriac and Arabic, some of them upside down, are let into the walls at various places around the court.

The custodian of Sheikh Adi, who is Said Beg’s first cousin, welcomed us at the porch of the temple, but, before conducting us into the arcana, insisted that we should eat. Cushions and felt mats were placed for us against the temple façade, and black-shirted jābīrs (an order of the Yezidi hierarchy) hurried backwards and forwards with copper trays laden with eggs, pilau, chicken, and a sweet called baqlawa. Then we went inside, removing our shoes at our hosts’ request and placing, as they did, a small coin on the threshold.
The Shrine of the Peacock.

As we entered, one of our escort, a Nestorian, almost enveloped in bandoliers, whispered to me: "Effendim, this was once a church of ours, like Nebi Yunus at Nineveh"—the Mosque containing the tomb of the prophet Jonah, which surmounts the Palace of Esarhaddon at Nineveh. Probably he was right, for the temple is known to have been built by Christians and it bears a general resemblance to the early Christian churches of these parts. The interior consists of barrel-vaulted twin naves, and is entirely unlit. In a corner of the southern nave there rises a spring of beautifully clear water, the sacred spring from Zemzem, while from the middle of the northern nave a door leads into the Holy of Holies, a square chamber surmounted by the principal spire of Sheikh Adi. There is nothing in this room in any way resembling an altar; its only contents are two draped wooden chests, one of them presumably the repository of the bronze Peacock. More mysterious is the adjoining chamber, where is stored the olive oil used at the shrine. Ranged along the walls are rows upon rows of large earthenware jars, which looked, by the flickering light of our small tapers, as if in them were concealed the forty thieves.

There is no village at Sheikh Adi, but around and above the temple are hundreds of buildings, large and small, devoted to a variety of purposes. There are the dwellings of the custodian and his attendant fazirs, and rest-houses for the pilgrims who repair thither at the two great feasts of the Yezidi year. Minor shrines and oratories of all sizes and shapes, some of them set apart for pilgrims of particular localities, dot the valley on either side of the glen, and a little way up the southern slope rises the fluted spire of Sheikh Shems ed-Din, the Sun. From the roof of this lesser temple, where the white ozen are sacrificed to the tutelary god, we obtained a good view of the precincts, embowered in greenery and blossom. And at night, when every dome and eminence and grove and spire is illumined by flares of bitumen (for no lamps are allowed at Sheikh Adi, and the wicks for the flares are made at the shrine), the effect is beautiful in the extreme. It seemed wrong that all this loveliness and light should be lavished on the Prince of Darkness; yet one could not but admit, if his shrine be any criterion, that he is a gentleman, and a gentleman of taste.

BUDDHA AND DEVADATTA.

The field of comparative history is so vast that nothing can be done without mutual cooperation. Each investigator can only report what he has observed within his own area and the conclusions he draws, relying on others to complete his evidence or destroy it by counter-evidence.

I am therefore grateful to Mr. Kalipada Mitra for having done both (see Ind. Ant., vol. LIII, p. 125). He has successfully disposed of the argument based on the language used by the Buddha to Devadatta. I confess it was rather a weak one and I let it go without regret.

Mr. Mitra sees in the size of the stone hurled at the Buddha an objection to my suggestion that it is a cross cousin legend; he thinks such an immense stone could only be thrown with malice. But in the legend of Nayan and Vanuavatu enormous rocks are hurled, so enormous that they can be seen standing in the sea to the present day; yet this is a legend of cross cousinship. I pointed out that the legend of Gndhrakōṭa is a very old world type which is generally dismissed with the explanation "aetiological", though as a matter of fact that explains nothing, but is merely a word used to conceal our ignorance. Some of these legends at least can be traced to ancient ritual, but the key to most of them is missing, partly because of that blessed word "aetiological", by the use of which most investigators think themselves exempted from any further effort. This type of legend is world wide and is familiar to students of European Folk-Lore. They must therefore be of a most remote antiquity, far more remote than Buddhism. Some of these legends explain the configuration of the country as the result of a contest of two gods. Fijian evidence inclines me to suppose that this type is an echo of magical contests between cross cousins, magical contests, such as are commonly described by the Brahmanas as taking place between Gods (devas) and Demons (asuras), both descended from Prajāpāti, and in imitation thereof between the sacrificer (prajamāna) and his bhādivya, a word
southwards and eastwards following the general trend of migrations and culture. Did it ever prevail further west? That is a question I commend to the students of the Near East and the Aegean. I will merely point out that naming after the grandfather is a feature that often occurs in connection with the cross-cousin system, and an organic connection between the two can certainly be explained, though not as yet proved. For example, naming after the grandfather is still practised in Macedonia, and I have been promised evidence from ancient Greek literature, which I am still awaiting. That may be very little to go on, but all things have small beginnings.

A. M. HOCART.

BOOK-NOTICE.


This is an excellent survey of the people of Ashanti by a trained observer, after a year's work among them. It differs greatly from similar books I have recently had occasion to notice in this Journal, Mrs. Leslie Milne's Home of a Far Eastern Clan (Palaungs) and Mr. A. R. Brown's Andaman Islanders. All three have worked on the spot. Mrs. Milne's book is observation pure and simple; Mr. A. R. Brown's is observation to suit a theory; Captain Rattray's is theory based on observation. To apply a commercial simile: Mrs. Milne has produced an accurate detailed ledger; Mr. Brown a somewhat careless ledger to fit into a preconceived allocation of accounts; Captain Rattray an accurate ledger on which to base his balance sheet. The method of the last named seems to me to be altogether admirable.

Captain Rattray's book is concerned with an African people, but there are points in it of much interest to those engaged in Indian research. He does not deal minutely with the people themselves in their ethics, but confines himself mainly to three chief points, which may be described as family relationship, religion and land tenure. He gives in addition some very valuable chapters on Drum Language, the Golden Stool, gold weights and neolithic implements. It will be observed that the subjects mentioned necessarily cover a great part of Ashanti customs. Incidentally I may remark that anthropologists all the world over will be grateful to the Gold Coast Government for setting up a State Department to enquire into the ways and beliefs of the peoples over which it has sway.

1 See my paper on "The Cousin in Vedic Ritual" in this Journal, I am dealing with these "creation ceremonies" in my "Studies in Origins," which I hope to get through the press this year or early next.

2 Man, 1924, No. 76.
which are non-human spirits residing in certain "brass pans as their shrines under" Nyame, the God of the Sky, who is to him [the Ashanti] the Supreme Being of the Universe. He has of course also charms, amulets, talismans, mascots, "which may be termed fetishes." Such a situation will be familiar to all students of Religion in India.

The ceremonies for the propitiation, solicitation or worship of ancestral spirits are elaborate, and that they are regulated by old custom is shown in the long account of the Adae Ceremony when the spirits of the departed rulers of the clan are worshipped. As in most animistic countries, Ashanti has its sacred groves and Captain Rattray gives an account of the ceremonies at the most sacred of all, that at Santemansa, where "the first human beings, belonging to certain of their clans, came forth from the ground. This grove is a sanctuary where "to spill human blood is absolutely taboo." Next Capt. Rattray describes a "ceremony witnessed while the Burial Quarters of the Kings and Queens were undergoing repairs." In his account there occurs en passant a statement worth noting: "Those who were present in Cooamassie during the recent trial, before their own chiefs, of the miscreants who desecrated the 'Golden Stool' will never forget the sobriety and dignity with which that case was conducted." Another ceremony described is that of Baya when the samanjo spirits of dead ancestors are asked to bless the next year's crop.

Captain Rattray next has a chapter on 'Nyame' the Supreme Being, where he is in conflict with the older authorities who "denied the conception of a Supreme Being in the West African mind." He sets to work to show that 'Nyame, the God of the Sky, is truly the Supreme in the eyes of the Ashanti peoples, as distinct from the abson or gods, whose "power emanates from various sources, the chief of which is the great spirit of the one God." The abson are however for practical purposes far more important than Nyame in Ashanti life. An instructive account of great interest is then given of the gods and their shrines and their origin, which seems to make them akin to Animistic spirits elsewhere in the world.

Here Captain Rattray has a paragraph worth transcribing in full, as it will come home to many an inhabitant of India who is considering the relative position of Śiva, Vishnu or Krishna as the Supreme (Paramēsvara) and the godlings worshipped in everyday life: "I shall never forget the answer of an old priest with whom I conversed, chiefly to draw him out and see what he would say, for not trusting to the spirit of the great God and leaving out all the lesser powers, whose help was thus passively and indirectly invoked. He replied as follows: 'We in Ashanti dare not worship the Sky God alone, or the Earth Goddess alone, or any one spirit. We have to protect ourselves against, and use when we can, the spirits of all things in the Sky and upon Earth. You go to the forest, see some wild animal, fire at it, kill it and find you have killed a man. You dismiss your servant, but later you find you miss him. You take your cutter to hack what you think is a branch, and find you have cut your own arm. There are people who transform themselves into leopards; 'the Grass-land people' are especially good at turning into hyenas. There are witches who can make you wither and die. There are trees which fall upon you and kill you. There are rivers which drown you. If I see four or five Europeans, I do not make much of one alone and ignore the rest, lest they too may have power and hate me.'"

We now pass on to the curious Apo or Lampooning Ceremony which is very African, and to the consecration of a shrine to the temple of the god Tano or Ta Kora, the greatest of the Ashanti gods—the god of the mighty Tano river: and the account of the religious ceremonies, with the a'jahye ceremony in connection with the eating of the first fruits of each crop. From this outline it will be obvious to the readers of this Journal that a study of the religious practices in Ashanti are well worth their while, under the able guidance of Capt. Rattray.

We need not here follow him in his dissertation on Law, Tenure and Alienation, but his chapter on Drum Language is of absorbing interest, as he explains how "two drums set in different notes can possibly be heard as, or made to reproduce, actual spoken words." It is indeed a kind of Morse system and can be so applied, for Capt. Rattray says: "Mr. E. O. Rako, District Commissioner, Scoutmaster of the Mampoon troop of Boy Scouts, and I received and read various messages, of the nature of which we were not informed beforehand, drummed by an African Boy Scout who was familiar with Morse—the high and low tones, dashes and dots, carrying clearly through over a mile of the dense Ashanti forest."

Next the story of the Golden Stool of the Ashanti Kings, which is the shrine of the suneum or soul of the people, is well-told, and the effect of its desecration upon the people can be readily understood. There is also a Silver stool of the Queen Mother, a replica of which was presented to H. R. H. Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, on her marriage, a most delicate attention. The book winds up with an account of the Ashanti Goldsmiths and Gold Weights and the burial vessels (kudus) made to contain these last. The account shows that they bear a curious general family likeness to the animal and similar forms formerly employed among the Malays for their currency: see my 'Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States,' ante, vol. XLII.

R. C. TEMPLE.


LEGENDS OF THE GODLINGS OF THE SIMLA HILLS.

COLLECTED BY PANDIT SUKH CHAIN OF KUMHAIRSAIN
AND TRANSMITTED BY H. A. ROSE, L.C.S. (Retired).

LIST OF DEOTAS OR GODLINGS INCLUDED IN THE LEGENDS. 1

1st Group.—The Koṭ Ḥīshwar Family.


2nd Group.—The Marechh Family.


3rd Group.—The Nāgs.


4th Group.—The Dum Family.


5th Group.—Muls.


6th Group.—Kālīs and Bhagwātīs.


7th Group.—Independent Deotās.


1st Group.—The Koṭ Ḥīshwar Family.

1. Koṭ Ḥīshwar Mahādeo (Shiva).—He originated in the temple of Durgā at Hāt Koṭī. (Durgā's own history goes back to the times of the Mahābhārata.) When Koṭ Ḥīshwar Mahādeo, began to oppress the people in Hāt Koṭī, the Brāhmans thought that the god had become a rākṣasa (devil) and two Brāhmans, Obū and Shobū, by magic shot him up in a tumī and corkscrewed it up its mouth. The tumī, with the god and goddesses in it, they intended to throw into the Sutlej 40 miles from Hāt Koṭī, which lies on the banks of the Pabar. The Brāhmans had also shot two mātris up in the tumī with the god. When they reached Paro Bil, two miles from the Sutlej, the Brāhman who was holding the tumī stumbled and let it fall. As it broke in pieces the imprisoned god, with the two mātris escaped. Koṭ Ḥīshwar Mahādeo took shelter among the bana and hekkal bushes, one of the mātris soared to the top of the Tikkar hill, now called Kechehre, where she took up her abode in the kail trees; and the other flew across the Sutlej halting at Kheksū.

Koṭ Ḥīshwar again began to trouble the people in the form of a serpent. He would suck milk from the cows and they blamed the cow boy, who was much alarmed when one day he saw a serpent sucking milk from his cows. He told the owners of the cattle, and a Brāhman of Batāra, a village near Kumhrāsain, sent to the spot and called on the serpent to appear, if he were a god; threatening to burn him by magic as an evil spirit or devil, if he did not. So the god walked into his presence and the Brāhman, bowing before Koṭ Ḥīshwar, invited him to his village, where he lived for 12 years.

1 Where not otherwise indicated the deotās noted are in Kumhrāsain.
No Râjâ then ruled this part of the hills, which were held by the Mâwannas or Mâvis. Sûnû, a powerful Mâwanna, heard of the god’s miracles and began to worship him. Once he dreamed that the god did not wish to live at Mathana Jubar, where a temple was proposed for him, but would prefer Pichhâ Tiba, now called Koṭi, and so a temple was built there for him. Long afterwards the present temple was built on a larger scale at Madhohli.

At first he was represented by a single asht-dhat idol, but subsequently some fifteen more idols of mixed metal were added as companions. A rath (palanquin) was also made and the god was seated in it at melâs.

Bhûrâ, another contemporary Mâwanna, came to a melâ organised in honour of the god by Sûnû Mâwanna. He was dressed in ape skins. But Sûnû did not allow Bhûrâ to come before the god or touch his rath, so Bhûrâ returned to his home at Bhûrâ, scarcely three miles from Madhohli, in disgust. One day after his return, when breaking up new land he found a gold image, and for this he made a rath and seated himself in it.

This deotâ was brought to Mandhohli, as he desired to live there with Koṭ Ishwar, and Sûnû and Bhûrâ abandoned their feud.

Koṭ Ishwar was a terror to the countryside. He would kill any Mâwanna who did not obey him. Some indeed say that the gold image which Bhûrâ found was Koṭ Ishwar himself in a new form, and that Bhûrâ was killed by him.

When the Brâhmans of Hât Koṭ learnt that Koṭ Ishwar had become a good spirit and was displaying miracles at Mandhohli, two of them came to Lathl village, where they have been settled now for 77 generations.

Bhûrâ Deotâ appeared about the same time as Koṭ Ishwar. His worshippers offer him only gold or masrû cloth while Koṭ Ishwar can accept anything. Goats are usually sacrificed.

The following melâs called jûgrâs are held in honour of these Deotâs:—(1) Bhûrâ on the Ist Jeth; (2) Madhauni on the Rakhr Puni in Bhâdoi; (3) Madhohli on the purâmâshâ day in Bhâdoi; (4) Pati Jubar on the 6th or 7th Asâr. But at the following places the jûgrâs are held in Baisakh and Sawan on any day that may be fixed, Urshu-Khekhîr, Nâl, Jâr, Sawarî, Dib, Banû, Khâbar, Dhâli, Kûpî.

Koṭ Ishwar ruled this part of the hills before the Geû family settled at Karanglá. Sometimes afterwards the Geû brothers quarrelled over the partition of the kingdom, and so a cow-girl divided it into two parts, viz., Karanglâ and Kumhârsain. Her decision is said to have been:—Jis Kepu tis Kanâr, Jis Khekhîr tis Dalâr, “He who gets Kepu will get Kanâr and he who takes Khekhîr shall have Dalâr.” Kepu and Khekhîr are villages on the banks of the Sutlej and Kanâr and Dalâr are villages high up the valley. A stream, the Sawarî Khad, divides the country.

When the first Thâkur came to Kumhârsain, the country was made over to him by Koṭ Ishwar, who showed him favour, so that State has given him a jâgîr worth Rs. 506, and pays the expenses of his jûgrâs. Six generations ago Thâkur Râm Singh of Kumhârsain fought with Rââ Pirthî Singh of Keonhâl and by his aid the Thâkur gained a victory.

Every third year the Deotâs’ charî or staff is taken to all the bâsas, and when a new Râgâ ascends the gaddî the Deotât himself tours the country in a rath. Every house presents four pathâs of grain. Koṭ Ishwar is the kula deo or kul deota (family god) of the chief of Kumhârsain.

2. Bhûrâ.—The account of this deotât is included in that of the foregoing, Koṭ Ishwar.
3. The Deotât Sherkoṭ at Kumhârsain.—This deotât has his temple in the palace at Kumhârsain. He is none other than Koṭ Ishwar himself, but is called Sherkoṭ. None but members of the Râgâ’s family and the State parohits, who are called Sherkoṭû Brâhmans, can go into his temple. It is said that the original idol of Koṭ Ishwar is kept here and that the image at Mandhohli is only a duplicate.
4. Devī Ādshaktī or Durgā Mātā.—A Brāhman of the Sakterū Pujāra family relates that more than 100 generations ago his ancestors came from Kāshī (Benāres) and settled at Hāṭ Koṭi; and that one of them came to Kacherī village with Ādshaktī Bhāgwaṭi. This goddess, with her sister and Koṭ Īshwar were shut up in the tumbī, as has been told in the account of Koṭ Īshwar. Ādshakti flew to the top of Tikkar hill above Ghāmanā, a village in Kumhārsain, and settled there in the form of a ling. Her presence was revealed to a Māwannā of Tikkar in a dream, and the ling was found and placed in a temple.

Other pujāris of Kacherī say that Ādshakti, commonly called Bhāgwaṭi Mātā, no doubt came from Hāṭ Koṭi, but that she was never imprisoned in a tumbī and that when the pānda of Hāṭ Koṭi had shut up Koṭ Īshwar in the tumbī the two Durgā sisters accompanied him, one walking ahead and the other behind him looking for an opportunity to release Koṭ Īshwar. When the pānda fell and Koṭ Īshwar escaped, the two sisters also flew away. First they went to Rachtaṇī village and thence to Hāṭaṇī.

Durgā Mātā settled at Tikkar, in which neighbourhood Bhurī, once a powerful Māwannā, had fallen into difficulties. He consulted Brāhmans, and they sent for a number of virgins, and, having made them sit in a row, called aloud to them that the spirit that distressed the Māwannā, whether god or devil, would appear and reveal through one of the girls why he had harrassed the Māwannā. One of the girls then began to dance in an ecstacy and said that Bhāgwaṭi Mātā was lying on Tikkar hill in the form of a ling, and that, of the two sisters, one lived at Kandā, on the top, and the other at Mundā, the foot of the hill. The Māwannā and his Brāhmans excused themselves to the spirits, saying that they had not known of their presence, and they promised to build a temple to the Mātā. The girl in a trance walked up the Tikkar hill; the other virgins, the Brāhmans and the Māwannā following her. She pointed out the spot where the ling lay and on that spot was built the temple called Matri Deorī, which still exists.

At that time Polās, a Brāhman from the Sindhū Desh came to Lathi village and began to worship Durgā Mātā. He came really to look for Koṭ Īshwar, who would not appear before him, but at last after twelve years he revealed himself and then the Brāhman began to worship him.

Koṭ Īshwar gave the pujāris of Batarā village to Bhāgwaṭi Mātā for her worship. These pujāris are said to have come from Kori Desh.

The Mateog Brāhmans were settled in Batarā and they worship Koṭ Īshwar daily, but at the four sankrānts in Baṅsakh, Sāwan, and Māgh and at the Divālī, the Sherkoṭū Brāhmans officiate.

Kirit Singh, the first Rāṇā of the Kumhārsain family, acknowledged Durgā Bhāgwaṭi as sister of Koṭ Īshwar and built her a new temple at Kacherī. Every third year a pūjā mela is held and the State pays the expenses.

According to the custom of the Kumhārsain family the jadolan ceremony (cutting the hair of a son or wearing nose- or ear-rings by a girl) is performed at the Matri Deorā. The Rāṇā and his Rāṇīs go in person to this temple with their children for the ceremony. Similarly on ascending the gaddi the new Rāṇā with his family attends, at the Matri Deorā, a ceremony called the jaṅhā jāṭā.

Bhāgwaṭi Mātā holds a jāṅgir from the State worth Rs. 14-1-3 and also has a small kelon forest. Goats are sacrificed to her and every third year, or when desired buffaloes are also killed before her at the Matri Deorā.

Some people believe that though the Mātā has temples at the Matri Deorā and Kacherī she is always sitting at her brother Koṭ Īshwar's side at Mandhola.

Benā and Bhurī are two bhors or servants of the Mātā. Benā was a Ghoṭ from Benā in Kullā and Bhurī came from Jo Bāg at Haltu. The latter is a female attendant and was originally a ghost. Both attend at the gate of the temple.
5. Devi Kasumbâ at Khekhâsû.—Khekhâsû is on the north bank of Sutlej in Kullû. Koṭ Ishwar’s other sister, Kasumbâ Devi, settled there when he escaped from Pro.

One of the Chhabishi Brahmans of Goân, a village in Kullû Sarâj, saw in a dream a pîndî or ling. The goddess then told him of her presence and desired to have a temple built for her at Khekhâsû.

The people say that the artisan who made the image of Hât Koṭi Durgâ was called in to make her image. When he had finished the image the Mâwannâ of Hât Koṭi had his right hand cut off so that he might not make any more like it; but with his left hand he made a similar image at Khekhâsû.

Rânâ Kirti Singh acknowledged this Devi as Koṭ Ishwar’s sister and gave her a jâgîr worth Rs. 42–2–9. The original intention was that 9 bharâos of kiăr land at Khekhar and goats should be given by the State on both the ashtamîs, in Chet and Baisakh. This Devi also holds a jâgîr from Koṭgarh and Kullû.

When Koṭ Ishwar has any jag, she comes to Mandholi and joins in it. A Divâlî melâ is held at Khekhâsû. There used to be a bhundâ every 12 years at Khekhâsû, but the British Government has forbidden it owing to the risk of human life. Bragû Deo is the bhôr or servant of Kasumbâ. He was brought from Jundlâ in Kumhârsain and was originally a devil.

6. Mechânî of Koṭ Ishwar.—No legend has been given of this deotâ.

2nd Group.—The Seven Marechh.

There are seven Marechh Deotâs, of whom three are found in Kumhârsain, two in Shangri, one in Koṭgarh and one in Kullû, thus:—(1) Dithû at Dholaser; (2) Marechh or Malendu at Malendi; (3) Marechh at Bareog in Kumhârsain; (4) Marechh at Shawan in Shangri; (5) Marechh at Banar in Shangri; (6) Marechh at Kirti in Kotgarh; and (7) Marechh at Bainâ in Kullû. Marechh of Kirti and Marechh of Bareog are said to be brothers of Dithû. The Marechh Deotâs are said to have descended from the Mânasarowar Lake some 4000 years ago. Legends of only the first four Marechh deotas are given.

7. The Deotâ Dithû, or Marechh, of Dholaster.—This Deotâ has his temple at Dholaster close to Kumhârsain itself. The story is that he came from the Mânasarowar Lake nearly 4000 years ago. On his way down he met Bhamû Rai at a place now called Bhamû Rai-kâ-Tibhâ, (where the ruins of his palace are said to still exist), a peak between Bâghi and Kadrâla. Bhamû Rai, who was a Râjput Râjâ, like Kans, is looked upon as a maleksh or dainî (devil). His favourite meat was a woman’s breast and he ate one every day. He used to go to bath in the Sutlej, thence he would go to Hât Koṭî for worship, and return to dine at his palace every day, a daily round of about 100 miles, which he accomplished in six hours. The people were greatly oppressed by him and at last the Deotâ of Shuli (in pargana Kanchin of Bashahar) killed him. But after his death his evil spirit (pâp) began to torment the Shuli Deotâ and to appease him a shânti was built for him as a resting place at Shuli in a separate temple. Every twelfth year Bhamû Rai comes out by night, never by day, seated in his rath, and rides and dances in it carried by the people. Women and children shut themselves up in their houses while he is out at night.

When Dithû Deotâ was coming down from the Mânasarowar Lake he was very powerful, and near Kadrâla refused to let him pass, so a great fight was fought in which Bhamû Râî was worsted. Dithû then halted on his way at Marni, in a ravine near Madhâwani in the valley north of Nârkanda in Kumhârsain, and hid himself in a cave and ate human flesh. He used to accept human sacrifice. A long time afterwards, when the deotâ Koṭ Ishwar held his melâ at Chhachhori, Dithû hearing the karnâl and narsinga, came out of his cave and joined in the fair. Both the deotâs made friends, and Koṭ Ishwar invited Dithû to his temple at Koṭî,
When Koṭ Ḡashwar and Bhurā Deotā entered the temple, two goats were, as usual, offered for sacrifice, but Koṭ Ḡashwar declined to accept them, saying that he had with him a third deotā as his guest and that a third goat should be offered for him. So the people brought a third goat, but Dithū refused to accept it, saying that he preferred human flesh and that a virgin girl should be sacrificed. Koṭ Ḡashwar was displeased at this and ordered Dithū's arrest, and he was not released until he had sworn never to taste human flesh again. This pleased Koṭ Ḡashwar and he made Dithū his wazīr. He was given a place called Dholaser where his temple exists. Koṭ Ḡashwar deotā also assigned him his favourite, Kotālū, a Māwannā, as his kārdrā and this family was given a village called Bai close to Dholaser. Dithū brought with him from Mānī a moḫrū tree, which still stands with some kekōn trees close to his temple. Rāṇā Kirtī Singh, founder of the Kumhārsain State, affected this deotā and gave him land worth Rs. 35.12.9. The deotā comes out of his temple when Koṭ Ḡashwar rides out in his rath at a melā. A bāoli melā is held every third year.

I forgot to say that Bhambu Rai was a Rājput from Bangar Desh country. Some say that one thousand years of Sambat Rājā Judhistar had passed when Bhambu Rāi lived in the country. It is Samvat 5009 of Rājā Judhistar now.

8. The Deota Malendū, or Marech, at Malendi.—The people of Chebishi pargana, who are devotees of Malendū Deotā, say that the seven Marechh brothers came from Mānasarowar Lake and fought with Bhambu Rai when he barred their way. After his overthrow they came to Hāṭhū, whence they scattered. Malendū went to the Chhichhar forest, and after a time flew to the top of Derti hill above Chebishi pargana. A Kāli, or Kālkā, called Bhāgovati, who lived on this peak, received him kindly, but after a while he desired him to acquire a territory where he could be worshipped, and recommended to him the Chebishi pargana, as it was subsequently named.

The Deotā Marechh left the Kālkā and came to the Lāng forest. Thence he descended to the Nālī and reached Janjhāt, a place where he found a brass bōoli with brass steps down to the water. But some say that he did not reach the brass bōoli or that from the bōoli he went to Dheongli and set himself under a bes tree.

The story goes that this Marechh, being anxious to make himself known to the people, transformed himself into a serpent, and sucked milk from the cows that grazed near by. A cow girl saw him and informed a Deongli Brāhmaṇ. When he came, the serpent returned to his original form, an ashadhāṭā image, and sat in his lap. The Brāhmaṇ gave him dhūp-dīp. At that time the Māwannās of Bashera and Pharāl were powerful, so the Brāhmaṇ carried the image to Bashera, and the Bashera Māwannā in consultation with one of Pharāl informed Deotā Koṭ Ḡashwar of the new arrival. Koṭ Ḡashwar treated the Marechh kindly and gave him the present Chebishi pargana, but only on condition that he would not oppress the people, and that he should only be allowed goat and sheep (khadū not bher) to eat.

He was given a jāgīr of four kain of land in the villages of Phārāl, Bārot, Malānā, and Malendi, and also a field in each of the following villages, Bashera, Khābar, Khatgar, Shailā, Gheti and Dhanāl. It was also agreed that Marechh Malendū should not go out for a ride on a rath unless Koṭ Ḡashwar gave him leave, and his rath is never decorated till Koṭ Ḡashwar sends him a piece of māsrī cloth in token of permission. Like Dithū he does not come out of his temple save when Koṭ Ḡashwar does so. Malendū was further ordered to observe the following tēkovās (at each of which Koṭ Ḡashwar sends him a goat), viz., Bishū, Relāli, Dewālf, Māgh and Sharunā. Lastly Malendū was asked to select a place for his temple and he chose Malendi, where one was built by the Bashera and Phārāl Māwannās.

It is believed that the deotā is absent from his temple on the Māghī Shānkārī for seven days during which the temple is closed and all work stopped till his return. The popular belief is that the deotā goes to fight with the rākshasas and dāints at Bondā Bil, somewhere in Bashahar and returns after bathing at Kidārnāth. On his return the temple is opened
and his gur or dewā dances in a trance (chirnd) and through him the Deotā tells the story of his strife with the rakshasa. Strange to say, if the rakshasas have won it is believed that a bumper harvest will result; but if the deotās win there is danger of famine. Yet though there is good harvest, if the rakshasas win there is a danger that pestilence may afflict men or cattle, and if the deotā wins, though there may be famine, they will avert pestilence.

A deotā never speaks of himself, but only of the other deotās who fought with him. If he says that a certain deotā has left his bell on the field, it is believed that his gur will soon die, or if he says that a musical instrument is left, the deotā’s turī (musician) will die, or if a key is left that the deotā’s handāri or a kārdār will die. If Koṭ Ishwar deotā throws dust towards a rakshasa and retires from the field there may be famine or some part of the Kumhārsain State will be encroached upon or given to another State.

There is a pond at Bondā Bīl and a Brāhman of Bashahr put a hedge on the side believed to be the deotās’ side, and the other side of it is believed to be the rakshasas’ side. If the hedge on the deotās’ side falls, they are believed to suffer defeat, but if the rakshasas’ hedge falls, they are worsted. If defeated, the deotā says he is chut chipat (‘impure’) and then a baltī pūjā is held on an auspicious day. None but Māon Nāg of Suket plunges himself in the pond at the temple, and on the flash of his plunge the deotās bathe in the water sprays at the banks.

On the shankřānt days Brāhmans doing pūjā recite mantras after ringing the temple bell and giving dhāp-dīp in a dhurmā or kaurāch and offer dhāp-dīp. These mantras are not found in any Veda, but are merely eulogies in connection with the Mahābhārata fight. They are called kardūns and I give below the general kardūnî recited every day:—


The Mahābhārata praises a song called kardūnī. Certain Brāhmans are believed to know the Sābar Biddī or Magic-lore, i.e., (1) Tantra, (2) Mantra, (3) Jadu. Their books are written in a character something like tānkrā, but the language is different and very quaint. The Sābar Biddī is known to few Brāhmans and they do not readily disclose its secrets.

Malendū has no connection with any other deotā but Koṭ Ishwar and it is believed that at the time of any pestilence or famine he comes out at night in the form of a torch or light and tours through his dominion. The image of this deotā is of ashat-dhat and sits on a pājī, a small four-sided bed, but he has no singhāsana. The deotā has a jādīr worth Rs. 88, and one of his kārdārs called mahānāna is appointed by the State. A mahānāna is changed when necessary by the State. His gur is also called ghantī and his kārdār are commonly called mahāls.

Malendū has two bhōrs, Jhatāk and Lātā. Jhatāk is of an ūch or superior, while Lātā is of a nich or lower, caste. Jhatāk lived at Urshū, a place also called Jhailā, so he too is called Jhailā at Urshū. He became Malendū’s wazīr soon after he came to Malendi and his dwelling is a thamb, a long log of wood which stands before the temple. The wazīr’s function is to drive away evil spirits, (bhūt, pret and χυρελ), if they possess any thing or man. He also protects people under Malendū’s orders from visitations of any chāt chidar, plague, famine, etc. Lātā was originally a Koli by caste who lived at Kalmū village. He died under the influence of some evil spirit and became a ghost. As he troubled the Kolis of Kalmū and Shegā, they complained to the deotā who, accompanied by Jhatāk, visited the place and caught him. At first Lātā would not come to terms, but the deotā Malendū promised him his protection and that he should be worshipped by the Kolis and a rot loaf be given him on the four shankṛntas (Bishū, Rehālī, Dewālī and Māgh) : and that he should be presented regularly with dhāp-dīp after he had himself received it, and that Kolis should sacrifice eses (bheri) to him. Lātā accepted
these terms and swore to trouble the people no more, but he explained that he could not sit still and so Malendū erected the wooden log in front of his temple and in it Lātā is doubtless ever moving.

Some say that Koṭ Īshwar gave Jhatā as a husband to Malendū. On one occasion Lātā left Malendū and fled to Koṭ Īshwar, but on Malendū's complaint Koṭ Īshwar restored him to his master who took him back to Malendū.

Bankā is another bhōp who lives at Shelag. Kolis generally worship him and he drives away ghosts, etc. He was originally a devil in a forest but was subdued by Malendū.

9. Deotā Mareechh of Bhareog.—This deotā of Bhareog is the family god of the Sheaul pargana people, and a small jāgir is held by him of the State.

10. Shawān Mareechh at Paochhī in Chebīshī.—Paochhī, a Brāhmaṇ village in pargana Chebīshī, has a temple to Shawān Mareechh. An image of him was brought from Shawān, a village in Shangri, and set up here.

3rd Group.—The Nāgs.

11. The Deotā Nāg, in pargana Kandarā.—Nāg is one of the most powerful deotās in the Simla hills. He appeared some 1500 years ago, at a time when three deotās held the part of the country which is now the Nāg's dominion. These were Dadrā in pargana Kandarā, Bāthrindī in pargana Chadārā in Keunṭhal, Malānshar in Madhān State (at Kiāri), but their history is no longer remembered. The States of Madhān, Keunṭhal and Kumhārsān had established themselves when the Nāg appeared, and there was a state called Koṭī in Kandarā pargana, whose rulers belonged to the family of Sirmūr. Some people say that the Bain Thākur family of Madhān having died out, a prince of Kahlur (Bilāspur), the ancestor of the present chief was brought in to rule Madhān soon after the Nāg appeared.

The Nāg's own history is that five Brāhmaṇ brothers, named Kālū, Gājan, Moel, Chānd and Chānan, once lived at Bharāna and came to Madhān. Kālū the eldest was a hermit. Once a śādhū came to Bharāna and put his ḍāūn under a kelō tree, cooked some food and asked Kālū to eat it with him. He gave Kālū four loaves, of which he ate two and kept the other two in his pocket. At the śādhū's invitation Kālū stayed the night with him, and at midnight he saw that carpets were spread before the śādhū's ḍāūn, torches lighted and parīs, and Rāja Indar's dancing girls came and danced before the śādhū. Kālū watched this with amaze, but before daybreak the śādhū and all had disappeared. Kālū returned home, but was intent on finding the śādhū again, as he believed him to be Rāja Bharatī. He climbed to the top of Tikkar hill, where his brothers grazed their sheep, but they could tell him nothing and bade him return home and fetch food. When he reached home Kālū found his daughter-in-law at work, and on asking her to give him some flour, she said that she was in a hurry to milk the cows, and so he returned to Tikkar empty-handed. In his disappointment and out of love for the śādhū he fled like a mad man, leaving his cap, topā, on the Tikkar peak, and throwing his two remaining loaves, which had turned into black stones, to the shepherds. While roaming far and wide in search of the śādhū, Kālū flung away his clothes and everything he had on him, one by one, at different places, and at last he died. It is believed by people that when he gave his brothers the stones, they and the sheep also turned into stones and that Kālū, when he died, became a sārelī (a big snake).

This sārelī devoured men and lived on Tikkar hill. It would wander all over Chadārā, Madhān and Kandarā—the then Koṭī State—until the people begged the deotās Dadrā, Bithindī and Malānshar for protection, but they wept and declared that they could not subdue the Nāg that had appeared in the form of a sārelī. Such a terror to the country-side had he become that he would draw people into his mouth from afar with his breath.

2 This Koṭī State should not be confounded with the present Koṭī State near Simla.
Hátū fort was then in possession of Sirmaur and its officer sent 32 men to Rúpar to fetch supplies. On their return they saw a cave where they intended to halt, but found themselves in the monster's mouth. Then four Sílú brothers, Kálá of Kelvi village, volunteered to kill the sareli and collected people for the enterprise. They found it sleeping in a nálá, with its head at Kelvi and its tail at Khingshā, a distance of over five miles. It was arranged that one of the Kálá should enter its mouth with an iron jamdar (spear) in his hand, so that if the sareli shut its mouth the jamdar would keep his jaws apart, so that another man might enter his throat and thrust his jamdar through its neck, while others mounting its back might see the spear head and avoiding that spot hack at the serpent on every other side until it was cut to pieces. Led by the Kálá, the people acted as arranged, and the monster was killed, the escort 3 from Hátū emerging alive from its stomach.

In the monster's huge head were found two images of Mul Nág, as the deotā had said. This image is jet black with a singhásan, on which the Nág reposes, two Bhágwati Devis sitting on either side with hands clasped, and also on each side a tiger watching. One of the images is in the temple at Dhár village and the other is at Jadún temple in Chadará pargana.

Some say three images were found. Hundreds of people collected, and the Brahmans who carried the images fell into a trance and the Nág spirit spoke through them, saying that he claimed the dominion over the three deotās and should be carried first to Kiári.4

Besides others, Pargi of Kelvi, Moel Bráhman of Bhránā, Faqir pujára of Jadún and Sadí Rám pujára of Dhár (Kandarù), accompanied the Nág to Kiári, and asked Dhonklu Chand, Thákur of Madhná, and his brother Kelá to accept this new deotā. The Ránásaid that none but Malánshar was his god and that the image was nothing but a newá or pág, and so the Chief hesitated to treat the Nág as a god. The people said that the Nág would strike like lightning. The Nág then left Kiári, but rested in a cave called Shúngra near it, until some three months later, a man named Goři of Kharal gave him dhūp-dīp and ghī, and thus encouraged the Nág soared to the skies and a bolt from the blue destroyed the Malánshar deotā's temple. The Thákur's Ráñá was distressed in many ways, his sons while sleeping were overturned in their beds and rolled down on to the obrá (cow-shed), serpents appeared in the milk and worms in the food served to the family. The deotā Malánshar confessed that he had no power to check the Nág and the Thákur of Madhná was compelled to acknowledge him as his family god, instead of Malánshar, who fled to Pujárlí, where a temple was subsequently built for him. The Nág became chaúr-ká-deo, i.e., the god of the gaddi and chaúr. Some people say that it was after this time that the Bain family of Madhná was succeeded by a Kahlú prince.

When acknowledged as gaddi deotā of Madhná, the Nág returned to Chadárá and asked the people to build him a temple at a place shown by ants. Jadún was indicated and here the Nág's temple stands. It is said that the Nág is not fond of gold ornaments, so he never accepts gold. Two loaves that turned into stones were placed in the temple.

Bathindlú deotā was also forced to abandon his dominions to the Nág and took up his abode at Chothá in Bhaijji.

Besides the Jadún temple the Nág wanted a temple at the spot where the sádhú had appeared, and Kálú had received two loaves. So here too a temple was built and in its enclosure stands the keló tree beneath which there was a dance. A fourth temple to the Nág was built at Dhár in Kandrá.

Dadrú deotá's temple which stood below Kamáli village was destroyed by lightning. Dadrú fled to Madhná and Dadrú is named after him.

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3 Some say that the Hátú men were not bádr-bish (12 × 30 = 33), but bádr-bish (12 × 20 = 240) men.
4 Kiári was then the capital of the chiefs of Madhná State, Dharampur being chosen later on.
A Ṭhākur of the Sirmūr family ruled Kотi in Kandrū, and his family god was Narolū, a deotā which had come with him from Sirmūr. Māl commonly called Padoī had also accompanied this prince from the Chunjar Malāna rauya (cave) near Mathiānā. This Ṭhākur was hard pressed by the Rājā of Kullū, who was building a fort on Tikkar, so he invoked the Nāg for help. A small deori (temple) had already been built at Tikkar for the Nāg, close to where the fort was being built by the Rājā of Kullū, and the Nāg performed miracles which deterred him from going on with the building of the fort.

The negi of Kullū used to go to sleep at Tikkar and awake to find himself at Mālag, five miles distant in Bhajji. For some time a mysterious spirit carried him to Mālag every night, and at last when sitting on a plank at Tikkar, he found it sticking to his back. Dismayed at the power of the Nāg deotā, the Rājā’s camp left Tikkar and returned to Sultānpur in Kullū, the plank still sticking to the negi’s back. Distressed at this sight the Rājā begged the Nāg to pardon his negi, promising to present him with an image and a copper nakārā, and also to sacrifice goats to him whenever he himself or any of his negis passed through the Nāg’s dominions. As soon as this vow has made the plank fell from the negi’s back. When anything clings to a man, the proverb goes: “Kalwā Nāg re jde takhtē,” like the plank on Kalwā Nāg.

The Kullū Rājā sent a pair of copper nakārās and an image still kept in the Dhār temple, called Mān Singh (presumably the Rājā’s name). When the Kullū negi left Tikkar, the Ṭhākur of Koti affected the Nāg more than ever and gave him a jāDIR in several villages. The name of this Ṭhākur was Deva Singh, but whether he was the “Dothanīya” who came from Sirmūr or only a descendant of the Sirmūr family is not known.

The deotā Nāg has the following bhors (servants), and certain Bhāgwaṭis are his companions:

(1) Bhōr, as he is commonly called. It is said that Kālū the Brāhman, in his wanderings, tore a hair out of his head and threw it away at a place called Lolī (hair). It became a spirit and joined the Nāg when he appeared from the sareli’s head. He acts as a watchman and is given a loaf by the people. When there is a khin at Lolī he is given a khādū sheep.

(2) Khorū. This bhōr appeared from Khorū-thāch (a plain near Rāmpur, two miles to the east of Tikkar hill). Kālū had left something at this thāch. It, too, turned into a spirit and joined the Nāg when he appeared. This bhōr protects cattle, and is given an iron nail or ring called kanaīlā, as an offering by the people.

(3) Shātkā. This bhōr appeared from Shiwā, or Shabhog, the place where the sareli had his tail. Indeed, some say that his tail became a spirit called Shātkā. He is offered a loaf by the people for protecting goats and sheep.

(4) Sharpaḍī is considered a low class bhōr and is worshipped by Kolīs, etc. His spirit does not come into a Kanet or a pujāra, but a Kolī is inspired by him and speaks. His function is to drive away evil spirits, bhūt, paret, etc. The Nāg does not go into the house of any low caste man and so Sharpaḍī is sent in his place, the Nāg’s haṛī (iron staff) accompanying him. A loaf is given to him. When returning, the Nāg’s haṛī is purified by sprinkling on it milk and cow’s urine. This is called shajherīnā (making pure).

(5) Gungi is considered a female bhōr and her abode is at Dyā above Dhār village. Every third year, on an auspicious day (mahārat) fixed by a Brāhman, the Nāg goes to Dyā. A goat is sacrificed to the Nāg and a chēli (kid) to Gungi. She appeared at Dyā from a hair which fell from Kālū or from his sweat, and joined the Nāg. She protects people from pestilence.

(6) Thānu is also a bhōr. He orig inated at Kiāri and came with the Nāg when he was acknowledged by the Madhān gaddī. He also drives away bhūt, paret, etc.
These are the six bhore, but the other companions of the Nāg rank above them in degree.
These are the Bhāgwatis:

(1) Bhāgwati Rechī. A few years before the Gurkha invasion, Ranjīt of Bashahar came to Jadūn and Dhar and plundered the deotē Nāg’s treasury, some images of which he took to Bashahar. The deotē Nāg punished him by his power and he found his ribs sticking out of his sides and the milk that he drank coming out through the holes. One of the Lāmā Gūrūs told him that his spoliation of the Nāg’s treasury was the direct cause of his complaint, so he returned all what he had taken from the temple.

Bhima Kālī of Sarāhan in Bashahar also gave the Nāg a pair of chambā wood dhols and a karnāl, together with a kālī shut up in one of the dhols. When the instruments were put in the Nāg’s temple, they played of themselves at the dead of night. When people asked the Nāg the reason, he said that the kālī sent by Bhīma Kālī sounded them. The kālī of Bashahar, however, could do no further mischief as she was subdued by the Nāg and bidden to dwell at Rechī, the hill above Sandhū, where a chauntra (platform) was built for her. She is a kind of subordinate companion to the Nāg and protects women in childbirth.

(2) Nīchī is a Bhāgwati. She dwells at Roni in Chādarā in a deorā (small temple) and lives with Jharoshrā Kolīs, but her spirit speaks through a Turi. Her duty it is to guard the Nāg’s musical instruments and nasān (flag), etc. If a Kolī touches any instrument, a goat is taken from the Kolī as punishment.

(3) Jal Mātrī Bhāgwati has her temple at Kingshā. She appeared near the water where the saretī was killed, and is a goddess of water.

(4) Karmehrā Bhāgwati came out of a piece of the saretī’s flesh, and her deorā is close to that of the Nāg at Jadūn. She also drives away evil spirits and can tell all about the lāgbhāgā, the kind of spirit that might cause trouble.

(5) Dhinchhā Bhāgwati preserves stores of milk and ghi. People invoke her for plenty of milk and ghi in their houses.

(6) Devī Bajhash Bhāgwati appeared from Rānipur, where something fell from Kālū and became this Bhāgwati. She protects people from famine and pestilence.

(7) Bhāgwati Tikkar lives with the Nāg at Tikkar. Tikkar Nāg is the same as Jadūn and Dhar Nāg. The same Nāg has separate images at Jadūn, Kiārī, Bharānā, Dhar and Tikkar.

As generations have passed away, people now think each separate personage to be the same Nāg. The different parganas each worship the Nāg of their own pargana. People say that Kālū left his topā at Tikkar and that it turned into the Tikkar Nāg. Dhar Nāg calls the Nāg of Tikkar his gurū. Jadūn Nāg calls Dhar Nāg his dādā or elder brother. Dhar Nāg calls Jadūn Nāg his bhātī or younger brother, and Bharānā Nāg is called by him bahādūr or a brother. From this it may be inferred that Tikkar Nāg is the central spirit of the other Nāgs, because it was here that Kālū became the saretī and his shepherd brothers with the sheep and the two loaves all turned into stones.

There are two temples on the top of Tikkar. At the following teohārs, which are celebrated on Tikkar, people collect at melas:

(1) the Salokri in Baisakh;

(2) the Jathenjo in Jeth, when all the Nāgas stay there at night and all the residents of the country side bring a big loaf and ghi and divide them amongst the people. This loaf is called saond.

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5 Ranjīt wasīr, commonly called Ranjī, and great-grandfather of Rān Bahādur, wasīr of Bashahar, who conquered Dōdrā-Kowār.

6 This is the ridge which is seen from Simla and from which the Shāhī peak rises. The ridge stretches north-east from the Shāhī. Between the two temples lies the boundary line, the southern valley being shared between Madhān and Kowāghal and the northern between Bhājī and Kumhārsain. The boundaries of four States meet here.
(3) at the Beháli, when 11 images called the 11 múls are brought, the shepherds also bringing their sheep and returning to the Dhár at night. The puñárdas feast the people and next day two images (kunarti) go to Kamáli village to receive their dues, and two images go to Newrí village for the same purpose. These two images are the Deo-ká-Mohrá and that of Man Singh of Kullu:

(4) at the Nág Panchami in Bhádoí, when the observances resemble those at the Salokri:

(5) at the Mág or Makkar Shankránt, when three goats are sacrificed, one given by the Kumbhásain State; one by the zamíndárs and a third by the people of Loli village. The deotá also gets alms. One of the temples at Tikkar belongs to the Kandarú people and the other to those of Jadún and Madhán.

It may be noted here that there is also a Nág deotá at Kandi kothí in Suket, who is an offshoot of the Kalvá Nág deotá.

The legend is that a Bráhman of Bharáná village went to Charág, a village in Suket, and asked some women, who were husking rice, to give him rice as bhog (food) for his idol of the Nág. The women scornfully declined to give him any, so the image stuck to the okhal, and warned by this miracle they gave him some rice. At this time a bhút, which dwelt in a large stone, used to devour human beings and cattle, so the people called on the Nág for help, and he in the guise of lightning broke the stone in pieces and killed the bhút. The people built the Nág a temple which had 11 rooms.

Another Nág's temple stands at Hemní in Bhajji. Crowa destroyed the crops in this village, and so a Bharáná Bráhman brought an image of the Nág and established it at Hemní. Dum deotá, who also lives there, made friends with the Nág. The place where they live is called Deothan.

At Newrí village Dhai Nág slew a bhút who used to kill cattle. It lived in a stone close behind the village and a Newrí woman secretly worshipped it, but Kalvá Nág destroyed the stone with the devil inside it, and overwhelmed the house of the woman, who was killed together with her 3 sheep. When the Nág goes to this village, he sits on the spot and speaks to the people. Every third year the Nág goes to Bharáná and there drinks milk from a vessel.

In Kelo, a village in Bhajji, there lived an old man and his wife who had no son, so they asked the Nág for one, and he told them to sit there one Sunday at a place which had been purified by cow's dung and urine, and there present a goat for sacrifice and think of him. This they did, and the Nág appeared in the sky in the form of a large eagle. Descending to the place he placed in the woman's lap a male child and bore away the goat. The old woman found her breasts full of milk and nursed the baby. This family is now called the Ladh Parwar or Eagle's Family. This miracle is said to have occurred 700 years or 17 generations ago. Another miracle is thus described:

Some people of Dhar, who were returning from the plains through Kunhiar State halted at Kunhiar for the night. As they were singing the bar (songs) of the Nág, he as usual appeared in one of the men, who began to talk about the affairs in Kunhiar. The Ráňã asked them about their deotá and his power, and they said that their Nág deotá could work miracles. So the old Ráňã asked the Nág for a son and heir (tikká), and vowed that if by the Nág's blessing he had a tikká he would invite the deotá to Kunhiar. The Ráňã was blessed with an heir, but he forgot his vow and the boy fell sick. When all hope of his life was lost, the Bráhmans said that some deotá had caused his illness as a punishment for some ingratitude. The Ráňã, thus reminded of the vow, invited the Nág to Kunhiar, and it is said that one man from every house in his dominions accompanied the Nág to Kunhiar. The Ráňã, afraid to entertain

7 I.e., parash is the revenue which is equal to 4 pathas of grain.
8 Deotá and ahán a place, i.e., 'two Deotás' place.'
so large an assemblage, soon permitted the deotá to return home, saying that he would not invite him again, as he was only a petty chief, but he presented him with 11 idols to distribute among his temples. These images are called the Kanártá mohras.

Padod deotá is the Nág’s adoptive brother, and Shaño Devi of Mathiáná is his adoptive sister. The deotá Manan is also his adoptive brother, but this tie has only lately been created.

The Jadun deotá sometimes goes to bathe at Malawan, a stream close to Jadun village, and he considers the Shungra Cave, where the Nág goes and stays at night, his tirath (place of pilgrimage).

Deotá Nág of Dhar holds from Kumhár sain a jágir in Kandrú pargana, worth Rs. 76-6-3.

Dum deotá has a small temple at Kamali in Kunduru. A man from Gathri brought him to Kamali. The Kamali villagers alone accept Dum as their family god, though they respect the Nág, seeing that they live in his dominions.

12. The Deotá Nág of Dhalí in pargana Chebishi.—Not more than 500 years ago there was a temple in a forest at Tilku, where the zamindárs of Dhalí had broken up some land for cultivation. A deotá there harassed them and the Brahman said that he was a Nág, so they began to worship him and he was pleased. They then brought his image to Shaillá village and built him a temple. When Padod deotá passed through this village, a leper was cured by him and the people of Shaillá began to worship him, so the Nág left the village and Padod took possession of his temple there. But the people of Dhalí took the Nág to their own village and placed him in a temple. Padod is now the family god of the Shaillá people and the Dhalí men regard the Nág as their family god.

The Nág’s image is jet black and a Bhágwati lives with him. A dhol and a nákárd are his instruments of music, and he also has a jagunth or small staff. He visits his old place at Tilku every year on the Nág Panchami day. He is only given dhúp-díp once a month on the Shankránt day. The Brahman of Barog, which lies in another pargana, worships him, as they once lived at Khechur near Tilku. This Nág has no bhor and holds no jágir from the State. He has no connection with Kalwá Nág of Kandrú.

13. The Deotá Nág of Dhanáli in Chebishi.—Another Nág deotá is he at Dhanáli in Chebishi pargana. Nearly 500 years ago he appeared in a field at Nágo-thána a place near Páti Junbar on the Shángri State border, where there was an old temple. A man of Dhanáli village was ploughing his field near Nágos-thána when he found a black image. He took it home, but some days afterwards it began to persecute him and the Brahman said that it was a Nág who wished to be worshipped, so the Dhanáli people began to affect him. This deotá, too, has a dhol and kurnál, but no jagunth. No khin is given him. The Dhanáli people regard Malendá as their family god, yet they worship the Nág too in their village thinking that he protects cattle and gives plenty of milk etc. He has no bhor and holds no jágir from the State.

The people of Kandrú think that these Nágs in Dhanáli and Dhalí are the same as Kalwá Nág. The spirits came here also, but the Chebishi men do not admit the fact. This Nág has really no connection with Kalwá Nág of Kandrú.

14. The Deotá Nág of Ghundá.—Ghundá village in Chagán pargana of Kumhár sain is inhabited by Rájput Míś a, who trace their ancestry to the old Bairat family, which once had held the ráj of Sírmúr. When their ancestor came from Sírmúr; they brought with them an image (probably of their family god at that time) and made a temple for him at Ghundá. A Nág, who is another deotá of Ghundá, also resides with this deotá of Sírmúr.

This Nág is called Shirgul. His history as follows:—Many generations ago there lived in village Chároli (in Koí Khálí) a Brahman, whose wife gave birth to a serpent. This serpent used to come from a great distance to the Nág Nali forest in Kumhár sain and loved to play in a maidán near Kothi. Cows grazed in the maidán and the serpent sucked their milk. The cowherd was daily reprimanded by the people for his, carelessness, but at last he found
that the serpent used to suck the milk. A faqr in Kothi village then determined to kill the serpent, so he came to the maidān at noon tide and cut the serpent into three pieces, but he was burnt alive whilst killing it. Some days later a woman, who was digging clay, found some images, into which the three pieces of the serpent had turned. One of these images was brought by Brāhmans to Ghundā village; another was taken to Bagi (a village in Chajoli in Kumhārāsain) and a third was taken by the Brāhmans of Bhanwārā, a village in the Ubdesh pargana of Kumhārsain, while temples were built to the Nāg in these villages. The Ghundā Nāg (though usually duhdāhdārī) is not duhdāhdārī and goats are sacrificed to him.

Every third year a bāli pājā mela is held, but no annual fair. The people of Ghundā, Charyānā, Kotlā, Kothi and Katāli, especially the Kolīs, worship him. This Nāg deotā has a grant of land worth Rs. 2-2-6 a year from Kumhārsain.

15. The Nāg of Bagi.—No notes have been preserved of this deotā.

(To be continued.)

SONGS AND SAYINGS ABOUT THE GREAT IN NORTHERN INDIA.

By the late Dr. W. Crooke, C.I.E., F.B.A.

Prefatory Note.

By Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.

Many years ago the late Dr. William Crooke handed over to me a long MS. collection of songs collected in the United Provinces for publication. They required a good deal of working up, but I published four series of them in 1910–1911 (Vols. XXXIX and XL) about Religion, the King of Oudh, and the Mutiny and other subjects. I find among his papers two other categories left, about great personages and marriage ceremonies. These I propose to publish now.

I.

The Ballad to Rājā Darshan Siṅh.

(Recorded by the teacher of Akbarpur School, District Fyzabad.)

This ballad is sung in honour of Rājā Darshan Siṅh who helped the Bābū of Kharpūr Dih (District Fyzabad), when he was attacked by Sarb Damān Siṅh, Harpāl Siṅh and Sheo Denī Siṅh.

Text.

Abi ki ber Rājā Bābū ko utārō; deswā mei eākā tohār ho.
Kauni taraf ghere Sarab Damān Siṅh ? Kauni taraf Harpāl ho ?
Kauni taraf ghere Biriyā Sheodāni Si h ? Nikarai na kukur bilār ho.
Purāb taraf ghere Sarab Damān Siṅh : phatkā ghere Harpāl ho.
Khirki mei ghere hai u Biriyā Sheo Denī Siṅh ; nikarai na kukur bilār ho.
‘Mohan, Mohan,’ goharawain sab beldārān ke sardār ho,
‘Jaldi se chayyā pitā de re Bisohi, mān lashkar utare hamār ho.’
Sāṅghī bhāge Sarab Damān Siṅh : ādhī rāt bhāge Harpāl ho.
Hat bhinsār bhāge Biriyā Sheo Denī Siṅh ; Chut gaye Bābū kā duār ho.

Translation.

Rājā, save the Bābū this time, and win thereby eternal fame for thyself.
Which side is Sarab Damān Siṅh blockading? Which side is Harpāl?
Which side is blockading Biriyā Sheo Denī Siṅh? Neither dog nor cat can come out.
Sarab Damān Siṅh blockades the East : Harpāl the gate.
Biriyā Sheo Denī Siṅh blockades the wicket: neither dog nor cat can come out.
All the chiefs of the beldārs called out: — ‘Mohan, Mohan,’
Get the bridge of boats over the Bisohi 2, so that our 3 army can cross over.”

1 Some hero of the defenders at the fight.
2 A river flowing by the village of Khanarā Dik.
3 That is, Rājā Darshan Siṅh’s army.
Srab Damán Siáh fled in the evening: Harpál fled at midnight.
At dawn fled Biriyá Sheo Deni Siáh, and the gate of the Bábú was freed (from his enemies).

II.

A Song about Amar Siáh.
(Collected by Ramgharíb Chaube.)

Text.

Amar Siáh to amar chaye, janaí sakal jahán.
Sháh Akbar ke god meú márâ Salábát Khán.
Amar ke kamar meú zahar ki katári:
Jodhá ne garhái, Bikánér saí-twái.
Miyá Salábát ke dun meú darák darák de gai.
Háth jor, ráni kahá: “umráón ki kátí ho gai.”

Translation.

Amar Singh has become immortal, as all the world knows.
In the very presence of Akbar Sháh he slew Salábát Khán.
In Amar’s waist was a poisoned dagger,
Made in Jodhpur and polished in Bikaner.
He drove it quickly into Miyá Salábát’s heart.
Said (Amar Singh’s) ránt, with joined hands: “there has been murder of a noble.”

III.

The Ballad of Jagatdeo Thákur Paíwár of Jaráí.
(Recorded by Jagannáth Prasad, teacher of the Village School, Rasúlabdá, District Cawnpore.)

This hero is now a godling, and as the ballad records his fight with the Mughals, that action may account for his deification.

Text.

Jagat ke lilawái thááb bh líjó ré.
Jo koí baghiyá meú hoyá, Jagat ke lilawái thááb bh líjo re.
“Lilábá ko charhibó, re Jagat, chori dejo: kamál ko chori, dharo shamsheer.”
“Lilawá ko charhibó na chhútái, ri Mátá Jaláni: kammar náhi chhútái, náhi shamsheer.”

Am, níma, mahú lákháránwa rahe Jagat, chalí sewá máhi.
Kaun lágáye re ám, níma, mahú lákhráweí? Kaune ságára khodáye re?
Langú lágáye re ám, níma mahú lákhráweí: Jagatá ságára khodáye re.
Mughal paráye re garh ságára, charuí maráí piyás
Káhe ko deví ki pakhwariyáñ? Káhe ko jháújh?
Káhe korang cholaná? Káhe ko há?
Káthkí ko deví pakhwariyáñ: kaískut ko jháújh.
Harí dariái ko rang cholaná: laungáñi ko há.
Kaun le áwai re deví pakhwariyáñ? Kaun le áwai re jháújh?
Kaun le áwai re rang cholaná? Kaun le áwai re há?
Bárháí to le áwai re deví pakhwariyáñ: suñárá to le áwai re jháújh.
Darzí to le áwai re rang cholaná: mahíyá to le áwai re hár.
Khatkhat áwai re deví ko pakhwariyáñ: bajat áwai jháújh.
Ghumrat áwai re rang cholaná: manhíkat áwai hár.
Únt saje re: hathiyáñ sají ri: sají háií Mughal ko phaujain, aur Jagato aswár.
“Jag atá bára mawáí re: Jagatain lâwo bándhi: paisá náhií ugâhan deyá.”

6 That is, when Rájá Darshan Siáh’s army had crossed the Bisoki.
5 A play here upon the name Amar.
7 That is, “there will be very much vengeance.”
6 Lit., “in Akbar’s lap.”
Bhûtar teñ nikasi re Jagatâ ki tiriyâ: "mahiñ hathai de Mughalân ke pás, aur tum sumiro Mahrâni."

Mathiyâ teñ nikasi re devî ki âbhâ: san mukh hoyâ laçrai sardâ, bâyeñ Hanumân.
Dahine ang larai Durgâ, aur mari Mughal sar kinhe re dâri.
Hathiyâ, ghorawâ sab chhinâ lihiñ re, aur Jagat rahe sewâ meñ liptâyâ.

Translation.

Stop the dark horse of Jagat!
If any one is in the garden, let him stop the dark horse of Jagat.
"Leave off riding your dark horse, Jagat: leave off your blanket and put on a sword."
"I will not leave off riding the dark horse; Mother Jalani 8 nor will I leave off the blanket; nor will I put on a sword."

Jagat was in her service among the mango, nim and mahuda trees.
Who planted the mango, nim and mahuda trees? Who dug the tank?
Monkeys planted the mango, nim and mahuda trees: Jagat dug the tank.
The Mughals made a fortress of the tank, and the cows died of thirst.
Of what are the goddess’s sandals? Of what her jhâñjh 9?
Of what is her cloak? Of what her garland?
Her sandals are of wood: her jhâñjh of bell-metal.
Her cloak is of green silk: her garland of cloves.
Who brought the goddess her sandals? Who brought her jhâñjh?
Who brought her coloured cloak? Who brought her garland?
The carpenter brought her sandals: the jeweller her jhâñjh.
The tailor brought her coloured cloak: the gardener her garland.
Sounding came the goddess’s sandals: playing came her jhâñjh.
Flying came her coloured cloak: smelling (sweetly) came her garland.
Ready with camels, ready with elephant, ready was the Mughal army and (so was) Jagat with his horse.
"Jagat is a great scoundrel: bring Jagat bound. He pays neither tribute nor taxes."
Then came Jagat’s wife from within:—"I will face the Mughals and do you worship the Mahârâni [the goddess]."
Then came the spirit of the goddess out of the temple: in the front fought the goddess; on the left Hanumân.
In the right army fought Durgâ, slew the Mughal and drove him back.
Their elephants and horses were all captured, and Jagat was left to serve [the goddess].

IV.

A Saying in Praise of Rây Sînh of Bikâner.
(Collected by Râm Gharîb Chaube.)

Text.

Jal ūndâ; thal ujale; pâtâ mangal peñ [bes].
Mañ balihâri wahl des ko, jahân Râyâ Sînh Naresh.

Translation.

The wells are deep; the land is white; and the leaves are auspicious.
I admire the country, where Râyâ Sînh is ruler.

V.

The Râjâs of Aghôri.

Text.

1.

Bhae tarwâ teñ Bais: samâ pequrîl Baghelyo.
Jângh jutt Karchull, katak Dilli le dolyo.

8 Mâtà Jalani appears to be the name of the goddess of the shrine, in which Jagat is a godling serving her.
9 A musical instrument.
Patāpit Parihār : khet Gohalau ās juttāu.
Bhujā dand Chauhān, sor Dilli dal bajjāu.
Ragunand 10 nand kabi tilak kāhu :
"Sūm Bansh netrāhin thāyo :
Māthe Chandel sausār mēn
Pramāl Rāo rājā bhāyo.

2.
Phaujai dalmali ; mahābali hain Sujān Shāh :
Māre kuch gali : naqār chhīn lujā thā,
Khāṇa muflis ke gumān gorē ganj nām bare :
Bāre sūban ke dharm dwār diyā thā.
Juğ gae Sayyad : kharāb bhae aur log :
Sār ke Nawāb, jo kharāb jāddā piyā thā.
Pūchhati haiū bībā : "Are sunā hai : Sujān Shāh ;
Agorī mati jāhū, Miyāū, maīne manā kīyahāā.

3.
Kou drīgpāl mohiūn lāl le milai misāl :
Kou drīgpāl āchhe āchhe háthī ghōr le.
Kou drīgpāl jo bihāl trin dant dharai :
Kāu drīgpāl rāj bhūjat kishor le,
Kou drīgpāl sab ēin hin bhakh mulai nrip mān
Kāhin jīwā ke nihor le.
Chakkwai Chandalā sāk bandi Sīri Rām bhanai :
Rājā jō Madan Shāh milai kharg zor le.

4.
Sang haiū Sirāng, jo umang jang jitābe ko ang.
Angrez bal dino haiū barāī soī.
Chamak sangīn, chamkāt jaise bhān rāe.
Dapat karat ghōrā dudhar sipāhī soī.
Pārhaiū kabi Shubh Rām : "Pratāpī haiū Adal Shāh :
Kharaq ke chalāe dah karat nikāe soī.
Dasāhu disā ke dahlāne drīgpāl rahālāne
Aur qabbar Chandel ki chaṛhāī soī.

5.
Dal sājī ki Bijaur ke Shām Naresh ;
Pākhār dārī hazār se āyo.
Kunjāl Shāh Agorī ke rakshak bājī banāe
Ke bhāe chaṛhāyo :
"Dhas ke Giri Merū, Sumār tarāiū pai hatāiū,
Na Chandel jahān loh lagāyo."
Juddī paryo Sardār to Sengar Sālibāhan ko
Bāndhī ke kham gaṛāyo.

Translation.

1.
The Bais are sprung from the sole of the feet, the Baghels from between the navel and
the pubes :
The Karchull, from the junction of the thighs, took their army to Delhi.
The Parihārs are sprung from the back, the Gohlauts from the fields :
The Chaubâns are sprung from the arms and their fame was sounded in Delhi,
Says Raghunand the poet:—

"The Som Baush are sprung from the eyes,
The Chandela from the forehead, (of whom) in the world
Pramâl Râo has become a king."  

2.

His armies are very large and Sujân Shâh was very powerful
He slaughtered in streets and lanes, and seized the (enemy’s) drums.
He broke down the pride and wealth of the Khâân,
And gave alms at his door to his followers.
The Sayyâd fell in the fight and many people were ruined.
(The Sayyâd) was Nawâb of Sâr, and he had drunk too much wine.
Said his wife to him:—"Listen here, Sujân Shâh,
The Aori, go not, Miyâû : I warned thee."  

3.

Some rulers meet the enemy with gold and rubies:
Some rulers with good elephants and horses.
Some rulers meet him with a blade of grass between their teeth.
Some rulers burn their estate and children.
Some rulers meet him with humility and in poverty to preserve their honour,
Giving up all hope of life.
Says Sri Râm: "the Chandel brave and reckless,
Like Râjâ Madan Shâh, meets (his enemy) with his strong swords."  

4.

His companions are Europeans, who have the spirit of victory.
The English hold his valour in respect.
His sangîn shines: it glitters like the sun.
He shouts to his horsemen with two-handed swords, as a roaring lion.
Says Shubh Râm, the poet: "Glorious is Adal Shâh,"
He destroys at once all that come under his sword.
All the rulers of the ten quarters tremble
When the news of the Chandel’s (attack) had come.  

5.

Shâm Naresh of Bijaур arranged his army,
And came to make a fight.
Kunjâl Shâh, protector of Aghori, beat his drums,
That his brethren might come up.
"May Mount Meru sink, and Sumâr stir from its place
If the Chandal (cannot be) where the fight is."
In the fight fell Sardâr Sengar Sâlibâhan
And they buried him in the ditch.  

(To be continued.)

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10 This stanza purports to explain that Râjâ Pramâl Râo of Aghori was a true Râjput of the Chaubâns clan, and to give the legendary origin of the Râjputs of the Solar Line from parts of the body of the Sun (Soma) as a god.

It also explains that the writer was a poet named Raghunand. Later stanzas purport to have been written by other poets. So that the whole poem is really a collection of stanzas by different authors.

11 This stanza has no connection with the first, and relates a victory of Sujân, Prince of Aghori, over the Nawâb of Sâr, a Sayyâd.

12 Here again is another stanza by one Sri Râm about another chief of Aghori, Râjâ Madan.

13 Here the stanza is about Adal Siâgh Chandel of Aghori in British times, and it is by one Shubh Râm.

14 This stanza relates the fight between Kunjâl Singh of Aghori, a Chandel, with Shâm Naresh of Bijaур, in which a Sardâr, Sengar Sâlibâhan, fell.
BOOK NOTICES.

"A FORGOTTEN EMPIRE," By R. SEWELL, George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

We welcome the issue of a reprint of "A Forgotten Empire" by Mr. Robert Sewell, well known as the author of various works bearing upon the archaeology and history of South India. Sewell was the first to recover from oblivion the history of the empire of Vijayanagar which he truly called the "Forgotten Empire" in 1900. It is nearly a quarter of a century since that book has become rare. It is therefore time that so important a work was brought out in a new edition. Owing to advancing age and perhaps intermittent health it has not been possible for Mr. Sewell to revise the book and bring it up-to-date. Nevertheless the reprint is quite welcome as it contains a translation of two important Portuguese chronicles which Mr. Sewell himself translated into English and published for the first time. As a matter of fact, Mr. Sewell's work upon this important subject does not claim to be much more than the chronicles with an elaborate historical introduction containing all the information brought to notice up to the time of the first publication.

Considerable advance however has been made in our knowledge of the history of Vijayanagar since the book was first published. Apart from the inscriptive and archaeological work embodied in the Epigraphist's Reports and South Indian Inscriptions, there have been some works written on the subject in various branches which have contributed to advance our knowledge of the history of Vijayanagar considerably. The first of such to be mentioned happens to be a work of the Government Epigraphist Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastrigal. He contributed three articles to the Director-General's Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, entitled the dynasties of Vijayanagar and its Viceroys, which incorporates all the epigraphical information brought to light by his own department. Next in importance is the publication of an account of the Hampi ruins by Mr. Longhurst, the Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology, Madras, who has been for years at work putting the ruins of the city of Vijayanagar in some order for visitors. It is a informing handbook for those who wish to visit the ruins with some little guidance for an intelligent appreciation of various parts of it. Then must be mentioned "A Little-known Chapter of Vijayanagar history" published in the Mythic Society's Journal and since made available in a small book by the Professor of Indian History and Archaeology at the University of Madras. This work deals with the dark period of Vijayanagar history from the death of the great Devaraya II to the accession of greater Krishnadevaraya. New sources of information have been brought to bear on the question and that work was followed by "Sources of Vijayanagar History" containing about 100 extracts from various works of literature, Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu bearing upon this history which forms a very important supplement, throwing valuable light on obscure corners of both Sewell's History and Ferishta's History. Another important topic which has been satisfactorily worked out in the History Department of the Madras University is the solving of the riddle of the foundation of Vijayanagar in a work entitled South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders. Any History of Vijayanagar to be up-to-date must take note of these important contributions and incorporate much other material now available.

Apart from these there is much else that is coming to light and may become available in course of time for historical use. A considerable volume of records in Spanish, French and Portuguese have not been adequately exploited, and the Revd. H. Heras, S.J., of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, is at work upon a file of Spanish records which is likely to throw a flood of light upon the history of the more obscure part of Vijayanagar History. A valuable publication on the subject from his hand may be expected very soon.

Notwithstanding these new advances in the investigation of the history of Vijayanagar Mr. Sewell's work is still welcome, as the reprint is issued in a cheaper form and brings the work within reach of a large number of readers. The only things that are lost from the original editions are the illustrations, but that is largely compensated for by the reduction in the price, the book being now available for 10 shillings.

S. K. AIYANGAR.


This volume of 185 pages is a translation of the conclusions set forth in the fourth volume of Sir James Frazer's monumental work Totemism and Exogamy, which was published in 1910. Sir James Frazer himself contributes a preface in French, in which he explains the reasons why he has styled this abridged translation "Origins of the Family and the Clan" instead of "Origins of Totemism and Exogamy," which would have been more correct. Readers, who are acquainted with the English original in four volumes, will scarcely need information regarding the contents of this abridged publication, which gives the results of Sir James Frazer's investigations into the enormous volume of evidence on the subject of the marriage customs and beliefs of primitive and uncivilised races. Let it suffice to remark, as the author himself says, that the
translation has been carried out by the Comtesse de Pange "avec une clarté et une précision parfaites et dignes de traditions littéraires de son illustre lignée."

S. M. Edwarde.


The late Dr. Rivers once remarked to me, "We are coming back to the point of the view of the 'Lost-Tribesists.'" Those who everywhere saw traces of the Lost Tribes of Israel, in Mexico, in Peru, in Ireland and where not, were sound in their main principle, however madly they might work it out; everywhere they found astonishing similarities—pyramids, sun-gods, and sun kings, and so forth—and they looked upon these as evidences of a common ancestry. Unfortunately the men who took up these researches were usually quite untrained in the methods of historical work; they were often in addition strange spirits rendered stranger by long residence in the tropics and solitude; they were cranks with more enthusiasm than discretion, and their crudities frightened the naturally timid scholar, who is only too apt to overlook a good proposition in his alarm at the extravagances with which it is overloaded. Then came the psychological tendency inaugurated by Tyler, who immensely enlarged our knowledge, but at the same time retarded our interpretation of the facts. We owe it to him that the anthropologist began to be taken seriously and yet completely went astray. We are coming back however to the Lost Tribes point of view without the lost tribes and with an increasing accuracy and sobriety of speculation. On the one hand the exact scholar and archaeologist is losing his prejudice and is less fearful of the comparative method; on the other hand the anthropologist is ever more inclined to take the scholar as his model of method. Mr. Perry's book marks a notable advance in this direction. I will not say he has completely bridged over the gulf between the two parties; in fact there are many things in this book which will indispense those whose attention is concentrated on detail rather than general correctness. The author for instance does not appreciate sufficiently the importance of Quellen-Kritik. Take the Pacific, he accepts without reserve the theories of Polynesian students, little realizing how little critque they themselves possess. He repeats the statement that the Hawaiians came from Tahiti; this statement, common enough among writers on Polynesia, rests on fact beyond the claim made by all Polynesians to come from Kahiki, Tahiti, Tawhititi, or Tahiti; there is no evidence that this is Tahiti; it is merely the name of the original home which gave its name to Tahiti and Fiji, just as London, Plymouth, Dunedin, and countless towns of Great Britain have been godfathers to new towns in the Anglo-Saxon world. That is a mere detail; what does it matter whether the Hawaiians came from Tahiti or not? But then, why load a good argument with facts that are neither correct nor relevant? It is more serious when on pp. 106 ff. he repeats a most circumstantial account of the wanderings of the Polynesian in innocence of the fact that writers on Polynesia seldom distinguish their facts from their theories and that their theories lag very little behind those of the Lost-Tribesists. Even that does not affect the argument: there is plenty of evidence for an eastward movement in the Pacific without dragging in details which are too precise to be accurate.

Polynesia is so little known that mistakes there are of little consequence. But when we come to India we have an army of the most ruthlessly exact scholars of the world lying in wait for any slip. When the author states (p. 155) that "India owes most of its civilization to the Dravidians," he will be asked what his evidence is, whether he is aware that even at the extreme south of India an ordinary illiterate cooly can scarcely speak more than a few sentences without using a Sanskrit word, that if he can read and write, it is thanks to the inventors of the Sanskrit alphabet, and then he will possibly read a translation of the Rāmdasya or the Purāṇa; he goes to the theatre to hear a translation of Śakuntalā or Harivamśa, and to the temple to worship gods with Sanskrit names; in fact he calls his religion the Vedas. Doubtless his gods are often aboriginal gods which he has identified with those of the dominant people; but that alone shows how enormous was the prestige of the Sanskrit culture. One might as well say that the Romans scarcely influenced Gaul as that the Aryans made little impression upon the culture of the conquered races.

Mr. Perry might also be asked where he gets his information that the "Aryans made no stone images, but such are common among the Dravidians." I look in vain through the list of authorities for the names of Burgess, Grünwedel, Foucher, Marshall, or any other noted Indian archaeologist. I can think of; so it is not surprising that Mr. Perry does not know that the earliest South Indian sculpture is Buddhistic and affiliated just like the earlier Northern School to the Graeco-Persian and the Graeco-Buddhistic tradition.

Even these inaccuracies, though bearing on very important points, do not affect the main argument, but they will no doubt cause many a rigid disciplinarian who exalts the negative quality of accuracy above the positive virtues of enthusiasm, courage, and breadth, to close the book with a bang and read no further, thus missing the really important contributions this book has made to the history of civilization. For when all is said and done the archaic civilization has come to stay. Mr. Perry's views may be modified, his "culture sequences" may want revision, but the broad fact
remains of a culture involving megaliths and solar kings spreading from one end of the world to the other, or rather I should say "cultures"; for Mr. Perry considers general features and therefore the genus only, and ignores the species and varieties. For a start that is of little consequence; if, as I believe, civilization is one, and if all the successive waves that have spread in early times across the Indian Ocean and across the Pacific have received their impetus from one centre, it is of little importance at the start whether we speak of an archaic civilization or civilizations. The analysis comes later.

The thesis is, however, not altogether new, though amplified, modified for the better and supported by abundance of new evidence. It is in the chapters on the Dual Organization and those that follow that I see Mr. Perry's most valuable contributions. I am glad to see that he has definitely broken with the old theory that the dual organization is "primitive". He connects it with the archaic civilization. Mr. Perry quotes a mass of evidence quite sufficient to show that it is by no means a clumsy and inadequate contrivance to prevent incest, but merely one cog in a big wheel of doctrine, though he acknowledges the complications of the wheel do not appear. The main doctrine, the division of society into sky and earth people, is clearly stated and the origin of heaven and hell is sufficiently indicated. Mr. Perry however has made a common mistake of describing the earth people as the "common people"; Sanskrit scholars fall into the same error when they translate vaid by "common people." It is clear vaid could not refer to the masses, since it applies to the third degree of twice-born; below them came the Sûdra, or uninitiated, whose upper ranks were respectable enough to hold appointments at a Vedic court. For a long time I made the mistake of attaching to the Fijian expression "The People of the Land", the same meaning as we should, until after long study I discovered it was merely a technical term for the lower half of the aristocracy, lower sometimes in everything, sometimes only in precedence.

As this is perhaps the most successful part of the Book I need not dwell on it, as the reader cannot do better than read it himself.

The twenty-sixth chapter entitled Egypt marks a relapse. Why the author should want to trace all civilization to Egypt one fails to see. The arguments fail to convince. For instance the dual organization is derived from Egypt; but first we have to prove the existence of the dual organization there. I am quite willing to believe that the division of Egypt into North and South is an instance of the dual organization, but I want evidence. The arguments brought forward by the author would equally prove that England and Scotland are moieties of a dual society. The theory of the origin of the hostility between the moieties is a very lame one: it fails to recognize its sporting character and above all its close connection with the sacrifice. Mr. Perry thinks it was the disrupting factor in the archaic society; but in Fiji the rivalry of intermarrying tribes is the cement that binds society together; it is the foundation of trade, or rather their substitute for it, of sport, of alliances, of good fellowship. It may have degenerated, but its degeneration was the result and not the cause of decadence. The phenomenon of decadence is a universal one that attacks all societies in all climates and all ages; we do not know the causes, but the symptoms are familiar to all students of the history of art; and I fail to understand why malaria, hook worm, or the dual organization should be invoked to explain why one people underwent a fate which is common to all.

In the conclusion our interest revives: one may or may not agree with the author, but the chapter is stimulating and presents new points of view. One confusion to which I demur is that between a warlike spirit and cruelty. The most warlike people I have met may have been unfeeling, but never actively cruel; on the whole I have found them kindly and good natured; the most unwarlike people I have come across has also been the most cruel. Whatever I have read or heard about the races of the world confirms my experience that on the whole the most warlike are the least cruel. The Fijians were extreme cannibals, yet murder is almost unknown among them; the Sinhalese are Buddhists, but hold the British Empire record for murder. This incidentally supports the author's contention that war is a custom and not an instinct, since the passion for war and the lust to kill are not directly proportionate, but, if anything, inversely so. Mr. Perry's contention will meet with violent opposition from the psychological school, but I am confident he will prove right, if by war is meant only organized warfare, and not private brawls.

The whole idea of civilization being an education in certain tendencies is a fruitful one. Being new it is bound to be imperfectly applied in parts; but I think it will appear more and more that much which we have always put down to nature will turn out to be the result of ages of training.

A most extensive bibliography follows the text and would alone be a valuable contribution to the comparative student.

A. M. HOCART.
WADDELL ON PHENICIAN ORIGINS.

By Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.

1. General Argument.

The well-known Tibetan scholar, L. A. Waddell, has spent the leisure of the greater part of a long official life, and the last twenty years entirely, in studying "the fascinating problem of the lost origin of the Aryans," and has at last produced a startling book, "The Phenician Origin of Britons, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons, discovered by Phenician and Sumerian inscriptions in Britain by pre-Roman Briton coins and a mass of new History." Such is his own title and it speaks for itself. A perusal of the book shows that he is of the diffusionist school of anthropologists, of which Elliot Smith and Perry are shining lights, and therefore antagonistic to the older school of searchers. The whole book is in fact subversive of accepted ideas, but that is not a reason for setting it aside summarily, especially as the writer has spent so much research for so many years on it, and is himself obviously convinced of the truth of the results of his work. I therefore propose now to examine them in detail.

On a careful perusal, the great weakness of the book shows itself in the etymologies which constantly crop up, and this is all the more to be deplored, because the whole argument is based upon a personal reading of inscriptions on stones and coins, which is new and differs from those previously made. I am tempted here to give once more an old quotation: "There is a river in Macedon and also moreover a river in Monmouth, and there is salmon in both." This is not a wise way of making comparisons, and it seems to me that Waddell is only too prone to fall into this class of error. But to this quotation I would propose to attach another from Waddell's book itself:—"Although the old tradition, as found in the Books of Ballymote, Lecan, Leinster, etc., is manifestly overlaid thickly with legend and myth by the mediaeval Irish bards, who compiled these books from older sources, and expanded them with many anachronisms, and trivial conjectural details introduced by uninformd later bards to explain fanciful affinities on an etymological basis; nevertheless, we seem to find in these books a residual outline of consistent tradition, which appears to preserve some genuine memory of remote prehistoric period."

Indeed, it seems to me that, though at first no doubt the old time scholar and philologist will be inclined to throw the whole book aside as fanciful, there may be substantial truth behind the theory. At any rate, whether right or wrong, Waddell's reading of his crucial inscription—that on the Newton Stone—is honest and therefore worth enquiry, and I call to mind the fate of the first European enquirers into Buddhism, who were totally disbelieved by scholars, with the result that the study of that great religion and the Pali language was put aside for too long a time. On this ground alone I propose seriously to study Waddell's subversive work and to see what it seems to contain without prejudiced comment. Personally I do not think he has proved his case by this book, but that is not to say that it is not capable of proof. It should, however, be stated here that as the truth of the assertion that the Phenicians spread civilisation is not acknowledged by many competent scholars—the very matter of their dealings with Cornwall is in doubt—it will require 'a lot of proving' as the police say. The late discoveries at Harappa and other places in the Panjab, and on the North Western Frontiers of India, showing communication between the inhabitants of the valley of the Euphrates and that of the Indus some three millennia B.C., do not to my mind affect Waddell's argument as regards the spread of Mesopotamian civilisation through Phenicians to Britain.

With these remarks I turn to a consideration of the general argument. Waddell holds that:—

1. Aryan civilisation is due to the Syrio-Phenicians and dates back to about B.C. 3000;
2. The Phenicians were Aryans and not Semites by race, speech and script:
(3) The Phoenicians were lineal blood ancestors of the Britons and Scots; the Picts, Celts and Iberians being non-Aryans:

(4) There is in Scotland a bilingual Phoenician Inscription, dating about B.C. 400, and dedicated to the Sun-god Bel by a Cilician prince from Asia Minor, who calls himself Phoenician, Briton and Scot:

(5) This prince is the 'Part-olon, King of the Scots' of the chroniclers Geoffrey and Nennius (Ninian):

(6) King Brutus (Prat or Prwt), the Trojan, and his Briton colonists about B.C. 1103 dispossessed an earlier colony of kindred Britons in Albion and named the country Britain, the land of the Brits, where they left Phoenician and Sumerian inscriptions, which show the Phoenicians to be Aryan in race, speech and script:

(7) Their monuments also afford clues to the Phoenician and Hittite homeland of the Aryan Phoenician Britons in Syria, Phoenicia, and the Asia-Minor of St. George of Cappadocia and England:

(8) The Phoenicians, as the sea-going branch of the ruling race of the Aryans, diffused the higher civilisation throughout the world:

(9) Many things peculiarly British are traceable to Phoenician origin; e.g., St. George and the Dragon, the Red Cross of St. George, the Crosses of St. Andrew and St. Patrick, Britannia as a tutelary goddess, the Lion and the Unicorn:

(10) The whole family of Aryan languages, with their scripts including Ogam, are of Phoenician origin through Hittite and Sumerian, which last are synonymous terms:

(11) The earliest Aryan religion was Sun-worship, symbolising the One Universal God by the True Cross, as seen on the ancient Briton coins of the Catti and Cassi Kings of the pre-Roman and pre-Christian periods in Britain.

(12) The Phoenician colonists transplanted the old cherished homeland names from Asia Minor and the Phoenician colonies on the Mediterranean borders to Britain:

(13) They furnished the agricultural and industrial life of Britain and made London its commercial capital.

(14) They created the art of Britain on Hittite-Phoenician models:

(15) The Aryans of Britain, the Britons, are the Western Bharats, who are linked with the Eastern Bharats of India, whom Waddell calls the 'Brit-ons of India.'

(16) The Aryan Britons or British still inherit the sea-faring and commanding aptitudes of the Phoenicians and their maritime supremacy.

It will be seen at once how widely Waddell has cast his net and how much proof his contentions require. Let us see how he has gone to work on the vast problem he has set himself to solve. It will be seen from the very beginning that his method is startling.

The heading of the first chapter is as follows:—"The Phœnicians discovered to be Aryans in race and the ancestors of the Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons." And then he gives us two quotations from Indian works which are typical of his argument. I now quote them in full:—"The able Panch (Phœnician), setting out to invade the Earth, brought the whole world under his sway.'—Mahabharata,2 Indian Epic of Great Bharats. 'The Brihat (Briton) singers belaud Indra . . . Indra hath raised the Sun on high in heaven . . . Indra leads us with single sway.'—Rig Veda Hymn." To these quotations Waddell adds a note:—"On Brihat, as a dialectic Sanskrit variant of the more common Bharat and the source of Brit or Brit-on see later." We have here therefore the equivalence of Brihat and Bharat and Waddell's argument also is apparently that Brit-on derives from Brit=Bharat=Brihat. From Bharat comes Mahâbhârata. Bharat here in Sanskrit is, however, really Bharata, while Brihat is a method of writing Bhat, the derivative of which would be Bârha and

1 Waddell writes this name 'Barata.
2 I shall throughout write Bh where Waddell has 'B.
not Bharata, and b and bh are not necessarily alternative or even connected consonantal sounds. This consideration reacts also strongly on the interpretation of Panch (Panch-ala) as Phoenician, or Phoenician Brihat, on the ground that Brihat = Brit-on. The equivalence of Brit-on with Bharat or Bharata does not seem to me to rest on a secure basis.

It will be seen that this criticism goes to the very root of the argument. However, let us now proceed to see how Waddell sets to work to support his opening statement. He takes as his starting point "the newly deciphered Phoenician inscription in Britain"—the Newton Stone—which he says is "dedicated to Bel, the Phoenician god of the Sun," by "Part-olon, King of the Scots," about b.c. 400, calling himself "Brit-on, Hitt-ite, Phoenician and Scot, by ancient forms of those titles." He also gives an illustration of the presumable personal appearance of the king from "bas-reliefs in the temple of Antiochus I of Commagene, b.c. 63–34." He calls the illustrations (there are two), "Cilician king worshipping the Sun-god," saying "these two representations of the same scene, which are partly defaced, complement each other. The King, who is shaking hands with the Sun-god (with a rayed halo) presumably illustrates the dress and physique of the Sun-worshipper King Prat or Prwt, who also came from the same region."

It is important to go right into the foundations of the argument, and I draw attention, therefore, to the statements that the inscription on the Newton Stone is "newly deciphered," and to the facts that in the preface Waddell says "it is now deciphered for the first time," and that the illustration from the temple of Antiochus I of Commagene is said to illustrate presumably the appearance of the author of the Newton Stone. I do so because the connection of Brit with Bharat and of Part-olon with the Cilician King of the illustration is assumed by Waddell from the very beginning.

He then describes how he attacked "the Aryan problem" from its "Eastern or Indo-Persian end," finding "that there was absolutely no trace of any civilization, i.e., Higher Civilisation in India before the seventh century B.C.," and that "historic India, like historic Greece, suddenly bursts into view, with a fully fledged Aryan civilisation." He says that he was led "by numerous clues to trace these Aryans, or as they called themselves Arya, invaders of India back to Asia Minor and Syro-Phoenicia." And he next makes, as regards his argument, a crucial statement:—"I then observed that the old ruling race of Asia Minor and Syro-Phoenicia from immemorial time was the great imperial highly civilised ancient people generally known at the Hitt-ites, but who called themselves Khatti or Catti, which is the self-same title, by which the early Briton Kings of the pre-Roman period called themselves and their race, and stamped it upon their Briton coins—the so-called Catti coins of early Britain. And the early ruling race of the Aryans who first civilised India also called themselves Khattiyo." After this he says that "this ancient Khatti or Catti ruling race of Asia Minor or Syro-Phoenicia also called themselves Arri, with the meaning of Noble Ones." The Arri he equates with Arya or Ariya of India, and the Khatti with the Goths—"the Scyths or Gete, the Greeco-Roman form of the name Goth," as shown by the dress of "the early Khatti, Catti or Hitt-ites from the bas-reliefs of the Iasili rock-chambers below Boghaz-koï or Pteria in Cappadocia." Here the equations are increasing thus:—Hitt-ite = Khatti = Catti = Gete = Goth, and the Hitt-ites are also Arri = Ariya = Arya. These equations are carried still further. The ancient Egyptian and Babylonian names for Hitt-ites is Khatti, taken to Britain as Catti, vide pre-Roman British coins, and the Old Testament Hebrew (days of Abraham) name is Hitt or Heth.

Then comes another crucial statement:—"The identity of these Khatti Arri or Hitt-ites, with the Eastern branch of the Aryans [of India..../. is now made practically certain by my [Waddell's] further observation that the latter people also called themselves in the Epics by the same title as the Hitt-ites,..../. Khattiyo Ariyo, in their early Pali vernacular, and latterly Sanskritised it by the intrusion of an r into Kshatriya Arya. ... and the
Indian names Khattiyo, Kshatriya] have the same radical meaning of ‘cut and rule’ as the Hitt-ite Khatti has.” This argument, together with that already alluded of Bharat=Brit, “practically establishes the identity of the Khati or Hitt-ite with the Indo-Aryans and discloses Cappadocia in Asia Minor as the lost cradle-land of the Aryans.” I would note here that there is an assumption that Pali preceded Sanskrit as a language, and that Khattiya is an older and purer form than Kshatriya.

We have, however, in the above statement Waddell’s master key leading to “the complete bunch of keys” to the lost early history of the Indo-Aryans and the Hitt-ites. The first key of the branch is historical. He starts by saying that the Brahmins take the Epic and Pauranic lists of kings as Indian, but that European scholars ignore them. Here I cannot agree with him: e.g., Pargiter. However, Waddell states that “none of these early Aryan kings had ever been in India, but were kings of Asia Minor, Phœnicia and Mesopotamia centuries and millenniums before the separation of the Eastern branch to India.” This is startling enough, but a still more startling statement follows:—“The father of the first historical Aryan king of India (as recorded in the Māhā Bhārata Epic and Indian Buddhist history) was the last historical king of the Hitt-ites in Asia Minor, who was killed at Carchemish on the Upper Euphrates on the final annexation of the last of the Hitt-ite capitals to Assyria by Sargon II in B.C. 718.” Further “the predecessors of the Hitt-ite king, as recorded in cuneiform monuments of Asia Minor and in Assyrian documents back for several centuries, were substantially identical with those of the traditional ancestors of the first historical Aryan king of India, as found in the Indian Epic king-lists.” Alas! “full details with proofs” are in the “forthcoming” book on Aryan Origins: so we cannot investiugate this amazing statement here. But “the absolute identity of the Indian branch of the Aryans with the Khatti or Hitt-ites is established [thereby] by positive historical proof.”

Waddell makes still further observations. Several of the leading earlier Indian Aryan dynasties have substantially the same names, records and relative chronological order as several of the leading kings of early Mesopotamia, “the so-called Sumerians or Akkads.” This is the point where apparently the Sumerian finds his way into this account of the origin of the Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons. The proof of this statement also is in Aryan Origins, but the observation supplies the key “to the material required for filling up the many blanks in the early history of ancient Mesopotamia in the dark and ‘pre-historic’ period there, and also in early Egyptian history and pre-history as well.”

However, startling statements have not yet ceased, and it is necessary to quote at length again:—“the Eastern or Indian branch of the Aryans, the Khattiyo Ariyo Bharats call themselves in their Epic, the Mahā-Bhārata, by the joint clear title of Kuru Panch(āla)—a title which turned out to be the original of Syro-Phœnician. These Kuru and Panch(āla) are described as the two paramount kindred and confederated clans of the ruling Aryans.” And Waddell then observes that “Kur was the ancient Sumerian and Babylonian name for Syria and Asia Minor of the Hitt-ites or White Syrians, and it was thus obviously the original of the Suria of the Greeks softened into Syria of the Romans.” But was there any softening? Surely ‘Syria’ was only the Roman way of writing the Greek ‘Suria.’ Then says Waddell in a paragraph worth quoting, whatever opinion may be formed of the argument:—“Whilst Panch(āla) is defined in the Indian Epics as meaning ‘the able or accomplished Panch, in compliment, it is there explained, of their great ability—also an outstanding trait of the Phœnicians in the classics of Europe. This discloses Panch to be the proper name of the ruling Aryan class, whom I [Waddell] at once recognised as the Phœnic-i ans, the Fenkhra or Panaas sea-going race of the Eastern Mediterranean of the ancient Egyptians, the Phoeni-κες of the Greeks and the Phœnic-ες of the Romans.”
The 'Panch' clan were devotees "of the Sun and Fire cult associated with worship of the Father-god Indra," and "the Hitto-Phœnicians were special worshippers of the Father-god Bel, also called by them Indara, who was of the Sun-cult." Both Panch and Phœnician were foremost among sea-going peoples. They were "sometimes called Krivi in the Vedas, which word is admitted by Sanskritists to be a variant of Kuru, which, as we have seen, means 'of Kur' or 'Syria.' The early Phœnician dynasties in Syrio-Phœnicia, or 'Land of the Amorites' of the Hebrews, called themselves Khatti and Barat in their own still extant monuments and documents, dated back to about B.C. 3000." For proof we must wait for Waddell's *Aryan Origin of the Phœnicians*.

These are the arguments leading to the identity of the Phœnician Khatti Barats with Britons and Scots, and also with the Anglo-Saxons, "a later branchlet of the Phœnician the Britons." And lastly Waddell finds "the identity of the Aryans with the Khatti or Hittites confirmed by Winckler's discovery" in 1907, "at the old Hittite capital, Boghaz Koi in Cappadocia, of the original treaty of about B.C. 1400 between the Khatti or Hittites and their kinsmen neighbours in the East in ancient Persia, the Mita-nil, who he "found were the Medes, who were also famous Aryans and called themselves Arriya." Now "in this treaty they invoked the actual Aryan gods of the Vedas of the Indian branch of the Aryans and by their Vedic names." E.g., the Vedic Sun-god Mitra, the Mithra of the Graeco-Romans: also In-da-ra, who is "the Solar Indra or Almighty." However, Waddell says that "neither the Assyriologists nor the Vedic scholars could be induced to take this view."

Such is the outline of the scheme of this remarkable book, and thereafter Waddell sets to work on the Phœnician ancestry of the Britons and Scots.

*(To be continued.)*

**SONGS AND SAYINGS ABOUT THE GREAT IN NORTHERN INDIA.**

*By the late Dr. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., F.B.A.*

*(Continued from page 117.)*

**VI.**

**A Contemporary Hindi Rhyme about Sivaji.**

*(Collected by Râmgharb Chaube.)*

**Text.**

Indra jím Jrimbh
Barawánal ambu par,
Ráwan sudambh par,
Raghul kul ráj hai.
Pawan bári báh par,
Shambhu Ratínáh par,
Jo Sahaarabáhun par,
Rám dwiráj hai.
Dáwá drum dand par,
Chítá mrig jhand par,
(Bhúsán) bitand par,
Jaise mrigráj hai.
Téj tam ansh par,
Kânch jimi Kans par,
Taise ripu bansh par,
Aj Príthráj hai.
Translation.

What Indra is to Jrimbh, 15
What Jarawânal 16 is to water,
To the proud Râwan
Is Raghu the King. 17
What wind is to the cloud,
What Shambu is to Kâmâ, 18
To the Thousand-armed 19
Is Râm of the double-kingdom 20.
What fire is to the forest,
What the leopard is to the herd of deer,
Is to the elephant the tiger (says Bhûsan 21),
Such is the rule of the deer.
What light is to the darkness,
What Krishna is to Kansa, 22
So to his foe’s family
To-day is Prith-râj. 23

VII.
A Saying about Râjâ Mân.

Text.
Pâneh rang jhandâ hath banâ; terî zanam bani zarâ;
Dohî mår dafe kiyâ; sokhî kinhe sard.
Ant Bhanwâr kâ kilâ torâ; aise Mân mard.

Translation.
Five-coloured flag in hand; thy carpet yellow;
Thou didst remove sinners, and make the hot-tempered cool.
Thou didst reduce the fort of Ant Bhanwâr: such a man was Mân.

VIII.
A Song about Chhatrasál Râjâ of Pannâ.
(Told by Bhagwant Prasad, teacher of Dhimsîr, District Agra.)

Text.
Khainchî gurj márâi, pûjâ karat Râjâ Chhatrasál:
Kholi metrâ dekhâi so Mleksh āge âyâ hai.
Mârî shamshe, manahûn háthi ke basundâ par—
Háthi sundi dereù chhaïi áyâ hai.
Kâtî daryo tang haudâ, dârî daryo bhûmin pai: torî dâryo mân;
Than so Dîlî pahunchayo hai.
Kâhâî haiî Sujan Bali: “dhanyâ Râjâ Chhatrasál!
Terî shamshar jhelî pherî kaun áyâ hai”?

Translation.
He struck him with a mace, as Râjâ Chhatrapâl was worshipping.
Opening his eyes he saw a Musâlman 24 standing before him.
He struck the man with his sword, as he would strike an elephant on its trunk—

15 The name of a demon.
16 Jarawânal is the fire-pit in which the water of the ocean is boiled till it evaporates. This is why the ocean never increases.
17 Raghu is Râm Chandra.
18 Kâmâ, the god of Love.
19 I.e., Shiva to Kâmâ, the god of Love.
20 Here is meant Parasurâma.
21 The name of the writer.
22 Kansa, Krishna’s maternal uncle, was killed by Krishna.
23 The ruler of the earth, i.e., Shivaji.
24 The vernacular term used is Mleksh, a barbarian.
An elephant that had strayed from its herd.
Then he threw down the howdah, threw it on to the ground, and broke off the head
And sent it off to Delhi.
Says Suujan Bali: —Blessed art thou, Râjâ Chhatrasâl,
Who shall survive a blow from thy sword? 26

IX.

In Praise of Akbar.

(By Râm Dâs Kachhwâhâ—in Notes and Comments on the “Setubandh Kâvyâ of Kâllidâs.”
Communicated by Râmgharb Chaube.)

Râm Dâs Kachhwâhâ described himself as the servant of Akbar in every way.

Text.

Âmero râ samudrâwati yasumatin yah pratâpe na tâwat,
Dûre gãshyâti mrtâyo, râpi karam muchattirath bánijya brîtyoh;
Apya shraushit Purâgâm, japati cha din krimam, yogam bîdhate;
Gangâm bho bhinna mambho na piwati Jallâla-dindra.
Angam, Bangam, Kalingam, Silhat, Tipurâ, Kâmâtâ, Kâmrâpâ;
Nândhrâm, Karnât, Lât, Dravîça, Marhat, Dwârikâ, Chol, Pandyân;
Bhotânâm, Maruwarôt, Kal, Malay, Khurâsân, Khandhâr, Jâmû;
Kâshi, Kâshmir, Dhakkâ, Balâkh, Badakhshâ, Kâbilân, yah prashâsh.
Kaliyug mahimâ apchiya mâna shruti surabhi dwijdharm raksh nay;
Dhrit sagun tanum; tam prameyam purush Makabbar Shah mantosmi. 28

Translation.

He, who supports the earth from the ocean to Mount Meru,
And saves the kine from slaughter, and has exempted the sacred places and traders
from taxes;
Who has heard the Purânas recited, repeats the name of the Sun-god 27, and performs
yoga;
Who drinks no water other than the Ganges, is Jallâlu’ddin 28.
(Who rules over) Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Silhat, Tipurâ, Kâmâtâ and Kâmarâpâ;
Nândhrâ, Kârnâtâ, Lâtâ, Dravîça, Marhatâ, Dwârikâ, Chola, Pândyâ;
Bhôtâ, Marwar, Urissa, Malaya, Khurâsân, Khandhâr, and Jâmû;
Kâshi, Kashmîra, Dhakka, Balkh, Badashân and Kabul—may he prosper.
He who incarnated himself in the Kaliyug to protect the Scriptures, the cow and the
twice-born,
And virtue, the sanctity of which is danger of warning;
That is the personage to whom I bow in obeisance—Akbar Shah.

X.

A Hindu Legend of Naurang Shah (Aurangzeb).

(Told by Kewal Râm, goldsmith and Recorded by Jamîyat ‘Ali, teacher, Saharanpur District.)

There is a popular legend that Aurangzeb caused a palace to be built on the surface
of the Jumna at Agra, in order to lower the sacred river in the estimation of the
Hindus, and went to live in it with his queens. But soon there came up a fire out of
the river and the Emperor and his queens were afraid of being burnt, and the Emperor
himself went blind, which made the queens beg him to leave the place. And that is why
he went to Delhi.

26 The name of the writer of the poem.
27 The text is exactly as transliterated by the Brahman, Râmgharb Chaube, and is given as a
specimen of the modern idea of a Sanskrit text.
28 That is, Sûrya Nârâyana.
29 The personal name of the Emperor Akbar.
30 This list purports to name the principal districts in Akbar’s Empire,
Text.

1.

Naurang Shâh Mughal charhî ãyâ
Nau sau umare sâth bhun men ân datâ.
Is jag meû dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ.

2.

Sât taweloâ kî nenwâ dilâyâ.
Jal meû chhoûi kawal chune kâ chattâ gatâ.
Is jag meû dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ.

3.

Sât tâçoû ko phorke, nikase jal kî phaili;
Jotî agin kî pharban latâ.
Is jag meû dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ.

4.

Bâdshâh ko andhâ kar diyâ.
Begam khaût rowain bhul gàûn mahalatâ.
Is jag meû dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ.

5.

Hath jôrke Begam kahati:

"Ab kî gunâh bakhsho; bahut marâ huâ thattâ."
Is jag meû dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ.

6.

"Ja Dilli meû chhatar gaâyâ;"
Nange paisoû ãyâ, Bâdshâh phir hatâ.
Is jag meû dewâ sajjan kâ mân ghatâ

Translation.

1.

 Came up Naurang Shâh, the Mughal,
With nine-hundred nobles he sat him on the ground.
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

2.

He laid the foundations of seven buildings.
He laid on the water a lotus of lime and bricks.
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

3.

Breaking through seven layers of iron, the light came out of the water,
And the fire raged, as in a forest.
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

4.

The Bâdshâh was made blind,
And the queens stood weeping and lost their way to the palace.
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

5.

Said the queens with joined hands:

"Forgive this sin: the joke is killing us."
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

6.

Going to Delhi he set up his umbrella.\(^3^0\).
On naked feet they returned—the Bâdshâh went back.
In this world is the pride of god-worshippers destroyed.

\(^3^0\) That is, he set up his Court.
Fourth Group.—The Dum Family.

16. The Deotá Dum or Nagarkotid.—The following details may be added to the brief account of Dum deotá in Hinduism in the Himalayas. Dum of Katian (properly Gathan), a village in the Shilli pargana of Phagu tahsil of Keenthal, is the brother of the Sharmala Dum deotá.

The latter’s history is as follows:—An old Kanet named Shurá, living in Hemri village (now pargana Chagáon in Kumhásain), had no son. His wife Párhi was also old and she asked her husband to marry a second wife in order to get a son, but Shurá refused on account of his advanced age. His wife induced him to go to the goddess Hátkotí Durgá and implore her aid, threatening to fast even to death until she promised him a son. Shurá reached Hátkotí in seven days (though it was only a two day’s journey) and sat before Durgá Devi, fasting for seven days. The goddess was greatly pleased to see his devotion and appeared before him with all her attributes (the sānkh, chakkar, gadda, padam, and other weapons in her eight hands) and riding on a tiger. She granted Shurá’s request and bade him return home. Overjoyed at this bár he went home and told his wife the good news, and after three months she gave birth to twin sons, but both parents died seven days later.

They were nursed by a sister named Kapri. While quite young the orphans showed signs of superhuman power. Their sister, too, soon died and the boys were employed as cowherds by the people, but they were careless of their cattle and devoted themselves to their favourite game of archery. So the people dismissed first one and then the other. Both of them then took service with the Thakur of Darkoti, but again they were discharged for idleness. They then roamed the country seeking service, but no one would help them, and so they went down to the plains and reached Delhi, where they enlisted in the King’s army. To test the skill of his archers, the King set up a tádá from which hung a horse hair with a small grain in the centre. No one in the army could break the grain with an arrow except these two recruits, and the King was greatly pleased with them. His Rani told him that the youths were not common soldiers, but possessed magical power, and should be dismissed to their native hills with a suitable reward. So he gave them a huge vessel (cherá) full of coins which they could not lift, and they were about to depart, when two deotás, Mahású and Shrigul, who were prisoners at Dehli, appeared and called upon the brothers for help, as they belonged to the same hill country as they did, saying that if they petitioned the king for their release they would be set free.

The Dum brothers implored the king for the deotás’ release and their request was granted. The deotás were so pleased that they bade the youths ask of them any boon they liked, and they asked their help in carrying the vessel home. The deotás told the brothers to mount their airy steeds, look towards the Kailásh hills, touch the vessel, and whip their steeds. So they did and the airy steeds carried their riders high up in the sky, flying northwards over the hills and halting at Binu, a place near Gathan village. The gods went to their dominions and the vessel full of coin was buried at Binu where it turned into water, which was made into the baoli, now on the boundary of Kumhásain and Keenthal. The airy steeds disappeared on Mount Kailásh, after leaving the young Dums at Binu.

Binu then belonged to the Thakurs of Rajána, and the Dum brothers made themselves very troublesome to them, breaking with their arrows the ghardás full of water, which the women used to carry home on their heads, or setting their bundles of grass on fire. The

9 The deotás Mahásu and Shrigul were said to be captives in Dehli for being ‘devil’ oppressors in the hills.
people became alarmed and at last the whole country side, with the Thakur, brought the brothers to bay in a battle, in which the older, who was called Dûm, was killed. Kon the younger also died and both were cremated on the spot where they had fallen, but they emerged from the ashes in the form of idols.

These miraculous images punished the Thakur in many ways, haunting him in his sleep and overturning his bed. To appease the images as pad, the Thakur conveyed them to Nagarkot in Kullu, but when presented there before the goddess they vanished. The people were distressed at their loss and fasted before Durgâ until she made them reappear. So she gave them back the images, but some say that she gave them other images in lieu of the originals. Thereafter Dûm Deotâ was also called Nagarkotia Deotâ of Sharmallâ.

One image was brought to Sharmallâ where Dûm was established, while the image of Kon was taken to Gathan village. Temples were built for the residence of each. But some say that both images at those places were first established at Sharmallâ. People used to invite the Deotâs to their houses, but the Sharmallâ people refused to send them to Gathan, and so the people of the latter place stole one of the deotâs and established him there.

Sharmallâ Dûm has a cash grant of Rs. 16 annually from the Kumhârsain State. He is worshipped daily by Brâhmans, but his guru (the man into whom the spirit comes and through whom it speaks) is always a Kanet. The deotâ has his kârdâr, the chief among them being the bhandârî in charge of the stores. The Sharmallâ women call him by the pet name of Nanu, but other people call him Dûm. His annual melâ is held on the Bishû day in Bashkâh, but his jâtrâ is held every 7th or 8th year. When a new Rânâ ascends the gaddi, a Rajâoli melâ is held, and the deotâ tours in the villages of his devotees. A Shânt melâ is held every 50 years.

The deotâs followers are found mostly in Uphesh pargana and in the following villages:—Bagi in Bhusahar, Duri in Khaneti, Bagru-Dhar in Theog. Daro, Jall and Rewag in Shilli are also villages devoted to his cult.

The Deotâ used to have a melâ at Shamokhar. Some say that while the deotâs Magheshwar, Koṭ Ishwar and Dûm sat in their respective places and the melâ began, the trio quarrelled, and so the melâ was forbidden to be held in the future by British Government order. The Dagrot people in consequence pay a chereshi of Rs. 30 to Manan or Magheshwar every third year.

The deotâ helped Kumhârsain to gain its victory over Keusâthal, and when besought by a Rânâ of Jubbal, blessed him with a son, for which the Rânâ presented him with a golden image. The original Dûm image was of brass, and a few smaller images have been added as its companions. The Thakur of Rajâna was also blessed with a son at an advanced age and he presented Dûm with a silver chain worth Rs. 140. The Deotâ is rich, having silver instruments (narsinga and karnal) of music, while a necklace of gold mohars and gold ornaments always adorn him.

He is not duadhârî, but goats are sacrificed before him. He is believed by his devotees to be a very powerful god, blessing the people, but distressing those who do not obey him. The Dûm of Sharmallâ had a large dominion of his own, but Dûm of Gathan has a much larger one.

The Dûm of Sharmallâ has seven khândâs (descendants of mävis or mawannas who recognise his authority). These are:—Baghalû and Charogû in Khaneti, Amet and Relû in Bashahar, Drogre and Rachlû in Kumhârsain, and Dharongû in Balsan. The Charogû, Relû and Dharongû khâdâs (ravines) were seized by Dûm of Gathan and added to his dominions.

17. The Deotâ Dûm of Hemri.—This Deotâ has the same history as Dûm of Sharmallâ. Shurâ and Pargî lived at Hemri, and it is said that when the Dûm brothers were killed, their images were brought to Hemri and thence taken to Sharmallâ and Gathan. Some say, however, that the Dûm brothers were killed by mävis before the Thâkurs of Rajâna ruled the country.
There is an image of Dūm at Hemri temple, where the Hemri, Kathrol and Gumā people worship him. This deotā, when necessary, goes to Kāngrā on pilgrimage (jātīrā).

A melā is held at Hemri on the Shaonā (Samana) day in Bhādon. The Bāltī melā is held every third year. This deotā holds a jāgir worth Rs. 4 from the Kumhārsain State. A Brāhmaṇ in Barech is his pujārī, but he is generally worshipped by the Kolīs and Lohārs of Hemri.

18. The Dūm of Kārel.—At a temple in Kārel village is worshipped a Dūm, who is also an offshoot of the Dūm brothers. People say that this Dūm at first went from Hemri to Gathan, and thence an image was brought to Kārel, although Hemri and Kārel villages are close together. The Kārel people are worshippers of Gathan village, and as a mark of respect they keep a Dūm idol in the temple in their village. A baltī fair is held every third year and a bhundā melā—whenever the people wish—after 10 or 15 years. Every house gives some goats to be killed, the people inviting their kinsmen, especially dhī-dhains and the sons-in-law and their children. The Barech Brāhmaṇ does pujā in the morning only.

Bhat deotā resides with the Dūm in the Kārel temple. Originally a Sārsut Brāhmaṇ living at Mateog a village just above Kumhārsain itself, Bhat was prosecuted by a Rāṇā of Kumhārsain and ordered to be arrested, but he fled to the Kullū side pursued by a Kārel sepoy, who had been sent to seize him. He was caught on the bank of the Sutlej, but asked the sepoy to allow him to bathe in the river before being taken back to Kumhārsain, and there he drowned himself. He became a demon and haunted the sepoys in his sleep, until the latter made an image in his name and began to worship him at Kārel. The other people of Kārel, out of respect for the image, placed it in the temple beside that of the Dūm. Bhat Deotā holds a small jāgir of ten annas a year from the Kumhārsain State.

19. The Deotā Dūm of Jhangrāl. —The people of Jhangrāl in Chagān pargana brought an image of Dūm from Gathan and built him a temple. He is worshipped with dhūp-dūp every 5th day, but has no daily pujā. The people hold the Gathan Dūm to be their family deotā, but the temple is maintained in the village as a mark of respect.

20. The Dūm of Kamāli in Kandrā. —There are no notes recorded of this Dūm.

21. The Deotā Dūm in pargana Chebishi. —Though the Dūm deotās have their chief temples at Gathan and Sharmallā, there are a number of Dūms in the temples in Saraj, as already noted. A Dūm also came to Shadnoch, and there are four temples to him in the following villages of pargana Chebishi:—Pharal, Kotāl, Kuprī and Parojuṣha.

The Dūm of Pharaj. —It is not known when this Dūm was brought from Sharmallā. A man of this pargana lived in Saraj, whence he brought an image and placed it in a temple at Pharaj, with the express permission of Malendū deotā, who is the family deotā of the Chebishi people. This Dūm has no rāth, and his function is to protect cattle. If a cow does not give milk he is asked to make her yield it in plenty, and the ghi produced from the first few days' milk, is given to him as dhūp. No khin is performed for him, but Kanets give him dhūp-dūp daily. He has no bhor.

22. The Dūm of Kotlā. —Koḻlā has always been held in jāgir by the Kanwars or Miāīs of Kumhārsain, and the Dūm temple here was founded by one of them.

23. The Dūm of Kuprī. —The people of Kuprī village say that more than 700 years ago they came from Rewag, a village in Ubdesh pargana in Saraj, and settled at Kuprī in the Chebishi pargana of Shadoch. Their ancestors brought with them a Dūm, their family deotā's image, and placed it in a temple. A field at Kuprī was named Rewag after their original village.

The people of this village do not regard Malendū as their family god. There are at present 9 images of the Dūm in the Kuprī temple and a small pīḍa (bed), where it is believed a Bhāgwati lives with him. The Kanets are his pujārīs and also his gurs. A khin melā is held every three or four years at night, when goats are sacrificed.
24. The Đum of Parojusha.—Nearly 200 years ago Kājī, a Shadoch man, who had lived in Sarāj, returned to his village and brought with him an image of a Đum, which he presented to his fellow-villagers at Beshēra, and made them also swear to worship him. This they did presumably with Malendū’s permission.

More than 100 years ago one of the villagers killed a sadhū, whose spirit would not allow the people to live at ease in their village, so they all left it and settled in Parojusha. A Bhagwati is believed to live with him in the temple. The Kanets worship him, but their family god is Malendū. He has no bhor.

Fifth Group.—The Muls.

25. The Deotā Mūl Padot of Kotić in pargana Kandrū.—Mūl Padot is one of the biggest deotās in these hills, and he has temples in various villages in Bhuji, Shangrī and Kumhārsain. He appeared from a cave called Chunjar Malānā, near Mathiāna, not less than 1500 years ago. About that time a prince came from Sirmūr, presumably because he had quarrelled with his brothers, and accompanied by a few kārdārs, took refuge in the cave. He also had with him his family god, now called Naroliā. His name is said to have been Deva Singh, but it is possible that this was the name of one of his descendants, who held Kotić State in Kandrū.

While he was living in the cave, Padot, who was also called Mūl, kept on playing on musical instruments and then calling out:—“Chutūn, parūn,” I shall fall, I shall fall.” The prince one day replied that if the spirit wished to fall, he could do so, and lo! the image called Mūl fell down from the cave before the prince.

Mūl wished him to accept a kingdom, but he said that he was a wandering prince who had no country to rule. Thereupon a barā (mason) from Kotić in Kandrū came and told the prince that he had led him to that cave, and begged him to accompany him to a State where there was no chief. The prince said that he could not accept, unless the rest of its people came and acknowledged him as their Rājā. So the mason returned to Kandrū and brought back with him the leading men of the country, and they took the prince to Kotić, where he built a temple for the deotā and a palace for himself. People say that the palace had eighteen gates and occupied more than four acres of land. Its remains are still to be seen near the temple where the deotā Narolīā was placed along with Mūl Padot. Some say that the temple stood in the middle of the palace.

The deotā Narolīā never comes out in public, but appears only before the Rānā of Kumhārsain, if he visits him, or before the descendants of the mason who brought the prince to this country. He never comes beyond the Kotić būsā (dwelling house) to accept his dues (kharen, a small quantity of grain).

A few generations later it happened that a Thākur of Kotić had four sons, who quarrelled about the division of the State. One son established himself in Kullū and then at Kāngal, (now in Shangrī), the second went to Thārū in Bhajji State, and the third settled at Mālag now in Bhajji, while the Tikkā of course lived at Kotić. Kullū conquered his State but some say Kumhārsain took it.

People say that Rājā Man Singh of Kullū took Kangal fort. (The descendants of the Kāngal Thakurs are the Mīans of Gheti and Kariot in Chabish). I could not learn whether the Thārū and Mālag Thākurs have any descendants now in Bhajji. It seems that Kotić State was founded a little before the Rājāna State. The name of the State is only known in connection with Mūl deotā’s story or the songs (bars) sung in Bhajji.

Some people say that four images fell in the Chunjar Malānā cave, while others think that there are four Mūls in as many temples. Their names are Mūl, Shīr, Sadreel and Thāthūl, and their temples are at Kotić, Padot, Kāngal and Sarān in Suket. But the old devotees of Mūl deotā multiplied the Mūl, by carrying his images and building temples to him wherever
they went. Wherever there is temple to Mūl, he is now generally called Padoi. At present his chief temple is at Padoā in Bhajji, on the east bank of the Sutlej, but Kotī is the jethu-
thān or first place. Shāṅgūlī and Rīkū are his bhors.

Rīkū was a deotā at Padoā, who came flying in spirit to Mūl at Kotī. He ate a loaf
given him by Mūl and accepted him as his master. He now drives away bhut pṛet when
commanded by Mūl, and the same is told of Shāṅgūl.

Thāthlū deotā is vasīr to the Mūl of Kotī and when a rupee is given to him, four annas
are given to Thāthlū. Thāthlū's temple is at Thathal in Kumhārsain and in it his image
is kept, but people believe that Thāthlū is always with his elder spirit and only comes to the
temple when invoked or to take ḍhūp ḍīp. Thāthlū calls Mūl his dādū (elder). Mūl goes
to Sunā every year at the Dasahrā and his spirit goes to Shuli to bathe. Padoā and Dharogrā
in Bhajji have large temples of Mūl and there is a big temple at Parol in Shangrī also. Padoā
deotā is very useful, if his help is asked, in hunting and shooting. There are two other temples
of Padoā in Chebishi pargana, at Shaillā and Ghetī.

26. Mūl Padoā of Shaillā.—The Ṭhākūr's descendants also settled in village Kareot.
The Gheti people, too, carried their family god to Kareot, but on their way they came to
Shaillā. Before that time the Nāg deotā used to be the family god of the Shaillā people, but
a leper in Shaillā laid himself on the road and asked Padoā to cure him. Padoā said that if he
would cure him, he must discard the Nāg deotā who was living in the village. The leper
promised to do so and was cured. The people seeing Padoā's superiority over the Nāg sent
him away to Dhalli village, where the people still worship him. His temple was taken over
by Padoā and he lives there to this day. A devotee of Padoā went to Theog and there built
him a temple, only a couple of years ago [1908].

It is said that with the prince from Sirmūr came a Brāhma, a Kanet named Gasāon,
and a tūri (musician), whose descendants are to be found in Kumhārsain, Bhajji and Shangrī.
Shangrī State was a part of kullū and made a State soon after the Sikh invasion of kullū,
when vasīr Kapuru made Shangrī State for the Rāj of kullū.

Padoā Deotā of Kotī has from Kumhārsain a jagīr worth Rs. 112. Goats are sacrificed
and the Diwāli and Shaṅrūno festivals are observed, when a small fair is held.

27. Mūl Padoā of Ghetī.—When the jākūr of Kangīd fled or died, his fort was burnt
by the Rāj of Kullū, and the descendants of his house came to Kumhārsain in the time of
Rānā Rām Singī. They were given Ghetī village in jagīr. The Koli fort was taken by them
and they held it for about twenty generations. They brought with them to Ghetī silver and
copper images of Mūl, and these are kept at the Ghetī temple to this day.

Sixth Group—Kalis and Bagwats.

28. The Deotā Kāli of Anū.—Long ago (people cannot say when) one of the zamīndārs
of Anū went to Kidār Nāth and brought back with him an image, which he set up at Anū
as Kāli. Puja is not made daily, but only on the Shankrānti day.

29. Kāli of Dertū.—As to this Kāli, see the account of Malendī. She has a small temple
at Dertū and is believed to live there. Goats are sacrificed to her.

30. The Deotā Durgā of Bharech.—Durgā deotā is a goddess who was brought by a Brāhma-
man from Hāt Kotī to Bharech, a village in Chagāon pargana. Brāhmans worship her
morning and evening.

31. The Bhāygwatī of Kachīn Ghāṭī.—At Kachīn Ghāṭī is a small temple of Bhāygwatī,
who is worshipped by the people of pargana Sheol in Kumhārsain. Though their family
god is the Marech at Bareog, they regard this Bhāygwatī with respect and sacrifice goats to
her. She has no connection with Adshaki or Kasumbā Devī.

10 The Thāthlū Zamīndārs claim to be descendants of the Sirmūr prince, though they are now
Kaṇets.
Seventh Group.—Independent Deotâs.

32. The Deota Manûn or Magneshwar.—At a village called Jâlandhar in Kullû lived a Brâhman, whose wife gave birth to a girl. When she was 12 years old, the girl, though a virgin, gave birth to twin serpents, but kept it secret and concealed her serpent sons in an earthen pot, and fed them on milk. One day she went out for a stroll, and asked her mother not to touch her dolls which were in the house, but unfortunately her mother, desiring to see her child’s beloved dolls, uncovered the pot, and to her dismay the two serpents raised their hoods. Thinking the girl must be a witch, she threw burning ashes on them and killed one of them, but the other escaped to a ghârâ full of milk, and though burnt, turned into an image.

Meanwhile the virgin mother returned, and finding her loving sons so cruelly done by, she cut her throat and died on the spot. Her father came in to churn the milk, and in doing so broke the ghârâ in which, to his surprise, he found the image which the living serpent had become. Distressed at his daughter’s suicide, he left his home, and taking the image in his turban he roamed from land to land.

At last he reached Sîrmûr, whose Râjâ had no son. He treated the Brâhman kindly, and he asked the Râjâ to give him his first-born son, if he wanted more children through the power of his image. The Râjâ agreed, and by the grace of the image he was blessed with two sons, the elder of whom was made over to the Brâhman together with a jâgîr, which consisted of the parganas of Rajâna, Mathiâna, Shilli, Sheol and Chadarâ, now in Phâgû Tahsîl in Koûlâhal. It was called Rajâna, and its former Thâkurs have a history of their own, as their family had ruled there for several generations.

Hither the Brâhman brought the Râjâ’s elder son and settled at Rajâna village, commonly called Mûl Rajâna in Shilli pargana. The Brâhman settled at Manûn, a village to the north-west of Rajâna, where another deotâ was oppressing the people. But the Brâhman revealed his miraculous image and people began to worship Magneshwar as a greater deotâ. He killed the oppressor, and the people burned all his property, certain mâvîs who resisted being cruelly put to death by the devotees of the new deotâ. Deori Dhar village was set on fire and the people in it burnt alive.

Later on when the Geû family of the Kumhûrsain chiefs had established themselves in the country, the deotâ helped the Thâkur (now the Rânû of Kumhûrsain) to gain a victory over the Sîrmûr Râjâ. The Kumhûrsain) State gave a jâgîr, now worth Rs. 166, to the Magneshwar deotâ of Manûn. He has a large temple, and the chief among his ârdârs is the bhandârî who keeps the jâgîr accounts.

Sadâ barât (alms) are given to sadhûs, faqîrs or Brâhmans. He is worshipped daily morning and evening by his pujaîrs. A melâ is held annually at Manûn on the 17th or 18th Baisâkîh and another at the Diwâli at night. Every third year another melâ called the shîlavu pâjâ is held. A big pujaî melâ is performed every 7th or 8th year and a still bigger one called shânî every 30 years. When a new Rânû ascends the gaddî, the deotâ tours the country belonging to him. This is called rajâoli jâtrâ.

The Nagar-Koûtâ or Dûm Deotâ of Sharmallâ was on friendly terms with this deotâ, but they quarrelled while dancing at Shamokhâr in Rânû Pritâvî Singh’s time, and so a dispute arose about the right to hold a melâ at Shamokhâr. This quarrel lasted for a long time and the parganas of Sheol and Udshes (devotees of Dûm and Manûn) ceased paying revenue to the State, until the British Government decided that the Daro Jâl and Dagrot zamîndârs should pay Rs. 30 as chershi to Magneshwar deotâ every third year, and that no deotâ should be allowed to hold any melâ at Shamokhâr. This deotâ is not duûdhârî, and goats are sacrificed to him.

33. The Deota Melan or Chatar Mukh in Kotgâr.—This deotâ is believed to be one of the most powerful gods in these hills. He is the family god of the Kot Khâi and Khaneti chiefs and also of the Thâkur of Karângî. More than 3,000 years ago, when there were no
Rājās or Rānās in the country (except perhaps Bānāsur in Bashahr) the people obeyed the deotās as spiritual lords of the land, while nāvannās held parts of the country. The deotā Kānā was supreme in Kotgarh and Khaneti Shadoch country. As he had only one eye, he was called kānā. He delighted in human sacrifice, and every month on the Shankrānti day a man or woman was sacrificed to him as a balt. Each family supplied victims by turn.

Legend says that there was a woman who had five daughters, four of whom had in turn been devoured by Kānā Deo and the turn of the fifth was fixed for the Shankrānti day. A contemporary god, called Khachi Nāg, had his abode in a forest called Jarol, near a pond in Khaneti below Sidhpur (on the road to Kotgarh). The poor woman went to him, complaining that the deotā Kānā had devoured hundreds of human beings and that her four daughters had already been eaten and the same fate for the fifth was fixed for the Shankrānti. She implored the Nāg to save her daughter, and he having compassion on her, said that when Kānā deo’s men came to take the girl for the balt, she should look towards the Nāg and think of him.

The woman returned home, and when on the day fixed Kānā deo’s men came for the girl, she did as she had been told. At the same instant a black cloud appeared over the Jarol forest, and spread over the village of Melan and the temple of Kānā deo, with lightning and thunder. There was a heavy downpour of rain, the wind howled, and a storm of hail and lightning destroyed the temple and the village. Both the temple of Kānā and the village of Melan were swept away, but their remains are still to be seen on the spot. They say that large stones joined together by iron nails are found where the temple stood. Images of various shapes are also found in the nālā.

Now, there was no other deotā in this part of the country, and the people began to wonder how they could live without the help of a god. The custom was that they could hold no fair without a god riding in his rath, so they took counsel together and decided that the Deotā Nāg of Kachli should be the one god of the country. They chose his abode in the forest and begged him to accept them as his subjects, promising that they would carry him to Melan, build him a new temple, and love him as their lord, and that on melā days he should ride in a rath and be carried from place to place and be worshipped as he might please. But the Deotā Nāg was a pious spirit, his ascetic habits would not permit of pomp and pageantry, so he decided to offer himself as a god of the country, but told the people that he was a hermit and loved solitude, and that if the people were in real earnest in wishing for a god, they should seek one at Khaṛan (a village in pargana Baghi-Mastgarh, now in Bashahar) where there were three brothers, deotās in a single temple. He advised them to go to Khaṛan and beg these deotās to agree to be their lords, and promised that he would help them with his influence.

The Khaṛan Deotās came in their raths for a melā at Dudhali (in parganā Jāo, now in Kumhārsain) and there the Sadoch people proceeded to obtain a deotā as king over their country. While the three Khaṛan brothers were dancing in their raths, the people prayed in their hearts that whichever of them chose to be their god, might make his rath as light as a flower, while the other raths might become too heavy to turn. They vowed in their hearts that the one who accepted their offer should be treated like a king, that his garments should be of silk, his musical instruments of silver, that no sheep or she-goats should be given him, but only he-goats, and that his dominion should be far and wide from Bhairā near the Sutlej to Kupā above Jubbal (the custom still is that no sheep or she-goat is sacrificed before Chaturmukh deotā and no cotton cloth is used). Their prayer was accepted by the second brother, who was called Chatar-mukh (four-faced). The name of the eldest brother is Jeshar and of the youngest Ishar. When Chatar-mukh caused his rath to be as light as a lotus flower, eighteen men volunteered to carry it away from the melā, and dancing bore it home on their shoulders.
The Khārān and Jāo people, finding that Chatar-mukh was stolen from them by the Shadoch people, pursued them shooting arrows and brandishing danguḍas. The brave eighteen halted at a maidān behind Jāo village, where there was a free fight, in which Kachhī Nāg mysteriously helped them, and Chatar-mukh by his miraculous power turned the pursuers' arrow against their own breasts and their danguḍas flew at their own heads, until hundreds of headless trunks lay on the maidān, while not one of the Shadochās was killed. The Shadoch people then carried the rath in triumph to Shathla village (in Kotgaṛ), in the first instance, choosing a place in the middle of the country, so that the god might not be carried off by force by the Khārān and Jāo people. Thence the deotā was taken to Sakundī village (in Kotgaṛ), but the deotā did not like to live there and desired the people to build him a temple at Melan, nearly a furlong from the destroyed temple of the deotā Kānā Deo to the Kotgaṛ side. This was done gladly by the people and Chatar-mukh began to reside here.

The people say that nearly 150 years ago Chatar-mukh went to Kidār Nāth on a jātrā (pilgrimage), and when returning home he visited Mahāsu Deotā at Nol, a village in Kiran in Sirmūr (Kiran is now British territory, probably in Dehra Dūn District) as his invited guest. But one of Mahāsu’s attendant deotās troubled Chatar-mukh in the temple at Nol and frightened his men so that they could not sleep the whole night. This displeased Chatar-mukh, and he left the temple at daybreak much annoyed at his treatment. He had scarcely gone a few steps, when he saw a man ploughing in a field, and by a miracle made him turn towards the temple and ascend it with his plough and bullocks.

Deotā Mahāsu asked Chatar-mukh why he manifested such a miracle, and Chatar-mukh answered that it was a return for his last night’s treatment; that he, as a guest, had halted at the temple for rest at night, but he and his lashkār had not been able to close their eyes in sleep the whole night. Chatar-mukh threatened that by his power the man, plough and bullocks should stick for ever to the walls of the temple. Mahāsu was dismayed and fell on his knees to beg for pardon.

Chatar-mukh demanded the surrender of Mahāsu’s devil attendant, and he was compelled to hand him over. This devil’s name is Shirpāl.11 He was brought as a captive by Chatar-mukh to Melan, and after a time, when he had assured his master that he would behave well, he was forgiven and made Chatar-mukh’s wastī, as he still is, at Melan, Shirpāl ministers in the temple and all religious disputes are decided by him; e.g., if anyone is outcasted or any other chūd case arises, his decision is accepted and men are re-admitted into caste as he decrees (by oracle).

Some other minor deotās also are subordinates to Chatar-mukh, the chief among them being:—(1) Benu, (2) Janerū, (3) Khorū, (4) Merelū and (5) Basārā. These deos are commonly called his bhurbūs (servants). The people cannot tell us anything about their origin, but they are generally believed to be rākhaśas, who oppressed the people in this country until Chatar-mukh subdued them and made them his servants. These bhurbūs are his attendants and serve as chaukīdārs at the temple gate.

Benu is said to have come from Bena in Kullū. He was at first a devil. When it is believed that any ghost has appeared in a house or has taken possession of any thing or man, Deo Benu turns him out. Janerū came from Paljārā in Bashahar. He, too, is said to be a devil, but Chatar-mukh reformed him. His function is to protect women in pregnancy and childbirth, also cows, etc. For this service he is given a loaf after a birth. Khorū appeared from Khorū Kiār in Kumhārsain. He was originally a devil, and when Rājā Mahā Prakāś of Sirmūr held his court at Khorū and all the hill chiefs attended it, the devil oppressed the people until Chatar-mukh made him captive and appointed him his chaukīdār at Melan temple. Merelū came out of a marghī (crematorium). He, too, is looked upon as a jamālī or rākhaś. He had frightened the people at Sainjā in Kotgaṛn, but was captured and made a chaukīdār at Melan.

11 Shir means ‘stairs’, and pāl means watch; hence Shirpāl means ‘a servant at the gate’.
Basārā Deo is said to have come from Bashahr State, and some say that he was a subordinate deo of Basarū Deotā at Gaora and troubled his master, so Basarū handed him over to Chatar-mukh; but others say that Pawārī, wazir of Bashahar, invoked Chatar-mukh's aid, as he was distressed by the devil Basārā, and Shīrpāl, Chatar-mukh's wazir, shut Basārā up in a tokni. Thus shut up, he was carried to Melan and there released and appointed a chaukādār. The utensil is still kept at Melan. This deo helps Benu Deo in turning out ghosts (bhut, pur, or charēl). Basarū Deo was given Mangṣhū and Shawat villages where only Kolīs worship him.

The people of Kirtī village in Kotghār worship Marechh deotā. Less than hundred years ago Chatar-mukh deotā came to dance in a kirtī jubar, and Marechh deotā opposed him. Chatar-mukh prevailed and was about to kill him, when Tirū, a Brāhmaṇ of Kirtī village, cut off his own arm and sprinkled the blood upon Chatar-mukh, who retired to avoid the sin of Brāhm-hatyā (murder of a Brāhmaṇ). Chatar-mukh, feeling himself polluted by a Brāhmaṇ's blood, gave Marechh deotā the villages of Bhanāna, Kirtī and Shawat, and then went to bathe at Kedār Nāth to get purified.

Every twelfth year Chatar-mukh tours in his dominion, and every descendant of the eighteen men who brought him from Duddhali accompanies him. They are called the Nine Kūiś and Nine Kashi. Kūiś means original people of respectable families, and Kashi means 'those who swore.' The Nine Kūiś took with them nine men, who swore to help them to carry Chatar-mukh from Duddhali. When the deotā returns from his tour, these eighteen families are each given a vidaigī gift of a pagrī, and all the people respect them.

An annual meldā is held at Duddhali, to which Chatar-mukh goes to meet his two Khārān brothers. A big Diwālī meldā is also held at Melan every third year. Every year Chatar-mukh goes to the Dhādū meldā in Kotghār, and in Sāwan he goes on tour in Kheti State (Shadoch pargāna).

The old pujārīs of Kānā deotā were killed by lightning or drowned with the deotā, and when Chatar-mukh settled at Melan, the Khārān pujārīs also settled there, and they worship him daily morning and evening.

His favourite jātrā is to Kedār Nāth, and this he performs every 50 or 60 years. He does not approve of the bhundā sacrifice, though his brothers in Khārān hold every twelfth year a bhundā, at which a man is run down a long rope, off which he sometimes falls and is killed. Chatar-mukh goes to see the bhundā at Khārān, but does not allow one at Melan. There is a baltī fair at Melan every third year. The deotā's image is of brass and silver. When he returns from Kidār Nāth, a diaspān jag meldā is held.

People believe that Chatar-mukh is away from his temple in Māgh every year for 15 days, and that he goes to bathe at Kedār Nāth with his attendants. They say that the spirits fly to Kedār Nāth, and all work is stopped during these days. His bhundār (store house) is also closed, and his deva or guru, through whom he speaks, does not appear in public or perform kingarna. The people believe that Chatar-mukh returns on the 15th of Māgh, and then his temple is opened amid rejoicings.

Some say that there is a place in Bashahar, called Bhandi Bil, where the hill rākhasas and devils assemble every year early in Māgh, and Chatar-mukh with other deotās of the hills goes to fight them, and returns after fifteen days. The people say that Chatar-mukh has eighteen treasuries hid somewhere in caves in forests, but only three of them are known. The treasures were removed from the temples, when the Gurkhas invaded the country. One contains utensils, another musical instruments, and the third gold and silver images of which it was once robbed. The remaining fifteen are said to be in caves under ground.

The deotā holds large jāgrīs from the Bashahar, Kumhārsain, Kot Khāi and Khatetı chiefs.
His chief kârdârs are the gur, bhandârî, khazânâkâ and daroghâ of accounts. Four of them are from Kotgarh, and two from Khaneti. All business is transacted by a panchâyat.

The deotâ also holds a jagîr from Government worth Rs. 80. Kumhârsain has given him a jagîr of Rs. 11 and Khaneti one of Rs. 22. The three Khâran brothers once held certain parganas in jagîr, pargana Raik belonging to Jehsar, pargana Jáo to Chatar-mukh, and pargana Samat to Ishwar, but they have been resumed. Nearly 150 years ago the Melan temple was accidentally burnt, and when a Sîrûr Râmi of Bashahar, who was touring in her jagîr, came to Melan, the deotâ asked her to build him a new temple. She asked him to vouchsafe her a miracle, and it is said that his rath moved itself to her tent without human aid, so she then built the present temple at Melan, some 30 years before the Gurkha invasion. The devotees of other Deotâs jest at Chatar-mukh’s powers.

Till nearly seven generations ago the Râns of Kot Khâi lived there and then transferred their residence to Kotgarh. When at Kotgarh, the tikkâ of one of the Râns fell seriously ill and the people prayed Chatar-mukh to restore him. Chatar-mukh declared he would do so, but even as her gur was saying that the tikkâ would soon recover, news of his death was announced. Thereupon one Jhingri killed the gur with his dangan, but the Râns was displeased with him, and the family of the murderer is still refused admission to the palace. Some say that the blow of the dangan was not fatal and that the gur was carried by a Koli of Batâri to Khaneti where he recovered.

Chatar-mukh has given the Khaneti men the privilege of carrying him in front, when riding in his rath, while the Kotgarh men hold it behind. Another mark of honour is that when Chatar-mukh sits, his face is always placed towards Khaneti. He is placed in the same position at his temple.

Chatar-mukh does not like ghosts to enter his dominion, and when any complaint is made of such an entry, he himself with his bhore visits the place and captures the ghost. If the ghost enters any article, such as an utensil, etc., it is confiscated and brought to his temple.

Chatar-mukh is a disciple of Khachlí Nâg, who has the dignity of his gurî or spiritual master. Keâ deotâ at Keâ in Kotgarh is a mahâdeo and Chatar-mukh considers him as his second gurî. Dûm deotâ at Pamlai in Kotgarh, a derivative of Dûm of Gathan in Kseoûthal, is considered subordinate to Chatar-mukh and has a separate temple at a distance. Marechh Deotâ of Kirti and Mahâdeo of Keâ can accept a cloth spread over the dead, but Chatar-mukh and um cannot do so.

What became of Kânâ deotâ after the deluge at Melan cannot be ascertained, but a story believed by some is that he took shelter in a small cistern in Sawari Khâd. A woman long after a deluge tried to measure the depth of the cistern with a stick and Kânâ deo’s image stuck to it, so she carried it to her house and when his presence was known, Chatur-mukh shut him up in a house at Batâri village. Some say that the woman kept the image of Kânâ in a box, and when she opened it, she was surprised by the snakes and wasps that came out of it. The box was then buried for ever.

34. The Deotâ Banshwar of Pejdi.—Pujârli is a village in Ubdesh pargana of Kumhârsain, and its deotâ is said to be very ancient. Some say that in the early times of the mawânnâs there were three mawâs to the south of Bâgh, viz., Kero, Gahleo and Nâlî. The Kero mawâs‘ fort lay in the modern Khaneti, and the Gahleo mawâs‘ in Koṭ Khâî, while the Nâlî mawâs had theirs at Mel, now in Kumhârsain, under Hâtû and close to Bâghî. The mawâs of Gahleo brought this deotâ from Bâlâ Hât in Garhwal and built him a temple at Ghelâ, a village in Koṭ Khâî, as he was the family deotâ of all three mawâs. But they were

12 The mawâs were so wealthy that one used to spread out his barley to dry on a carpet, another could cover a carpet with coins, and a third had a gold chain hung from his house to the temple. Two of the mawâs appear to have been named Nâlî and Gahleo.
all killed by Sīrmū and their houses burnt, so the Gahleo māwis (i.e., those of them who escaped) concealed the deotā in a cave in the cliffs above Ghelā. Thence his voice would be heard, with the sound of bells and the scent of dhāp, so a Brāhmaṇ of Pujārī13 went to the cave and brought the deotā to a temple at Pujārī. He is regarded as their family deotā by the people of Pujārī, Nagan, Karāli and Banāl. As he is dūdhadhāri, goats are not sacrificed to him. When the spirit of the deotā enters (chirnā) his gur, the deotā says through him:—

Nālē, Gahlēdana āḍ chhāre, na ān chhārā, 'Nāhlo and Gahlo! You spared neither yourselves nor me!'—because the māwis had involved him in their own ruin.

35. The Deotā Garon of Panjaol.—Dūm Deotā lived in a temple at Panjaol, a village in pargana Chajoli of Kumhārsain, and a pujārī of Dasānā in Ghond State used to come every day to worship him at Panjaol. One day when crossing the Giri, he saw five pitchers floating down the river and succeeded in catching one of them. This he brought to Panjaol, concealing it in the grass and taking it back with him to his home. He forbade his wife to touch it, but she disobeyed him, and when she opened it, wasps flew out and stung her. Her cries brought the pujārī home from his fields, and seeing her plight he threw cow's urine and milk over her and the pitcher. She and the wasps then disappeared, but in the pitcher the pujārī found an image which he carried to Panjaol, and then placed it in the temple beside Dūm deotā. This deotā is called Garon, because it was found in the Giri, and it is daily offered cow's urine and milk. It is worshipped also by the people of Panjaol. But its chief temple is at Deothi in Ghond, half the people of which State worship it, while the other half affect Shri-gul.

36. The Deota Kot at Kalmun in Chebishi.—Not more than 50 years ago Kot deotā of Kot in Kullū came to Kalmun in Chebishi pargana with Gushāon, a Koli, who lived in that village. One Talkū, jujhā of Kot, in Kullū, was a great friend of Gushāon, but after a time they quarrelled, and Talkū, whose family god was Kot deotā, invoked him to distress Gushāon. This deotā is said to be one who will distress anyone who calls upon him to trouble another. Gushāon then went to Kalmūn and with him brought Kot deotā, but he fell sick and the Brāhmaṇs said that it was Kot who was troubling him. Kot deotā then said that if Gushāon would build a deorī (platform) for him, he would cure him; otherwise he would kill him. So Gushāon was compelled to build a deorī, and then he recovered.

When Kot is displeased with anyone, he demands a fine of eighteen tolās of gold, though subsequently he may accept as little as two annas. He is said to be so powerful that, when he was distressing Gushāon, and Malendū deotā was asked for aid, the latter sent his bhūr Jhatāk to drive Kot away from Kalmūn, but Kot would not go. They fought, but Kot could not be subdued. Since then, whenever Malendū appears as a spirit in anyone, Kot at once appears in a Koli before him, and so Malendū can do nothing against him. Kot has no bhūr and no jāgīr.

37. Māṭlū Deo of Sheleotā.—This deotā's temple is at Shelotā in pargana Chebishi of Kumhārsain. Māṭlū came out of māṭī (clay) and hence he is called Māṭlū. Before Rānā Kirtī Singh founded the State, a māwvannā used to live at Shelotā, and one day while his little sons were playing in a field called Sātī Begain, an image sprung from the earth, and they began to play with it. They placed it on the edge of the field, presented khaljā (gum of the chīr pine-tree) to it as dhāp, and waved a branch of the tree over it, but Māṭlū deotā was displeased at this and killed them on the spot. Their parents searched for them, when they had not

13 His family was called Moltā, and only one house of it still survives. The present Brāhmaṇs of Pujārī hail from Tikargarh in Bashahar. The Pujārīs of Pujārī appear to be called Kacherī (by or family), and they founded Kacherī, a village near Kumhārsain.
returned late in the evening, and found them dead in the field. Seeing that there was an image close by, they took it up, thinking it must have killed the boys. The image was then taken to the village, and Brâhmans began to praise it and ask the deotâ the reason of his displeasure. Through a Brâhman in a trance the spirit said that his name was Mâṭlû, and that if a temple were built for him in the village and his worship regularly performed, he would make the boys alive again. This was promised him, and the boys rose up saying “Râma, Râma.”

The Kanets and Kolis of Shelotâ alone worship him. He holds a small jâgûr worth Rs. 7-4-6 a year from the State. His bhoys are Bankâ and Bansherâ. Bankâ deo was originally a ghost in the forest, but was subdued by Mâṭlû and made his servant like Bansherâ. Bankâ also lives at Shelag village. Mâṭlû is given goats in sacrifice, but only ewes are given to Bansherâ. Bansherâ’s spirit does not come to a Kanet, but speaks through a Koli.

38. Deotâ Heon of Pali.—At Pali, a village in pargana Chagâon, is a temple where Heon deotâ resides. He is affected by the Pali people, but his chief temple is at Heon in pargana Rajânâ in Keoîthâl. He is worshipped not daily, but every fourth day, by a Brâhman. Goats are sacrificed to him.

39. Deotâ Khayon of Sainjâ.—At Khorû, near the junction of the Châgâonti Khad, with the Giri in Kumhârsain, is an extensive area of kiûr (rich cultivated land), and here Râjâ Mahî Parkâsh of Sîrmûr held his Court, after he had married a daughter of the then Rânâ of Keoîthâl. This darbôr was attended by all the hill Rânâs and Thâkurs, except the Rânâ of Jubbal who refused to attend, so the Râjâ of Sîrmûr sent a force under the Rânâ of Kumhârsain against Jubbal, whose Rânâ was taken captive and sent to Nâhan, where, it is said, he died in prison.

Close to this kiûr lies Sainjâ, a village in which Khâran deotâ has a small temple. Some say that Râjâ Mohendra Prakash of Sîrmûr left the idol there, but others say that it was sent there by a Rânâ of Kumhârsain, in order to ensure good crops to the kiûr belonging to the State. It is also said that the image was sent from Kotishwar’s temple at Kotî. Khâran is a deotâ of agriculture and is worshipped by the Sainjâ Brâhmans morning and evening. Goats are sacrificed to him.

40. Bhat of Karel.—There is no note on the legend of this deotâ.

41. Lonkra of Jâo.—At Jâo stands a small temple with a wooden Lonkra on guard at its gate. This Lonkra is a servant of Karan deotâ of Bashahar.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

COPPER-PLATES.

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

1 Plate found near Bhandup about 1835.
1 Plate found by Dr. Bird in 1839, dated 245.
1 Plate found in 1881 (which records a grant by Aparajita Silahara in 997).
1 Plate found in Surat in 1881 A.D.
1 Plate found in Shimoga, with Mr. Rice’s Inscription.
1 Plate found in the Dhareswar Temple in 1499.
1 Plate found at Gokarn, dated S. 1450—1527 A.D.
1 Plate dated 1500 (grant in the reign of Deva Raya Wodearu Trilochan).

1 Plate dated S. 1481 (A.D. 1559); Grant by Solva Krishna.
1 Plate found at Gokak (once in possession of Narayan Bhat.)
1 Morvi plate, dated S. 585.
1 Plate (once belonging to Virupaksh Dev of Narayan Shankar Temple).
1 Plate (once belonging to Shirale Shambhaling).
3 Plates found at Dharwar, dated 450—563, “Kadambas” period.
7 Plates found at Halsi, “Kadambas” Period; and some Copper-Plates, dated 714.

B. F. GHADDA.

14 The Râjâ of Sîrmûr reigned 1654—64 A.D. and carried his arms as far as Sialkhat, now in Bashahar, near the Tibetan border.
WADDELL ON PHENICIAN ORIGINS.

By Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.

(Continued from page 125.)

2. Phoenician Inscription in Britain.

The Newton Stone.

The enquiry commences with the examination of this Newton Stone, which is the foundation of the whole argument. “The monument stands at Newton House in the upper valley of the Don in Aberdeenshire,” and its existence has been known to the world of scholars only since 1803. It has since that date been removed from a former site about a mile distant from its present one, and now stands near Mt. Bennachie, “within the angle of the old Moorland meadow (now part of the richly cultivated Garrioch vale of the old Pict-land) between the Shevack stream and the Gadie rivulet, which latter formerly, before the accumulation of silt, may have joined hereabouts with the Shevack and Urie tributaries of the Don.” The monument actually stands close to the left bank of the Urie. The name Gadie leads Waddell to make one of his excursions into etymology, for he connects this river name of the Pict country with the Phoenician Gad, which was the usual spelling of their tribal name of Khatti or Catti” and he says that “they were in the habit not infrequently of calling the rivers in their settlement Gad-i or Gad-es or Kadd-esh.” The name of the river Don, one knows from other sources, is spread in one form or another over Europe from Russia to the British Isles and is very ancient. The Newton Stone is not an isolated specimen, as Stuart has shown in his survey that 36 others are situated in the Don Valley.

The Newton Stone “bears inscriptions in two different kinds of script.” The main inscription has a swastika in the centre, i.e., half of it is inscribed before and half after it, and it is in a script which has often been attempted, but never read before Waddell tried his hand at it. The other inscription is “in the old Ogam linear characters. The scholars, who formerly attempted to decipher the main inscription assumed that it was either Pictish or Celtic, though Stuart suggested that it might be in an Eastern Alphabet. Then Waddell came on the scene and read it, right to left, as Aryan (not Semitic) Phoenician. He found it to be “true Phoenician and its language Aryan Phoenician of the early Briton or early Gothic type.” He further “recognised that various ancient scripts found at or near the old settlements of the Phenicians” were “all really local variations of the standard Aryan Hitto-Sumerian writing of ancient Phoenician mariners, those ancient pioneers spreaders of the Hittite civilisation along the shores of the Mediterranean and out beyond the Pillars of Hercules to the British Isles.” Armed with this knowledge he made “an eye-copy” of the Inscriptions. “In his decipherment” he “derived special assistance from the Cilician, Cyprian and Iberian scripts, and the Indian Pali of the third and fourth centuries B.C., and Gothic runes, which were closely allied in several respects. Canon Taylor’s and Prof. Petrie’s classic works on the Alphabet also proved helpful.”

In view of the fact that Waddell’s theory is built on this “uniquely important central inscription” I give here his “eye-copy of it,”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Inscription on the Newton Stone.}
\end{align*}
\]
These characters Waddell transcribes as follows, the Roman vowels being treated as inherent in the preceding letter:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{KaZzi Ka} \\
\text{KAST S(i)LUYRi} \\
\text{GYÅOLONONIE} \\
\text{BIL® PoENIG I} \\
\text{Kar SSÅ} \\
\text{LOKOYr PrWT R:}
\end{align*}
\]

These words Waddell translates, word for word, thus:—

(This Cross the) Kazzi of
Käst (of the) Siluyr-
the Khilani (or Hittite palace dweller)
to Bil (this) cross, the Phœnician I-
khar (the) Ci-
lician, the Brit, raised (riḥṭi).

On the Newton Stone is also inscribed an Ogam inscription, which has proved hitherto unreadable, because, for want of room, the strokes have been cut too close together, and therefore the spaces between the letters essential for reading are mostly absent. But with the light thrown by the above reading of the lettered inscription, Waddell makes the Ogam to read as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
+\text{ICAR QASS (or QaSB(i)L) Kh'A} \\
\text{S(i)LWOR GIOLN B(i)L} \\
\text{IKhar SIOLLaGGA R(ishṭi)}
\end{align*}
\]

And he translates as follows:

(This Cross) Icar Qass of (the)
Silur (the) Khilani (to) Bil
Ikhar (of) Cilicia raised.

And finally he writes:—“then this bilingual inscription records that: ‘this Sun-cross (Swastika) was raised to Bil (or Bel, the God of Sun-fire) by the Kassi (or Cass-bel [an]) of Kast of the Siluyr (sub-clan) of the Khilani (or Hittite Palace dwellers), the Phœnician (named) Ikhar of Cilicia, the Prwt (or Prat3 that is, Barat or Brihat or Brit-on) raised.’”

Here then we have the fundamental facts that Waddell claims to have discovered for his theory, which clearly rest on his reading of the Newton Stone. It is the importance of this consideration for the present purpose that has induced me to examine his book so closely here. The first point of criticism is what brought Phœncians into Scotland? Waddell’s answer is that they were all over the British Isles and kindred regions, and not only in the South of England and Cornwall after tin. It will also be observed that we are obliged to take his reading on trust, because we are not given the actual analogies of the script with Phœnician scripts on which his reading rests.

Having thus read the inscriptions Waddell proceeds to find the date thereof, which “is fixed with relative certainty at about B.C. 400 by palæographical evidence,” which of course is not available to us. “The author of the inscription,” says Waddell, “Prat-Gioln, was the sea-king Part-olon, king of the Scots, of the early British Chronicles, who in voyaging off the Orkney Islands about B.C. 400, met his kinsman Gurgiunt, the then king of Britain whose uncle Brennus was . . . . . . the traditional Briton original of the historical Brennus I, who led the Gauls in the sack of Rome in B.C. 390.”

3 Because, as Waddell remarks, the letter w in the last line of the main text may also be read š.
The rareness of exactly similar cursive Aryan Phoenician writing is due, Waddell thinks, to the fact that "as Herodotus tells us, the usual medium for writing in ancient Asia Minor was by pen and ink on parchments," and these parchments have perished. Lastly "the language of this Aryan Phoenician inscription is essentially Aryan in its roots, structure and syntax, with Sumerian and Gothic affinities" but this statement is not accompanied, so far as I can judge, by proof.

As regards the Ogam inscription Waddell writes: "the Ogam version is clearly contemporary with, and by the same author, as, the central Phoenician inscription, as it is now disclosed to be a contracted version of the latter. This discovery thus puts back the date of the Ogam script far beyond the period hitherto supposed by modern writers." Then he connects it with Sumerian and Hittite scripts, devoted to the Sun-cult, and containing Sun-cross, and the title Ogam he connects with the script of the Sun-worshippers. He passes on "to examine the rich crop of important historical, personal, ethnic and geographical names and titles preserved in the Brito-Phoenician inscription of about B.C. 400."

3. The Royal Titles on the Newton Stone.

In examining these inscriptions Waddell goes largely into etymology and into philological comparisons. His results disclose . . . not only the Phoenician origin of the British race properly so called and their civilisation, but also the Phoenician origin of the names Briton, Brit-ain and Brit-ish, and of the tutelary name Brit-annia. Details, alas, are in the Aryan Origin of the Phoenicians, not here. Waddell connects these titles with "the Eastern branch of the Barats" in the Mahā-Bhārata, after the Vedic custom of naming an Aryan clan after its forbear's name, and then he says: "King Barat . . . was the most famous fore-father of the founder of the first Phoenician Dynasty, which event" Waddell finds "by new evidence occurred about B.C. 3000." Going on, he says: "whilst calling himself Phoenician and giving his personal name, the author of the Newton Stone inscription also calls himself "Briton, Scot, Hittite, Silurian and Cilician "by early forms of these names." He then proceeds to identify these titles.

Phoenician.

The inscription has "the spelling Poenig", which Waddell identifies with Greek, Phoinik-es; Latin, Phoenic-es; Egyptian, Panag, Parasa, Fenkha; Hebrew, Panag; Sanskrit, Panch-ala; English, Punic, Phoenician. And then he says: "Poenig or Phoenician possibly survives in the neighbouring mountain Bennachie, on which there may have been a Sun-altar to the 'Phoenix, Sun-bird emblem of Bil or Bel.' " And then "in this regard," says Waddell, "the name of Bleezees for the old inn at the foot of Mt. Bennachie (now a farm house) is suggestive of former Bel Fire-worship there." Bleezees he identifies with Blaze, Blayse or Blaise, "the name of a canonical saint introduced into the early Christian Church in the fourth century from Cappadocia, like St. George, the traditional place of whose massacre is at the old Hittite city of Savast." Blaise was the patron saint of Candlesmas Day (2nd Feb.), so Bleezees "may preserve the tradition of an ancient Phoenician altar blazing with perpetual fire-offering to Bel."

Cilician.

This name is spelt in the main Newton Stone inscription as Ssīlōkōy and in the Ogam as Siollaggā, and according to Waddell, equals Greek, Kilikia; Latin, Cilicia; Babylonian, Xilakku, Xilakki. Its seaport was Tarsus (Hebrew, Tarshish), whose actual harbour was Parthenia, "or Land of the Partho . . . dialectic variation of the Phoenician eponym Barat, in series with the Prat on the Newton monument." Tarsus was "a special centre

4 It will be observed, however, that Waddell's actual reading is Penig. If the accent should be on the second syllable, it will seriously affect the identification with Phoenix, Phoenician.

5 This name is read by Waddell as Prwt or Prat; the actual letters inscribed being said to be PWT or PAT.
of Bel-worship... under the special protection of the maritime tutelary goddess Barati... the Phoenician prototype of our modern British tutelary Britannia."

The Cilicians are identified with the Phoenicians thus: "Phœnix and King Cadmus, the Phoenician, are called the sons of Agenor, the first traditional king of the Phoenicians, and their brother was Kilix." Then says Waddell, "the ancient Phoenician colonists from Cilicia proudly recorded their ancestry... were in the habit of not returning to their native land [Ikar of Cilicia and of the inscription must have found Scotland a change from Palestine]... and transplanted their homeland name of Cilicia to their new colonies."

E.g., near Bognor on the South coast of England lies "Sels-ey or the Island of the Sels... where a hoard of pre-Roman coins of ancient Briton were found." Ey is a well-known British term for 'island' in place names and Waddell remarks, by the way, that "significantly the Phœnician word for 'island' or 'sea-shore' was ay." But his point here is that these coins bore "solar symbols... hitherto undeciphered," though Evans thought them "something like Hebrew characters." Going on the Newton Stone Waddell reads these characters as Sil, "which seems to be a contraction for the fuller Sssilokoy or Cilicia."

Not far off Selsey, on the ancient high-road, lies Silt-chester, "the pre-Roman capital of the Segonti clan of the Britons, said to have been also called Briten-den or Fort of the Britons" and is very Phoenician. "This discovery of the ancient Phœnician origin of the name Sels-ey, or Island of the Sels or Cilicians," suggests a similar origin for "Sles-wick or Abode of the Sles, for the Angles in Denmark," while "the Slik form of Cilicia... seems also to be probably the source of the Selg-ove tribal title which was applied by the Romans to the people of Galloway coast of the Solway [Scotland]." This last "seems to have been the same warlike tribe elsewhere called by the Romans Atto-Catti... =Catti or Atti or Hitt-ite."

Kast or Kwast.

"This title is geographical and refers the founder of the Newton Stone inscription to Kasta-bala (Budrum)," the ancient capital of Cilicia about B.C. 400. It had a great shrine to Perathea (Diana), who "was Britannia." The country on the same river, the Pyramids, was the Graeco-Roman Kata-onia, Cata-onia, "the Land of Kat or Cat=Catti= the ancient Britons, and a title of the Phœnician Barat rulers."

The identification of Kast with Kasta-bala "gives us the clue to the Cilician sources of the Sun-cult imported into North Britain by the Phœnician Barat princes" of the inscription, from the bas-reliefs of Antiochus I of Commagene already mentioned. These refer to the old Sumerian ceremony of coronation, which "seems to be referred to in a Vedic hymn to the Sun-god Mitra: 'When will ye [Mitra] take us by both hands, as a dear sire his son?'" And "even more significantly in the Völuspá Edda" of the Goths in ancient Britain.

Kazzi or Qass.

"This title is clearly and unequivocally a variant dialectic spelling of Kāši, an alternative clan title of the Phœnician Khatti Barats," deriving from "Kaś or Kāš, the name of the famous grandson of King Barat." It appears in the Vedic kings of the First Panach(-āla) Dynasty and in "the Epic king-lists" with the "capital at Kāši, the modern Benares, bordering on the Panach(-āla) province of ancient India."

Kassi or Cassi is the title of the First Phœnician Dynasty, about B.C. 3000, of the Babylonian Dynasty, admittedly "Aryan" in B.C. 1800-1200 in Phœnician Inscriptions in Egypt. It is "now disclosed as the Phœnician source of the Cassi title borne by the Briton Catti kings... down to Cassivellaunus, who minted the Cas coins."
Waddell then goes on:—The early Aryan Kāśi are referred to in Vedic literature as officers of the Sacred Fire and the special protēgēs of Indra. And in Babylonia the Kassí were ardent Sun-worshippers with its Fire-offering, and were devotees of the Sun-cross... in various forms of St. George’s Cross, the Maltese Cross, etc.” Waddell here gives a figure showing “the pious Aryan Cassi of Babylonia about B.C. 1350 ploughing and sowing under the sign of the Cross,” which “explains for the first time the hitherto unaccountable fact of the prehistoric existence of the Cross.” It further explains “the Cassi title used by the pre-Roman Briton kings,—a title in series with Ecossais for Scots, as well as the Kazzi or Qass’ of the inscription. Assyriologists, however, apparently do not agree to this.

**Icar.**

This title, as Ikhar, Ixar and Ixar is a personal name of Kassi royalties, and occurs under many forms, including Agar, in Hittite. Its meaning “may possibly be found in “ Akharri or Axarri or Western Land,” i.e., “Phoenicia and the Land of the Amorites.”

**Siluwr or Siluwr.**

These names “suggest the ethnic name of Silures, applied by Roman writers to the people of South Wales bordering on the Severn,” but that people were non-Aryans, and also “it may possibly designate a Silurus district in Spain,” whence the author of the inscription is “traditionally reported to have come... immediately on his way to Britain.”

Having thus seen how Waddell’s works on his investigation and its results, we can next examine the further titles of Prat or Prwt and Gyaolownye or Gioln.

**Prat or Prwt.**

Waddell commences here with a quotation from the Mahā-Bhārata:—“and king Bharat gave his name to the Dynastic Race of which he was the founder; and so it is from that the fame of that dynastic people hath spread so wide.” Also from the Rig Veda:—“like a father’s name love to call their names.” The Phoenician Prat or Prwt, he says, has been shown to be identical with the Sanskrit Bharat or Brihat, and is now “discovered as the source of our modern titles Brit-on, Brit-ain and Brit-isch.” Bharat, he says, is also spelt Pritu, Prithu, Brihat and Brihad, which last “equates with Cymric Welsh Pryd-ain for Brit-on,” and he gives a number of variants used by the Cassi-Britons from Barata to Piritum. Later Phoenicians used Parat, Prat (the actual spelling being PRT), Prydi and Prudi on tombstones, calling the graves khbr=Gothic kubl: while the geographer Pytheas, (4th century B.C.) copied by Ptolemy and other Greeks, used Pret-anikai and Pret-anoi for the Brit-ons. In the 3rd century A.D., the inhabitants of Parthenia (Tarsus) called themselves Barats, as seen on their coins.

Such is Waddell’s philological argument in brief for philologists to judge, and then he advert, upon the evidence of certain coins, to the origin of the name Britannia.

**Britannia.**

The first four coins show prototypes of the figure (reversed) of Britannia on the modern British penny and half-penny. No. 1 has an inscription “Koinon Lukao Barateön, the Commonwealth of the Lycaon Baratara,” i.e., the Barats of Lycaonia in Cilicia about Iconium, Konia, which contained “the ancient city of Barata.” No. 2 is a coin of Iconium; No. 3 of Hadrian; No. 4 of Antonine. On these Waddell remarks:—“these coins, with others of the same type elsewhere, are of immense historical importance for recovering the lost history of the Britons in Britain and in their early homeland, as they now disclose the hitherto unknown origin of the modern British main tutelary Britannia, and prove her to be of Hittio-Phoenician origin.” The criticism here is obvious: it is quite possible that they show nothing more than

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6 Waddell here is adopting a process of his own. First he says that a thing *may be* so and so, and later argues that is *is* so, basing further argument on a supposition taken as a fact.
that successive artists copied old coins without reference to racial history. One would like to have a history of the Britannia coins, showing how the modern forms actually arose, point by point, before drawing such an inference as that above made.

"This benevolent marine and earth tutelary goddess of Good Fortune . . . has been surmised by modern numismatists to be the late Greek goddess of Fortune (Tyché) the Fortune of the Romans . . . about B.C. 490. " And then Waddell has a remarkable excursion into Vedic etymology:—her proper name is now disclosed by the Vedic hymns of the Eastern branch of the Aryan Barats to have been Bhārati, meaning 'belonging to the Bharats.' She is also called therein Brihad the divine (Brihad-diva)§; and she seems to be identical with Prit-vi or Mother Earth. Her special abode was on the Saras-vati River, which I [Waddell] find was the modern 'Sarus River' in Cilicia which entered the sea at Tarsus, the Tarz of its own coins . . . . In these Vedic hymns all the attributes of Britannia are accounted for . . . . She is hailed as the First-made mother in a hymn to her son Napat the Son of the Waters . . . . (thus disclosing the remote Aryan origin of the name and personality of the old Sea-god, Neptune and his horses and accounting for Neptune's trident in his hand)," and so on at length to much similar purpose. I cannot follow Waddell here. There is no word or name brihad, the t of brihat becoming d when combined with diva by a well-known grammatical rule in Sanskrit, and neither brihat nor brihad-diva are proper names. If Bhārati is called brihad-diva it merely denotes that she was held to be "heavenly, celestial." There is also, so far as I understand, no Sanskrit term Pritvi meaning the Earth, the terms being Prithivi, Prithvi, Pratthvi, Prithvi, which all have the root sense of 'breadth,' and are not at all the same thing as Pritvi. And why go to Cilicia for the original of Sarasvati? Unless, of course, we agree with Waddell that the ancient Sanskrit works, the Vedas, the Epics, the Purānas, do not refer to India at all historically. And these are not all the difficulties here.

Waddell, however, goes even further in his etymological excursions by deriving the name "Fortuna, by which the Romans called this Barat tutelary goddess,"β from Barati, through her name was apparently really Bhārati, or Fort-una, "Una . . . . derived from the Hitto-Sumerian ana, one. So Fortuna is a title of 'one of the Barats' (or Fortune)." He next goes to "the records of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, both of which lands are now disclosed in these pages to have derived their civilisation from the Aryan Phoenicians," who must thus have been ancient indeed. In ancient Egypt he finds "Bārthy, goddess of the Water, whose name and functions are thus seen to be precisely those of the Aryan tutelary Bārati (or Britannia). Here he gives an Egyptian figure similar to that on the Britannia coins as "Brit-ania tutelary of the Phoenicians in ancient Egypt as Bārthya," who is "the Lady Protector of Zapuna" or of the "Sailings of the Panags," i.e., of the Phoenicians. Waddell's own reading of the hieroglyphs is "Zapunaq."

We are next launched into Greek etymology. "Besides being the original of Britannia, the Phoenician tutelary Barati or Brihad the divine, is now seen to be presumably the Brito-Martis, tutelary goddess of Crete . . . . civilised by the Phoenicians, who are now disclosed as the authors of the so-called Minoan civilisation there. This goddess, Brito-Martis, was a Phoenician goddess." She was identified with Diana, "like the tutelary goddess Parthenos." Here remarks Waddell: "Parthenos, as a title for Diana or Athenæ appears to have been coined by the Greeks from that of Barati." And then he says:—"the British bearing of this identity of Barati and Brito-Martis with Diana is . . . . that the first king of the

§ Brihat (vrihat) is an adjectival expression in Sanskrit meaning great, wide, lofty, expansive. It is not a proper name. Brihad-diva, vrihad-diva, is also an adjectival expression: 'belonging to the lofty sky, heavenly, celestial.'

β He began, however, by saying that this was only a surmise of modern numismatists.

 Might it not have merely meant that these goddesses were regarded by the Greeks as virgins?
Britons had Diana (who bore also the title of Perathen or Britannia) as his tutelary. " Brito-Martis is the origin of the provincial expression ' O my eye and Betty Martin ' arising out of ' the dog-Latin form in the Romish Church liturgies ' O Mihi Brito-Martis '. This leads to a delicious observation: " if the first part of the sentence does not actually preserve an invocation to her under her old title of Mahi, or the great Earth-Mother, the Maia of the Greeks and Romans and the goddess May of the British May-pole spring festival."

Briton, Britain, British.

Here we have some truly wonderful philology. Briton, Britain and British are all " derived from this early Phoenecian Barat title," for " the original form of the name Brit-on is now disclosed to have been Bharat-ana or Brihad-ana, as the affix ana is the Hittito-Sumerian for ' one. ' " So the English ' one,' the Scottish ' ane,' the Greek and Roman ' an, ene,' Latin una, Greek oin-os, Gothic einn, ains, Swedish en, Sanskrit anu (an atom) are all of Hittito-Sumerian origin. Similarly Brit-ain, " the Land of the Brit, presumes an original Barat-una (or Brihat-ana) . . . like Rajput-ana, Gond-wana in India."

The above quotations show sufficiently Waddell's philological method, and we now pass on to the title Gy-śolownie or Gi-olm, which is important as it " discloses the identity of the traditional Part-olm, king of the Scots."

(To be continued.)

THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

THIRD SESSION (1924), MADRAS.

The All-India Oriental Conference held its third session at the Senate House, Madras, on the 22nd of December and on the two following days. The success of this session of the Conference was largely due to the untiring zeal of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, University Professor of History and Archaeology, who was the Secretary, and the hearty co-operation of a strong and influential Committee, formed in May last to make the necessary arrangements.

At 11-30 A.M., on Monday the 22nd of December the spacious hall of the Senate House was full to overflowing with scholars and several distinguished savants from all parts of India. The company included a few ladies. The proceedings began in true Oriental fashion with Indian music, and Vedic, Tamil and Arabic chants.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, welcomed the members on behalf not only of the University, but also of the people of Madras. In his speech he pointed out that it was but proper that one of the earliest meetings of the Conference should be held in Madras, the centre of Dravidian culture, one of the most potent elements in the Hindu culture of to-day. He deplored the untimely death of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, who took a very keen interest in the Conference and was to have presided over its deliberations. He referred to the value of such a conference of scholars, engaged in different branches of study. The interchange of thought, the comparison of experience, and the contact of mind with mind have more lasting influences than papers, however learned and scholarly. The most effective influences are the spoken word and personal intercourse. He was gratified to note that the sympathetic study of the past was not unaccompanied in the Indian Renaissance by the study of the languages of the present-day, unlike the European Renaissance, which in its enthusiasm for the classics ignored the modern languages. His concluding suggestion was that the whole country should be divided on a linguistic basis, and that each division should work out the details of its own languages and dialects, and he hoped that the Madras Conference might institute a linguistic society of India with this end in view.

In opening the proceedings, His Excellency Viscount Goschen, Governor of Madras and Chancellor of the University, made a scholarly speech befitting the occasion. His Excellency who described himself as " an enthusiastic amateur " in the field of research

10 All no doubt connected with the Mayā of the Buddhist and the old Sanskrit philosophies!
which is the object of the Conference, surveyed rapidly all the important contributions to our knowledge of the history of civilisation. His Excellency emphasized the need, in these days of hurry and bustle, "to turn from the present day world, and in imagination to throw our minds back to a world of generations long ago, and to cogitate on ancient writings and ancient inscriptions, ancient architecture and ancient schools of thought" and referred to the connection of India with other countries in the past and to the ample scope offered for research. His Excellency pointed out how the recent excavations of Mohenjo Daro have opened a new vista, and referred to the great names in historical and archaeological research. In conclusion, His Excellency said, "one could roam at length down these fascinating bypaths, each leading on into another and affording glimpses of romantic and historical views which urge one on; but you are all far better acquainted than I am with the journey and I must ask your indulgence for having as an amateur, though may I say, an enthusiastic amateur, attached myself to so distinguished a band of travellers. May the result of your labours be an addition to that sum of knowledge, to which your distinguished predecessors to whom I have alluded to-day so greatly contributed."

Then Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar proposed Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, to the chair with Shamsul-Ulema Dr. Modi seconding. The learned Doctor took the chair amidst applause and delivered his ad res and made many practical suggestions. He deplored the fact that Oriental research has not received the attention it deserved in this country and emphasized the need for a central organisation, a little public sympathy, and University patriotism. For the proper interpretation of India's past history, we in India have certain facilities, which foreign Indologists with the best of motives and the greatest sympathy have not. It is not true that Indians, by nature, lack critical faculty, as is sometimes urged. The President alluded to various examples of high critical acumen exhibited by the great Indian thinkers, like Patañjali of old and the modern Vaiyakārānikas and Naiyāyikas. He urged "it is high time that our universities and institutes shook themselves free from the notion that they could not carry on Oriental research."

Turning to the question of Manuscripts he said it was criminal to neglect them any longer. The ancient history of our land, political, religious, and military, has to be reconstructed on more logical lines than hitherto by a judicious use of Manuscripts, many of which are crumbling to pieces and are being lost every day, never to be recovered again. Incalculable good would result to Oriental scholarship, if only the various provincial governments could make up their minds to spend the paltry sum of a lakh of rupees among them. He emphasized not only the need for acquiring Manuscripts by purchase or by transcription, but also the need for their preservation. Mere cataloguing, good in its own way, does not go far. What is true of Sanskrit literature, in this direction, is true of Arabic, Persian and Vernacular literature. The scope for research is unlimited, as the President pointed out. "The exploration of the single site of Pataliputra has shown what treasure may come to light by such exploration, and the sites of most of our ancient capitals have still to be investigated. Has not the mere digging of a site in Sindh provided information, which bids fair to revolutionise all modern conceptions regarding the antiquity of Indian civilization. Then again, meteorology has not even been attempted, and astronomy has been barely touched. Similarly, medicine, and chemistry have been worked just enough to become inviting subjects of research. In law very little has been done. Dramaturgy and poetics in general have just begun to be studied. In philosophy much has been done. But very much more remains. In Nyāya-Vaśesvika and in Pūrva Mīmāma all that we have done has been pure spade work; in the domain of the Kashmirian Saiva Philosophy, even spade work has not been done on the inter-relations of the several philosophical systems: there are many inviting problems still unsolved. In fact,
the field is so vast that one feels staggered when one finds the handful of men that there are who could do the work."

Next he took up the question of the publication of manuscripts, and paid a glowing tribute to the Bibliotheca Indica, Trivandrum, Baroda, Kashmir, Vanivilása and Chaukhamba series for their admirable work. In this connection he referred to the need for greater co-ordination and more advertisement.

In laying stress on the need for research and modern methods of style, the learned President himself, versed in the old learning, did not forget the value of the old type of scholars. "If outsiders," said he, "look upon this country with deep respect, it is by virtue of our Śāstris and Maulvis. Let us cherish them in their purity." He denounced the introduction of examinations for Panjits and Maulvis, and pointed out how in this country examinations, instead of being slaves, have arrogated to themselves the position of masters. The passing of examinations has become a parama-purushartha. Under this system, according to which no depth of scholarship is necessary to pass an examination, the scholarship for which the Panjits of Benares were famous has almost disappeared. In the indigenous system a man continued his studies as long as he found any one able to teach him. There was no examination to put an end to one's studies. "No modern scholar can claim to have that knowledge of his subject, which these Panjits had, and that was due to thorough specialization. Panjits sometimes worked at a single sentence of an important text for hours together. He appealed to those in power not to try to modernise the Panjit or the Maulvi. These latter may not possess the wide outlook of the modern scholar, but they more than compensate for that by their depth of learning.

The Mahâmahopâdhyâya then dwelt at some length on the need for a revision of the canons of research in fixing the dates of men and events in the interpretation of ancient documents and texts, and the need for unbiased study of our old texts. "From the oldest Bhâshyakâras up to our own day, we find that a writer before he takes up a text for study or annotation has made up his mind as to what the text contains; and it is only after this that he begins to study it." This, though pardonable in older writers, who were avowed propagandists like the great Śankarâchârya, cannot be tolerated in the present generation of writers, who set themselves up as unbiased researchers after truth. "The Brahma-sûtras, in fact all the more important philosophical sûtras, have still got to be studied in this spirit." He exhorted those present to develop a passion for veracity.

Lastly, the learned President disillusioned the audience in regard to the impression abroad that this Conference is intended for only antiquated fossils who spend their time in lifeless, dry and dull subjects, which have and should have no interest for the modern Indian. "It is equally our aim to endeavour to promote and encourage higher work in the modern languages of India. The classical languages must inevitably be for the learned few; the people at large can be raised and elevated, and can feel the live influence of literature and learning only through the vernaculars. The history of these (vernacular) literatures has to be written, and the origin and development of these languages have yet to be traced."

His Excellency the Governor and the President of the Conference were then garlanded by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. The Rev. Dr. Macphail proposed a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency for opening the Conference, and for delivering his scholarly address. The opening session terminated with a group photograph.

The delegates were invited in the afternoon to a Vidvat Parishad at the Sanskrit College, Mylapore. The orthodox recital of texts and disputations in the styles of the Gûrûkula days of yore were conducted in the Śâstras, His Highness the Ex-Râja of Cochin, a Sanskrit scholar of reputation, and a student of Tarka, presiding. The proceedings were conducted entirely
in Sanskrit, which is often supposed mistakenly to be altogether a dead language. This over, the members and delegates were entertained by Mr. Alladi Krishnasami Aiyar, a member of the College Committee.

This was followed by a lantern lecture by Dr. K. N. Sitaraman on Indian Architecture.

The 2nd day. The Reading of Papers.—The number of papers submitted to the Conference was very nearly 200. It was, therefore, resolved to divide the Conference into three sections; Language, Literature and Philosophy going into one section, and History, Geography, and Anthropology into another, while Dravidian and other Languages constituted a third. These were presided over respectively by Dr. Jha, Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Dacca, and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. For the Urdu group of papers Principal Muhammad Shafi of Lahore presided. The first section had as many as 75 papers to deal with, the second about 60, and the third about 35. The cutting of the time allowed for discussion, and the enforcing of the time limit, alone rendered it possible to get through so large a number. The subjects were varied, and the amount of information brought to bear on them was really amazing. On the second day there were two sessions, during which a large number of these papers were read. In the evening, the Andhra Sahitya Parishad were at home to the delegates, and exhibited various manuscripts. There was a distribution of shawls with gold borders to the learned Pandits and Maulvis, specially invited to the Conference. This was closely followed by the Presidency College Sanskrit Association's performance of the Mrichhakatika (the Little Clay Cart). The performance was a splendid exhibition of literary and histrionic talent by the students, and was much appreciated.

3rd day.—On the third day there was a Literary Session from 8 to 11 A.M.

The business Meeting was held between 1-30 and 2-30 P.M., when the report of the Calcutta Session was presented by the Honorary Secretary and adopted. An All-India Committee was appointed to draft a constitution. To this Committee was referred the question of a Journal for the Conference, and other kindred questions. The invitation of the Allahabad University to the Conference to hold its next session there, was also accepted.

The President was then thanked and garlanded, and was presented with a gold shawl. Mr. V. P. Vaidya proposed thanks to all those who rendered this session a success.

Later there was an exhibition of Hindu Music in various forms, vocal and instrumental. This consisted of a long, varied, and interesting programme.

The success of this session of the Conference was largely due to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the Secretary, and Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, the Joint Secretary, both of whom spared no pains to arrange every detail and to look after the delegates from the various parts of India.
THE TATTVA PRAKASA.
(OF KING ŚRI BOJADEVA.)
TRANSLATED BY THE REV. E. P. JANVIER, M.A., FATERGARR, WITH A FOREWORD BY DR. J. N. FARQUHAR.

Foreword.

The early history of the great Śaiva sects is far from clear. The two chapters in the Sarvedarśanasamgraha, called respectively Nakulīśa Pāśupata and Śaiva Darśana, give us sketches of the teaching of two contrasted schools.

In the later books belonging to the type of the Śaiva Darśana there are statements to the effect that the former type was revealed by Rudra, the latter by Śiva: (see Bhandarkar, Vaishnavism, Śaivism, etc., 126-7; 16) and it is quite clear that the two groups of sects differ largely from each other both in teaching and practice. In my Outline of the Religious Literature of India, I have ventured to distinguish the groups as Pāśupata Śaivas and Agamic Śaivas, because the teaching of the latter group rests finally on the Agamas, while the former goes back, as Mādhava shows us, at least to the time of the formation of the Lakulīśa Pāśupata sect, which appeared long before the Agamas were written.

In Mādhava’s essay, Śaiva Darśana, a good many of the ancient books are mentioned, especially the following Agamas, Mrigendra, Paushkara, Karana, Kālotara, Kirana and Saurabhaya, and two works of which I know nothing, the Bahudaivatya and the Tattva Saṅgraha. Several ancient scholars are also mentioned, the Siddha Guru, Aghora Śiva Achārya, Rama Kāṭha, Soma Śambhu and Nārāyaṇa Kāṭha; but they also seem to be otherwise unknown. But there are three quotations from a treatise called Tattva Prakāsa and one from Bhojarāja; and it now turns out that Bhojarāja, king of Mālā, who reigned at Dwārakā, 1018-1060 A.D., is the author of the Tattva Prakāsa. The text has been found, and is published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series; and all four quotations occur in it, I. 6, 7, 13, 17, and also a fifth passage which is referred to, I. 8-10.

It is clear that several sects come under the general category of Agamic Śaivas, notably the Vīra Śaivas and the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta. Cowell and Gough, in their translation of the Sarvedarśanasamgraha, take it for granted that the system described as the Śaiva Darśana is identical with the system of the Tamil Śaiva school; but whether the system is identical or not, it is clear there were two distinct groups, one scattered all over India whose literature was in Sanskrit, the other found only in the South, its literature all in Tamil. It also seems probable that the earliest books of the Sanskrit-literature were written several centuries before the earliest books of the Tamil dogmatic began to appear.

I should therefore be inclined to conjecture that the earliest books of the Śaiva Darśana were written by the Siddha Guru and other leaders at early dates, say between 500 and 1000 A.D., and that the Tattva-prakāsa, written probably between 1030 and 1050 A.D., proved one of the simplest and clearest manuals of the sect, so that it was well fitted for quotation in a brief essay such as Mādhava’s is; and that the later books, including Śrikanṭha Śivāchārya’s Bhāṣya, which are discussed by Bhandarkar, are the continuation of the same movement. It is probable that the people who professed the system were mainly Smārtas; that is clearly true of Bhojadeva; and the few families which, to my knowledge, still profess the system in the South are Smārtas resident in the Tanjore and Timmavelly districts. It is possible that careful inquiry might discover others in North India who still cherish the old literature.

The Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta rests primarily on the Tamil hymns of the great early singers, and the sect is a popular one, with many adherents among the common people all over the South. It is probable that the Tamil dogmatic was produced partly under the stimulus of the Sanskrit books. Yet it is also probable that the two systems differ in a number of details: the Vedantic standpoint of the Sanskrit system is certainly Viśishtādvaita, while the Tamil Śaiva standpoint is called Viśādvaita.
The Tatva Prakāsa has been translated into English by the Rev. E. P. Janvier, M. A., of Fatehgarh, and is here published in the hope that it may help in the study of the teaching and the history of both schools.—J.N.F.

Chapter I.

1. May He, whose essence is intellect, the one, the eternal, the pervasive, the ever-risen, the Lord, the tranquil, the world’s primal cause, the all-favouring,—may He be supreme!

2. The glory of Śiva, which neither rises nor sets, nor is destroyed, gives final release, and which is by nature both knower and doer,—may that glory be supreme!

3. To her, by whom this Śiva is energized to give experience and release to his circle of animate beings,—to her, the one who is, in essence, thought, the first, with all my soul I make obeisance.

4. For the sake of benefitting the world, we have, with a heart full of pity, succinctly composed this “Illumination of the Principles.”

5. In the Śaṅgavāgamas the most important thing is the series of three, namely the Master, the animating being, and the fetter, i.e., pāti, pāsu, pāśa. In this series the Master is called Śiva, Animate Beings atoms, the Fetters the five objects.

6. Those whose souls are freed are themselves Śivas, but they are freed by His favour. He, it should be borne in mind, is the eternally freed, the one, having a body consisting of the five mantras.

7. The following five-fold action is predicated of the ever-risen one: creation, preservation, destruction, embodiment, and likewise the work of grace.

8. Souls are to be known as of three kinds: molecules of discernment, molecules of destruction, and whole molecules. Of these the first are under the influence of corruption, and the second under that of corruption and action.

9. The whole molecules are under the influence of corruption, matter and action. Of these the first is of two kinds: first, those whose impurity is destroyed, and, second, those whose impurity is not destroyed.

10. Showing favour to the first eight, Śiva gives to them the rank of Lords of Knowledge. The others he makes Mantras. These are said to be seventy million.

11, 12, 13. Among the molecules of destruction, whose corruption and action are done away, showing favour to some, the Highest grants them the rank of King of the Worlds. Others he, of his own will, makes Lords of the Mantras. Of these there are one hundred and eighteen. At the time of the opening of the day the whole molecules exist as a residuum because of their connection with art and the rest. These others, being united by the force of previous action to the eight-doored bodies, enter all wombs. The eight-doored consists of the internal organ and the instruments of action of intellect.

14. Eight of these are called “Mandalins,” and an equal number are Krodh, etc., Vireś and Śrīkanṭha and the hundred Rudras. These together are one hundred and eighteen.

15. In order by an act of power to deliver those whose corruption is matured, He, assuming the form of a teacher, unites them by initiation to the highest principle.

16. All the souls that are bound He appoints to the experience of sense-objects, according to their previous actions. This is the reason that they are called “beasts.”

17. The fetters of the soul are of four kinds: the first two are called “corruption” and “action,” and the other two arise from the material and obscuring energy of Śiva.

18. Corruption is to be regarded as single, but showing many powers; and, as the husk covers the rice, or the stain of the copper covers the gold, so corruption covers the knowledge and action of souls.

19. Action is said to be beginningless, good and bad, and various. Matter, being in the form of substance, is the root of the universe, and it is eternal.
20. Because it is favourable to the fetters, the soul-obscuring power of the Creator is called a fetter. Thus the fetters are four-fold.

Chapter II.

1. In all the books, from first to last, they call the five pure principles the Śiva principle. There is always energy in the Śiva principle, and in the principle called the "Science of God."
2. In order that the soul may be cognizant and efficient, there arise from matter five principles,—time and destiny, and likewise art, and science and passion.
3. From matter arise, one from another, the unmanifest, the quality principle, intellect, egoism, mind, the organs of intellect, and action, their objects, also, and the physical elements.
4. Primarily for the experience of the soul there arise the twenty. There are, also, the three, between which and the qualities of matter there is fundamentally no difference.
5. The teachers describe the Śiva principle as pervasive, single, eternal, the cause of the whole universe, characterized by knowledge and activity.
6. It is in reliance on this that desire and all the other energies perform their individual functions. Hence they call this the "all-favouring" one.
7. The first slightest movement of this one, who desired to create for the benefit of the intelligent and unintelligent, that is called the Power principle, and is not distinguished from himself.
8. The outreach that exists in the absence of increase or decrease, in the powers of knowledge and action,—that the enlightened call the "Śadāśiva" Principle.
9. When the energy called knowledge is in abeyance, and action is in the ascendant, that is called the "Īśvara" Principle. It is always the performer of the functions of all.
10. Where the functioning power is in abeyance, and the one called knowledge obtains the ascendancy, the principle is called "Science." It is enlightening because of being in the form of knowledge.
11. The whole molecules, tone and syllable, are said to be ever dependent on the Śadāśiva principle; again, the lords of the sciences on the Lord, and the mantras and sciences on Science.
12. There is in this world really no series of all these five, because of the absence of time; but for practical purposes, an arrangement of them has been made in the text-book.
13. There is in reality one principle, called Śiva, sketched as having a hundred various powers. Because of the difference in operation of the powers, these differences have been set in order as belonging to it.
14. For the sake of favouring the intelligent and unintelligent, the Lord, assuming these forms, performs an act of kindness to the intelligent beings whose powers are held in check by beginningless corruption.
15. To the atoms the all-favouring Śiva grants experience and liberation in their own functions, and to the brutish breed, strength to perform its proper task.
16. This surely is an act of grace for the intelligent, that liberation should have the form of Śiva—keness. He, because of the beginninglessness of action, does not reach perfection without experience in this world.
17. Hence, in order to provide for his gaining experience, the Creator creates the body, the instruments and the universe. For there is no result without an actor, nor yet without material and instrumental causes.

Chapter III.

1. The energies are known to be his instruments, matter his material. The latter is described as subtle, single, eternal, pervasive, without beginning or end, kindly.
2. Common to all beings; this is the cause, also, of all worlds, for it is involved in the actions of every person; by its own nature it is productive of infatuation.
3. Having consideration for actions, Śiva, by his own powers, causes change in matter, and to every soul gives bodies and their instruments to have experience withal.

4. Matter, being possessed of various powers, creates in the beginning the time principle only, binding the world into the forms of past, present and future: hence it is time.

5. Destiny is in the form of destining force; it, also, arises next from matter. Because it destines everything, therefore it is called destiny.

6. Afterwards art arises from matter. Gathering the corruption of the souls, it reveals active power; hence in this world it is called "art."

7. With the help of time and destiny, matter is constantly doing its work of creation on everything, from the smallest particle to the earth.

8. For the purpose of revealing sense-objects to the soul, whose active power has been awakened, this art brings forth the science principle, which is in the form of light.

9. This, by its own action, breaking through the obstruction to the power called knowledge, reveals the mass of sense-objects. It is in this world the highest instrument of the self.

10. When intelligence becomes capable of being experienced by the soul, and has the form of pleasure, etc., then science becomes the instrument. But intelligence is the instrument in the perception of sense-objects.

11. Passion is enthrallment without distinction between the objects of sense. It is the ordinary cause of the attachment of the soul, and is different from the characteristics of intellect.

12. Bound by these principles, when the animate being reaches the state of having conscious experience, then it is called "soul" and is given a place among the principles.

Chapter IV.

1. For the experience, assuredly, of this very soul, the unrevealed is born of this matter. This unrevealed is undefined because of its unmanifested qualities.

2. From the unrevealed springs the quality principle, too, in the form of enlightenment, operation and restraint, called "sattva, rajas and tamas" and producing pleasure, pain and infatuation.

3. From the three elements arises intellect. It is said, also, to have the characteristic of distinguishing between sense-objects. This, too, is of three kinds by quality in accordance with actions of previous births.

4. Egoism is three-fold, being in the form of life, action and pride of power. By union with it an existant sense-object comes into experience.

5. Egoism is, further, divided three-fold according to the difference between the qualities "sattva, rajas and tamas"; and it is called by the names "modifying, passionate, elemental."

6. From the passionate arises mind, from the modifying arise the senses, and from the elemental the regions. This is the order of their emanation from that.

7. Mind is in the form of desire, and its business is consideration; the instruments of the intellect are the ear, skin, eye, tongue and nose.

8. The percepts of these are sound, touch, form, taste and smell. These are, respectively, their sense-objects, even five of five.

9. The perception of sound, etc., respectively, is said to be the function of these. The voice, hands, feet, and the organs of excretion are the organs of action.

10. Speaking, grasping, walking, excretion and satisfaction, are the action of these. The internal organ is three-fold and is called egoism, intellect and mind.

11. Because of the distinction between organs of intellect and organs of action, they, again are ten. With respect to their regions, they are ether, air, fire, water, earth; these are the five physical elements.

12. The subtle forms of sound, etc., are called their regions. The five physical elements arise from these five by the addition of one quality after another.
13. Giving space, blowing, cooking, collecting and bearing, are described as the respective functions of the physical elements, ether, etc.

Chapter V.

1. That which is the ten-fold activity is performed when undertaken by the instrumental causes. The instrumental causes, because of their innate weakness, act in dependence upon result.

2. The first five belong to one class, because they are of the form of thought; but the remaining seven, beginning with matter, are said in the Śaiva to be of two kinds.

3. In this world the connection of all, from the unrevealed on, is with the qualities, because of their being in the form of pleasure, pain and infatuation. There is this peculiarity in the last ten.

4. Despite a similarity in quality between sound, etc., and the unrevealed, because they are not equivalent, the one to the other, a separate class is to be recognized here. Also, there is a special case of some through the connection caused by the latency of the effect in the cause.

5. The standing of all the principles has been related in order of creation. In the end, when the process is reversed, they sink back into matter.

6. Apart from matter every pure species sinks back into energy; and this stands at one with Śiva the soul of all.

7. Matter, Soul, Śiva,—this triad survives at the destruction of the world. Again, this becomes active, as before, in creation.

8. Through mercy to all the wearied creatures in the world, the Lord causes the destruction of the universe, that these very beings may have rest.

Chapter VI.

1. Through pity for the animate beings, the highest Lord grants yet again, creation to those tormented by the fact that their action is not matured. Thus he matures the action of the embodied.

2. Having granted maturity of action through experience, and so, having performed the initiatory ceremonies, the one fount of mercy, the ever-gracious Śiva, by an act of power, releases all animate beings.

3. That among all existences causing experience, which remains to the end of the age, is called a principle. Hence a body, a jar, or the like, is not a principle.

4. The source of each principle and its primary and secondary causes, also the arrangement of all the principles, have been related.

5. Moreover, the principle of principles, on which this whole universe rests, has been told easily. The glorious King Bhojadeva has arranged "The Illumination of the principles."

A few Notes on Tattva Prakāśa.

I, 8. The originals of "molecules of discernment," "molecules of destruction," and "whole molecules" are, respectively,—vijñānakālaḥ, pralayakālaḥ and sakālaḥ. It is a question in my mind whether it is better to retain the Sanskrit terminology even in the translation, explaining it in the notes, or to translate this terminology as nearly as possible.


I, 11, 12, 13. The translation of these verses is very difficult, owing to the fact that, as they stand in the Sanskrit they mean next to nothing. By a manipulation of the verses, which is indicated in the notes, the translation given here is deduced. Is it better to try to make sense from the verses as they stand, or to commingle them as the notes indicate, fitting parts of different verses into each other, so as to make the perhaps better sense of the present translation?
I, 16. "Beasts"—This word I have consistently translated by the term "animate being," as in I, 5, but here I have departed from that translation because the context seemed to demand it.

II, 1. "Science of God"—The original is Íśvaraveda. Should it be translated?
II, 4. "The twenty" have been named in the immediately preceding verses. "The three" are those of I, 5.
II, 8. Suddhi—Should this term be translated? If so, how?
II, 9. Íśvara—Of course, this can be translated "lord" or "lordly"; but the question is whether it would make the matter clearer to do so. What policy should one pursue in such matters?
II, 15. "Brutish breed"—viz., the fetters.
II, 16. "He"—viz., the intelligent.

III, 6. There is a play here in the original on kalā and kalyānā. It seems almost impossible to reproduce this in translation, though it is important to do so.

VI, 5. "The Illumination of the Principles"—This is the way I have translated Tatvā Prakāsha. Would it be acceptable as the title of the whole, in place of the Sanskrit name?

BOOK NOTICES.


We have in this volume another of the excellent books that Mrs. Milne gives us from time to time. In this case the tribes inhabiting part of British Burma, with which she deals, are brought before us in a manner that leaves little to be desired. Mrs. Milne is indeed an experienced and honest observer of human beings, and anthropologists have reason to be once more grateful for her energy, courage and capacity for telling her story.

She starts in her characteristic way by saying that "this book is concerned for the most part with the Katur [Samlong] tribe of the Palaungs, living in or near Namhsan, the capital of Tawngpang [Taungbaing], which is nominally a Shan State, but is governed by a Palaung Chief and inhabited almost entirely by Palaungs." Mrs. Milne chose her place of observation well, and she next tells us how she came to know a people seldom seen outside their own States, and what is far more important, in detail how she learnt a language of which she knew nothing at all from a people who in their turn knew nothing of any language but their own. I know what this means, as many years ago I set to work to learn the language of savages in the same circumstances. I found that the savage was quite as bent on learning my language as I was on learning his, and entirely unable to explain his little peculiarities of grammar, which by the way included grammatical changes at the beginning of his words—African fashion—a habit that caused much thought and delay in ascertaining why apparently different words were invariably used for the same object each time he was questioned. Mrs. Milne in her entertaining way tells us how she learnt Palaung, and I would advise all searchers into the speech of wild tribes and the like to study her remarks seriously. She found willing, even devoted, helpers, largely I take it, though she never hints it, owing to her own personality—brave, kindly, energetic, humorous, sympathetic. She also gives us a bright and informing narrative of the journey into the wild hills occupied by the Palaungs, and though her narrative is always lively, it is quite easy to see that her journeys could only have been accomplished by a woman prepared to face all difficulties with an intrepid heart.

Passing on to the main contents of the book, it will be found to be most systematically put together, so as to tell the whole story point by point. Beginning with History and a short excursion into Ethnology, we shall find that the Palaungs are a Mon-Khmer people fixed in a land chiefly occupied by Shans and dominated by them: only one State, that of Tawngpang, being, as already said, under a Palaung chief, whose capital Namhsan is, from an illustration, a typical Far Eastern village on the top of one of the many hills in the Shan States.

After this Mrs. Milne takes us through the Palaung's life from birth to death. Beginning with the baby, she writes: "The life of a Palaung, like that of a Shan, is hedged about with racial and family traditions, and much that I wrote in my book on the Shans [Shans at Home] applies to the Palaungs, in so far as their early childhood is concerned, but there the resemblance ends." Every detail, and they are all valuable, is then given of the baby's life and upbringing, together with the superstitious practices in connection
therewith; even the songs sung to it and its games are recorded. The naming custom by the week-
day seem to be typically Far-Eastern, it may be
remarked in passing, and it is also pleasant to see
that "a little child has a happy life in the villages
of the Palu and Palé [a clan of the Palaungs]."
"Little children between the ages of four and
nine or ten enjoy a good deal of freedom," and
soon learn to make themselves useful. They
certainly live in beautiful situations, are carefully
taught the ways of life, sing many songs (recorded
by Mrs. Milne), have counting-out games, indulge
in a secret language and unfortunately learn too
much about the Spirits. "The boys and girls
and all unmarried folk of a Palaung village are
looked after, as to their conduct, by certain elderly
men and women," the Pakèèlang, who are wealthy
and respectable, and appointed for the purpose
to teach them manners and to watch over propriety
of behaviour. There is a certain amount of initiation
to life by ordeal, all regulated. It will be seen that
it is not a bad thing to be born a Palaung child.
When boys have been tattooed and girls have
passed the ordeal of the pruh, they cease to be
children and become young men and maidens,
and love-making begins. This is an elaborate
affair, much regulated and controlled by custom,
and magic is resorted to, to settle the right suitor
to marry as the courtship proceeds. This sometime,
ends in illegitimate children, generally, however
legitimised by subsequent marriage. But the
Palaungs make good husbands and wives and
are faithful to each other.

As in Europe, so among the Palaungs, there are
favourite months for marriage, which takes place
usually between 16 and 25 or more, as regards the
girls, the men being older. The marriage is gene-
really an elopement under very strict regulations by
custom, there being a great deal of make-believe
about it. It ends with a formal recognition by
the village elders and is really quite a proper
proceeding.

When married, a man must have a house to live
in, and as the building of a new house, just as in
Burma generally, requires great care and prepara-
tion, there is much resort to magic and "wise men"
in all the proceedings from the choice of a site.
The Palaungs, however, show no great love for
their houses, though they are very much attached
to their villages, and Mrs. Milne has an interesting
little chapter on Home Life. She has much more
to say about the Village Life, the village being
always in a picturesque situation "on the top
of a hill, on a ridge connecting two hills, or on a
spur of a hill." Mrs. Milne explains how the people
live in it, their habits, manners and customs, their
festivities and their fears, and on the whole there
are worse places in the world than Palaung villages
for natives to live in. The people have no manu-
factures and make the money to purchase their
wants "almost entirely by growing and curing tea
and by trading." In this they resemble an allied
people, the Nicobarese, who live on the cocoanut
palm and its produce, which they sell. With this
proviso, Mrs. Milne explains the Palaung method
of agriculture, such as it is. Under native, that
is Shan or Palaung rule, disputes were settled,
"when there was a lack of evidence, by ordeal,
in order that the assistance of Spirits might be
obtained." Trial by ordeal still takes place sub
rosa under British rule. It is not easy to break
down immemorial custom. Mrs. Milne, however,
has not much to say on this important subject,
as she has never personally witnessed such a trial.
"Palaungs believe that nearly all the ills of life
are the work of evil spirits." In such circumstances
their beliefs in charms and omens are obviously
important, and Mrs. Milne goes into them at some
length. Speaking generally, their beliefs are
those of the secondary Far Eastern peoples. Every
Palaung woman desires children, though the customs
regarding child-birth give her a bad time—a very
bad time. Child-birth, too, is an occasion when
primitive superstitions are allowed to run
riot more or less. The same may be said of death.
Mrs. Milne gives the death customs at large, and
some of them are of great interest.

The modern Palaung is a professed Buddhist,
but his Buddhism is only skin deep, as, according
to their own statement, it was introduced among
them by the Burmese king Bodawpyây, who came
to the throne as late as 1781. Mrs. Milne explains
that it is accordingly of the purer Southern type—
the Hinayana, and she gives a brief account of it
in some very interesting pages, as it affects the
Palaungs. But the people are Animists at heart,
i.e., they are Spirit-worshippers, and in this they
seem to differ among themselves greatly, but
obviously in this respect they are Far-Eastern in
feeling. We have it all here, the wandering soul,
the metempsychosis, and the rest of it, and on such
points Mrs. Milne is most informing. Palaung
cosmogony is indefinite, but the people "attach
great significance to dreams" and their inter-
pretation. Mrs. Milne winds up her text with the
proverbs, riddles and folktales of this little known
folk.

She has an Appendix showing differences in
custom, which is of exceeding value. For instance,
"elopement" is not the form of marriage among
all Palaung classes. With these remarks I part
company with one of the best field books on ethnol-
ogy it has been my fortune to come across.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE FOLKLORE OF BOMBAY. By R. E. ENTHO-

This well-arranged book, which is likely to com-
mand much attention from writers on primitive
belief and custom, comprises information collected by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson from schoolmasters in Gujarat and the Konkan, which was subsequently published in the form of Notes under Mr. Enten
ven's supervision, and also information on the same lines secured by the author himself from the Deccan and Karnataka, or Kanarese-speaking, district of the Bombay Presidency. Mr. Enten
ven has thus made available to students of Folklore a large mass of authentic fact, which, so far as Bombay is concerned, has never previously been published, and which, when studied in conjunction with the late Dr. Crooke's two volumes on the popular religion and folklore of Northern India, should oblige experts and scholars to pay more attention than they hitherto have to ancient Indian customs and superstitions. In his Introduction Mr. Enten
ven refers more than once to Sir James Campbell's valuable notes on "The Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom," which originally appeared in this Journal, but rightly points out that spirit possession and spirit-scaring do not suffice, as Sir James Campbell was disposed to believe, to account for all the ideas and habits disclosed by the enquiry initiated by Mr. Jackson and carried to completion by himself, and, in fact, that the origin of the beliefs and practices in vogue among the people of Western India must be sought in various directions.

The author deals fully in his first chapter with the worship of the Sun and other natural objects. In reference to Sun-worship one may add that some people make use of a brass or copper device, Surya yantra, in the form of a square inscribed with the names of the regents of the eight quarters, surmounted by two concentric circles bearing the various titles of the Sun-god, the whole surmounted by the well-known device of the triangle within a circle. The device is included in one of the plates in the original edition of Moor's Hindu Pantheon, and specimens have occasionally been obtained of recent years by collectors of brass and copper images. I am glad to find that the author supports my contention that mrigaśka, an epithet of the Moon, signifies "deer-marked." In the first volume of The Ocean of Story, edited by Mr. Penzer, mrigaśka is declared to mean "bare-marked," because Hindus see a hare in the Moon; and in reviewing that work for another journal, I pointed out that saśaka or saśadāra is the epithet used in this sense, while mrigaśka refers solely to the alternative belief that there is an antelope in the Moon. The practices incumbent upon Hindus during an eclipse are universal throughout India, and students of Maratha history will remember that it was during an eclipse on the night of November 22nd, 1751, that Bussy attacked the Peshwa's army and won an easy victory, owing to the fact that the Mārathas were fully engaged in the ceremonies described in Mr. Entenven's

pages. The belief connected with the appearance of a comet is also illustrated historically by the popular view that Sivaji's death was marked by the simultaneous appearance of a comet and a lunar rainbow.

On page 92 it is stated that some people believe in the existence upon mountain-tops of a class of recluses, called Aghori-bavas, who devour human beings. The belief is based upon solid fact. Though the Aghori sect has practically been suppressed, there are cases on record for the years 1862, 1878, 1882, 1884 and 1885, in which members of this monstrous confraternity were convicted by British magistrates of anthropophagy. Tod in his Travels in Western India mentions Mt. Abu and the Girnar hills as being the headquarters of the sect. The records of the Anthropological Society of Bombay contain all the information available about them in 1892. In his chapter on Spirit Possession and Scaring, in which he deals exhaustively with the Godlings, Mothers and Demons who form the real pantheon of the mass of the people, Mr. Entenven gives an interesting table showing the caste of the priests who attend on these minor deities. The list by itself is almost sufficient to prove the aboriginal character of these local gods and goddesses, who, though in several cases they may have been adopted into Brahmanic Hinduism as manifestations of the higher gods, have really nothing in common with Aryan ideas. Among the most valuable features of the author's work is his discovery of survivals of a totemistic organization among the lower classes of the Presidency. The facts in respect of various social divisions have been given in the author's Tribes and Castes of Bombay; and he confines himself, therefore, in the present work to enumerating some of the devakas and balis, which now represent the totem, and explaining the mode of worshipping them.

In connexion with the passionate feeling respecting the sanctity of the Cow, which is briefly dealt with on page 213, it would be interesting to know exactly when this feeling developed; for it seems clear from the known facts of history that this vehement belief did not exist to a marked degree at the date of Alexander's invasion or under the rule of the Mauryas. Regarding the objection of high-class Hindus to touch or be touched by a dog, it is curious to reflect that the very last scene in the long panorama of the Mahābhārata is that of Yudis
thira climbing a mountain in company with his dog, and finally translated, with his dog, to Heaven. The sentiment underlying the hero's insistence upon the entry into Heaven of his faithful hound, is apparently quite foreign to the ideas about the dog now possessed by the Hindu upper-classes. In
the seventh chapter the author deals with the evil eye, magic and witchcraft, and mentions various methods adopted for counteracting the influence of witches. No mention, however, is made of the most potent method of all, viz., witch-murder. Perhaps in this respect the Bombay Presidency is more advanced than Behar and Orissa, where in 1920 the people murdered eleven supposed witches. A similar comment may be made on the subject of the cure of barrenness, which is included in the tenth chapter on women's rites. The murder of children, especially male children, followed by a bath in the blood of the murdered child, is well known in other parts of India as a remedy for sterility. Three cases from the Panjab and United Provinces, which occurred at the close of last century, have been recorded in this Journal. Three more cases occurred in the Panjab as recently as 1921. The absence of all reference to this type of ritual murder perhaps justifies the assumption that these savage methods of procuring offspring are no longer countenanced by the people of Western India.

Much more might be written about this pioneer work. The chapter on Village, Field and Other Rites is both important and interesting and should be read by those concerned with the rural economy of Bombay, while the chapter on Disease Deities should equally be known to those who deal with the sanitation of the small towns and villages and with the public health. Mr. Enthoven's work is not merely of value to the expert student of folklore and primitive belief, but possesses a practical value for all who play a part in the administration of the Bombay Presidency.

S. M. Edwardes.


In a previous issue of the Indian Antiquary I dealt at some length with the history and achievements of the French Far-Eastern School, particularly in regard to its antiquarian researches in Indo-China. The volume that now lies before me affords additional evidence, if this were needed, of the value of the work performed by French orientalists. The first hundred pages and more are occupied by an essay on the relations between Japan and Indo-China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, contributed by M. N. Peri, to which are added separate papers concerning boat-building and shipping in Japan, loans at interest advanced to shippers by the Japanese at that period, and thirdly a Japanese plan of Ankor-Vat. These papers are followed by a remarkable historical reconstruction of the first Chinese conquest of the Annamite country in the third century B.C.—the work of M. L. Aurousseau. His conclusions, which are worth perusal, are epitomised in the fourth chapter of the essay, and are followed by a long note on the origin of the people of Annam. E. Chavannes, in his masterly translation of the Memoirs of Sou-ma Ts'ien, advanced the opinion that the Annamite race must have had affinity with that of the pre-Chinese kingdom of Yue, which occupied the western portion of the province of Tehó-kiang and was destroyed in the fourth century B.C. M. Aurousseau in his note develops this theory and shows that it accords with certain well-established historical facts.

M. Parmentier contributes some interesting remarks on Indo-Chinese archaeology, dealing with recently discovered Cham antiquities, the statue of Vishnu found in 1912 at Vong-thè, which now graces a small Buddhist pagoda, and various Indo-Chinese sculptures, the origin of which has not yet been clearly ascertained. Another important paper is that of "The Vidyārāja" by Mr. Jean Przybiski, described as a contribution to the history of magic among the Mahāyānists sects of Buddhism. He calls pointed attention to the fact that the doctrine of the Vidyārāja, or emanations from the Tathāgata, finds its exact counterpart in one of the Gnostic scriptures, viz., the Eighth book of Moses, which was unquestionably composed between the second and fourth centuries A.D. Like most Gnostic literature, it is a confused medley of religious beliefs in vogue at that date in the Eastern regions bordering on Greece. It is quite possible that Gnosticism borrowed largely from Indian philosophy, and it is equally possible that India in return felt the influence of various Eastern sects about the fourth century A.D., that is to say, at the time when the idea of mantrārāja appears in the Buddhist texts, and when ideas of magic commenced to pervade Mahāyānist literature.

M. F. Goré contributes an interesting collection of notes on the Tibetan regions of Sou-Tch'ouan and Yunnan, which adds considerably to our geographical knowledge of those little-known lands; while ethnologists will find plenty of interesting matter in the miscellaneous papers which complete the literary portion of this volume. They deal with such subjects as "a method of fixing dates in vogue among the Laos," "Magic drums in Mongolia," and "The refuse of a neolithic kitchen-midden at Tam-tos in A'inam." A bibliography and official record of the proceedings of the French School occupy the last two hundred pages of a work, which amply illustrates the capacity for painstaking and logical research possessed by the French archaeologist and antiquarian.

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Finally, on reaching Kashmir, Buddhism became more eclectic, lost its character of a local sect, and became a universal religion. This led to the foundation of a third school of writers and compilers, who recast, commented upon, collated, and developed the ancient texts.

In the course of his argument, the author points out that there are three classes of Buddhist works which refer to the Buddhist Councils. The first class speaks of one Council only, the second mentions two, and the third refers to a third Council. The Aṣokāvatāra falls in the first of these three classes. He also shows that the story of Aṣokā's pilgrimage is fairly clear evidence that, at the date of composition of the Aṣokāvatāra, the cult of Ananda was an essential feature of Buddhism. Hence he proceeds to discuss the question of Upagupta's appearance in the sixth and last episode of the Deeds of Aṣoka, as embodied in the Aṣokāvatāra, and comes to the conclusion that the Aṣokāvatāra is a composite work, made up of an original sūtra describing the exploits of the Buddhist emperor, amalgamated by a scribe of Mathurā with the story of the first Council and the lives of the Patriarchs. He gives his reasons for holding that this sūtra or Aṣokasūtra was compiled between 150 and 50 B.C.

The reign of Pushyamitra seems to have marked, for Buddhism, the commencement of an epoch of decentralization. With his rise to power the Magadha era closes; and the propagation of the Law in a north-westerly and south-westerly direction receives a new impulse. For Pushyamitra was a champion of Brahmanic Hinduism, and persecuted the Buddhists, who were thus forced to leave Pātaliputra and fled probably towards Nepal and Kashmir, and also to the regions of the valley of the Jumna, over which the more tolerant Aśvatthāmitra was then ruling.

The author, in the course of his work, makes a reasoned enquiry into the origin and significance of the Buddhist legend of Pindola, and analyses the tales composing the Cycle of Aṣoka, which are one and all derivable from an ancient and primitive legend, first elaborated among the Buddhist communities settled in the proximity of Pātaliputra. An examination of "Aṣoka's Hell" (L'Enfer d'Aṣoka) leads to some very suggestive remarks on the influence upon Buddhism of Iranian ideas, notably in reference to the Buddhist eschatology and the figure of the Saviour Maitreya, who shows a striking affinity to the Iranian Saosyant. The author's well-reasoned theme will form a valuable addition to the literature which has grown up round the figures of "the Perfect one" and the compassionate emperor, who combined in himself the rôle of monk and monarch, and carved on rocks, cave-walls, and sandstone pillars in various parts of India the Buddhist gospel of truth, reverence and charity.

S. M. Edwardes.
THE REPRESENTATION OF SURYA IN BRAHMANICAL ART.

By JITENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

The worship of the Sun as a very prominent deity was prevalent amongst almost all the ancient nations of the world. Thus, the Egyptians had worshipped the Sun under various names such as, Horus, Re, etc., and the Assyro-Babylonians used to worship a Solar deity, named Marduk, whose fight with Tiamat, a huge monster of forbidding aspect, is narrated in their legends. The ancient Iranians paid their homage to the Sun-god under the name of Mithra, who was regarded as the first of the Spiritual Yazatas. Helios, Apollo, the Sun-god, occupied a very prominent position in the religious pantheon of the ancient Greeks, and in a far distant corner of the world, bleeding human hearts were sacrificed to the Sun-god by the ancient Mexicans, "in order to maintain him in vigour and enable him to run his course along the sky." In fact, the religious history of every nation, if properly investigated, would clearly show that the worship of the Sun, in some form or other, formed an all-important part of worship in certain periods of its existence as a nation. The reason is not far to seek; the Sun as the celestial luminary appealed foremost to the imagination of the people, and its daily appearance in the horizon, its apparently onward march across the firmament and its final disappearance on the western horizon in the evening gave rise to various mythological tales among various nations, to account for these phenomena.

The Indo-Aryans of the Vedic age were no exception to the general order of mankind, and the Sun was held by them in the highest esteem along with other nature gods. Sacrifices were offered to the Sun-god in various aspects, which were given different names such as, Sūrya, Savitṛ, Pushan, Bhaga, Mitra and Viśnu, each personifying to a greater or lesser extent the different attributes of the Sun. Thus, Sūrya, "the most concrete of the Solar deities was directly connected with the visible luminous orb," and various qualities and functions, were attributed to him; Savitṛ, "the stimulator of everything" (Sarvasya Prasavādī in Yāsaka's Nirukta, 10, 31) denoted the abstract qualities of the Sun-god and so on. The most interesting of these different Solar deities is Viśnu. Originally a particular aspect of the Sun, chiefly extolled in connection with the march across the sky in three great strides, he came to occupy a very important position in the classical period and was regarded as one of the most important divinities of the Brāhmaṇical Triad. Mitra, whose connection with Sūrya is a little obscure in the passages of the Rigveda, where he is mainly celebrated along with Varuṇa, is an Indo-Iranian God, the later Iranian aspect of whom influenced to a great extent the subsequent phase of Sun-worship in India. Bhaga, Pushan and Aryan were three other aspects of Sun and they are also celebrated in Vedic hymns. This list of the Solar gods was later raised to twelve, usually known as Dvādasādityas, and the worship of these along with that of Nine planets or Navagrahas came to hold a very important and unique place in the Brāhmaṇical rituals.

It is generally assumed by scholars that image worship was not existent in India of the Early Vedic period; and though there is a class of scholars who would call this view in question, there are no two opinions on the point that symbols representing particular aspects of divinities were frequently used in the performance of the ancient Vedic rites. Thus, we have references to the fact that the Sun was represented by a wheel in the Vedic ceremonies, which properly symbolised the apparent revolving movement of the Sun. Sometimes a round golden plate, or a fire-brand stood for the Sun. The punch-marked coins, the origin of which has been traced by Cunningham prior to 1000 B.C., bear on their face various peculiar figures

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1 Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 30.
2 Ibid.
3 RV. 1, 175 (4), 4, 30 (4); Weber, Vajapeya, 20, 34; OBV., 88, note 4.
4 SB. 7, 4, 1 (10), "in piling the fire altar a disc of gold was placed on it to represent the Sun ".
5 Macdonell, V.M., p. 155.
6 Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 43 Cf. Carmichael Lectures, 1921, ch. III, for Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's views.
which can certainly be taken to symbolise the great celestial luminary. A spoked wheel with other variants of the same figure, assumed by some to stand for the Buddhist Dharmachakra, is very regularly found on these coins. This spoked wheel with its variants occurs also in the indigenous coins of Taxila (CAI., pl. III, 13), in those of the Odumbaraas (CAI., pl. IV, 14, 15) and in many other coins. The representation of the Sun as "a rayed disc" occurs also in the early punch-marked coins and in the coins of the local rulers of Northern India. In some cases, Cunningham takes these spoked wheel symbols for Dharmachakra; but they can equally well be assumed to symbolise the Sun himself. Dr. Spooner, who was at first inclined to find in them Buddhist characteristics, subsequently abandoned his views about these marks and held the opinion that they were all solar symbols, though he would take them to be Zoroastrian in character. Again, in certain places the "rayed disc of the Sun is placed on an altar and surrounded by a railing, thus clearly indicating that the figures enclosed within the railing were really objects of worship inside a shrine. Cunningham always describes this figure as "rayed circle of Sun on Buddhist basement railing"; but there seems to be no good ground, as far as we can see, for describing this basement railing as Buddhist, and it may equally well be taken to be Brähmanical in character. M. Foucher discerns in the infantile simplicity of these emblems the style of the most ancient manifestations of the religious art of the Buddhists.

But our difficulty is—are all the representations of this wheel and the lotus ascribable only to Buddhism? Originally they must have been emblems designating the Sun, but later they were utilised by the Buddhists for their own purposes. On certain coins of the very earliest period, small ingots of silver and copper of a definite weight, are affixed a few marks, which look like very crude representations of a lotus. On other ancient coins, too, certain symbols are to be found, which are nothing but attempts to figure the lotus-flower intimately connected with the Sun from the very earliest times. Thus the lotus flower is mentioned in the most ancient literature of the Indo-Aryans, and it played a conspicuous part in the mythology of Brähmanism; its association with the Sun was due to the fact that the opening and closing of the flower timed with the rising and the setting of the Sun. This observation as regards the connection of the lotus flower with the Sun is fully borne out by the evidence of the Purānas, which enjoin the execution in sculpture of a twelve petalled lotus, on different petals of which figures of the different aspects of the Sun-god are to be placed with the god Bhaṣkara on the central pericarp (karnikā). The lotus flower, as symbolising the Sun and representing other ideas or principles connected with the Sun, came to hold such a unique position in Indian Art of all ages and all religions,

6 V. A. Smith, CCIM., pp. 136-7, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. As regards the Taurine symbol, might it not symbolise in the earliest times the sun and the moon represented together, one by the disc, and the other by the crescent attached to it?

7 Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India (CAI), pl. III, 14; IV, 13; V. 6, 9, etc.

8 Cf. ASIAE., 1905-06, pp. 150-55; and JRAS., 1915, p. 412.

9 Cunningham, CAI., pl. VII, 6, 9, etc.


11 V. A. Smith, CCIM., p. 136, Nos. 1, 15, etc., Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 56, 60, etc. Cf. M. Foucher, The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, pl. I, figs. 1-4, 8, petalled lotus, the most characteristic form, to be found on the coins of Eran.

12 Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 8, pp. 142-5.

13 Hemādri in his Vratahaṇḍaṇḍa, pp. 528, 535 and 539, quotes from Bhāgavata P., Skanda P., and Matsya P., the respective passages dealing with Divākara Vṛataṁ, Asādiya Vṛataṁ and Sūryanakta Vṛataṁ. See also Hemādri, Vrata haṇḍaṇḍa, p. 553, about Sūrya Vṛata from Saura Dharma: "Upalīpya suacu deve Sūryyauḥ tatra samarcayet. Suṣūkṣṭha tatra padantu deddāśtraṁ sukarnikaṁ." And red flowers (rakṣagupā) were specially offered to Sūrya in his worship.

14 "Primarily, the lotus flower appears to have symbolised for the Aryans from very remote times the idea of superhuman or divine birth; and secondarily the creative force and immortality."—ERE., pp. 142-5.
that in the portion of the *Vīṇadharmottara* dealing with iconographic matters, we find full and detailed instructions for the figuring of a lotus flower.\(^{15}\)

Thus, we see that in ancient Indian art the Sun-god was represented by various symbols, such as spoke wheel, rayed disc, lotus-flower in various forms and the like. When he came to be anthropomorphically represented, these wheel and lotus flower symbols were not totally discontinued, and we know that the wheel was placed in one of the hands of Viṣṇu, one of the Ādityas, and lotus flowers were placed in both the hands of the image of Sūrya himself. Moreover, the wheel and the lotus flower, as so many solar emblems, figured independently in many coins, seals, clay tablets and copper plate inscriptions of the Gupta period and afterwards.\(^{16}\)

No icon of the Sun-god is to be found in ancient Indian art till a comparatively late period. The reason is not far to seek; for none of the extant monuments of India with very few exceptions can be dated prior to the age of Aśoka. Almost all the oldest monuments of the Maurya and Sunga period that are preserved to us are connected with Buddhism, and sometimes figures of Brāhmanical divinities, who are given a subordinate position, are to be found on one or other of these monuments\(^{17}\). The Sun-god figures rarely in these monuments, and mention may be made in this connection of the figures of Sūrya in an upright post of the Budh-Gayā railing, as also in the façade of the Ananta-Gumpha at Udayagiri\(^{18}\). The god is seen riding on a four-horsed chāriot, with the reins in his hands, attended on either side by a female figure\(^{19}\) shooting arrows, personifying the dawn driving away darkness before the Sun. Another figure, probably of a divinity, which is taken by some scholars, though on insufficient grounds, to represent the Sun-god, occurs on the right-hand section of the façade of a cave at Bhaja. There, a figure is seen riding on a four-horsed chariot, under whose wheels are visible hideous struggling forms, identified by some as the demons of darkness. But as in this case the god, or whoever he may be, is not seen attended by the two female figures shooting arrows, he cannot be definitely identified as the Sun-god simply by reason of his riding in a four-horsed chariot. Figures or figurines riding on four-horsed chariots, which can have no possible connection with the Solar divinity, can be found in many of the museums of India\(^{20}\). But as regards the Budh-Gayā sculpture there cannot be any doubt that it stands for the Sun-god. Though the representation of this divinity is purely Indian in character, the conception is somewhat analogous to that of the Greek God Helios, who is also seen riding on four-horsed chariots\(^{21}\). The Rigvedic description of the Sun-god, which is certainly the back ground of the human representations of this divinity in Indian art, pointedly refers to the fact of his riding a chariot drawn by one (the horse Etasa), 3, 4 or 7 horses, and there cannot be any doubt that this conception of this divinity is a purely Indian one. Again, in the particular form of the anthropomorphic representation of Sūrya in the art of the Gupta period and subsequent ages, we seldom fail to find these seven horses being driven by the charioteer

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16 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 219, 269, etc.
17 Figures of the 33 gods, Kuvera and other guardians of the 4 quarters, Aparases, Śri and others in Bharhut and Sanchi.
18 Cf. a similar figure on the Lahaul Lota, *Archaeological Survey of W. India*, vol. IV, p. 6.
19 Uśā and Pratṛṣṭi, according to iconographic terminology.
20 Various terracotta fragments that were unearthed at Bhiṭṭa showed these four-horsed chariots, some with riders. In this connection reference may be made to a terracotta plaque found there, supposed to represent Dushyanta's hunt, as narrated in Kalidasa's 'Abhijñāna Sakuntalam.' See ASIAR., 1911-12, p. 73, pl. XXIV. Bharhut and Sanchi railings bear on them many representations of the chariot drawn either by 2 or 4 horses.
21 Cf. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. III, p. 97; 'the four horses and the general execution resembles to a great extent the Greek representation of Helios, the Sun-god, but the chariot is Indian.' See also in this connection the reverse device of the dated coin of the Indo-Greek ruler Plato. Whitehead, *Punjab Mus. Cat. of Coins*, vol. I, pl. IX, fig. V.
Arunā, carved on the pedestal of the image^22. But the number of the horses shown in the pedestal of these images is not always seven, and reliefs with four horses, though rare, can also be found in India^23.

The epigraphic records of the Gupta emperors tell us about the many endowments by pious devotees, of temples and images in honour of the Sun-god^24. Titles like Para-mātkāyabhakta, and names such as Ādityasena, Ādityavaridhan, Ādityavarman, Prabhākara-vardhan, etc., borne by the kings and chiefs mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions, unmistakably refer to the very wide expansion of the solar cult in northern India. But the images and temples of the Sun then erected have almost all been destroyed, and the ruins of these temples, in some cases at least, can be identified as those of temples of the Sun only through the evidence of the inscriptions which still remain^25.

As regards the images, they are almost invariably lost. One inscribed image, however, was discovered by Mr. J. D. M. Boglar in 1879-80 and was first brought to notice in Cunningham's Archeological Survey Reports, vol. XV, p. 12. The date for the installation of the image is presumed to fall in A.D. 672-73, and though the image itself cannot be traced now, it has been described as "as a man 2 ft. 10 in. high, holding a water lily (lotus !) in each hand, and with a small standing figure, on each side, that on the right being armed with a club . . . . ."

This short notice of the image of the Sun does not enable us to assert that it was of a type identical with many Sūrya images discovered in Northern India, which have found their way to one or other of the museums of India. The essential features of such a type can be ascertained if we carefully examine some of these images^26. These are, the seven-horsed chariot of Sūrya with Aruna as the driver; the Sun-god with his legs covered, wearing bodice and jewels, with his two hands carrying two full-blown lotuses, his head adorned with kiriṭa makuṭa; his two male attendants, one on each side, holding pen and ink-pot and sword, two female figures on either side in the āṭīṭha and pratṛāṭīṭha poses shooting arrows, and two or three female attendants. The figure of the Sun, and sometimes the figures of both the male attendants, too, have their feet encased in some sort of leggings. Sometimes the legs of these three figures are left uncarved and shown as inserted in the pedestal or what stands for the chariot^27. Another feature of this Sun-image is the peculiar girdle or waist zone which is depicted by the sculptors on the body of the image. This is referred to in iconographic texts as ayyāṇa and has been rightly identified by scholars with the Avestan aiwiyaŋghana, the sacred woollen thread girdle, which a Zoroastrian is enjoined to wear round the waist^28. The boots, the close fitting bodice-like garment and this waist zone are the most prominent characteristics of this type of image, and their bearing on the evolution of the type will have to be duly considered.

The iconographic texts, which lay down rules for the making of images, are handed down to us in the pages of several of the Purāṇas, viz., Agni, Matsya, Padma, Viṣṇuṇḍharmottara, etc. in the Āgamas, the Tantras, and works of early date like the Bṛhat-Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira.

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^22 The seven horses and Aruna are frequently absent in the South Indian images of Sūrya.
^25 ASIAR, 1916-17, p. 14, pl. IX B. This marble temple of the Sun, one of the oldest Sūrya temples known to us, is situated at Varman in the Sirsi State, Rajputana. For later Sun temples, which are still extant, we may refer to Sūryanārkoil in the Tanjore District (Gopinath Rao, vol. I, pt. II, p. 300), Moḍhera in Gujarat and Konarak in Orissa.
^26 Cf. Dr. Bloch's Supplementary Cat. of the Archæological Exhibits in the Indian Museum, No. 3927, 5820, etc. Cf. also the accompanying Plate II.
^27 Cf. ibid., No. 3925, and Dr. Bloch's remarks in the footnote on page 79. See also the images of Sūrya at Ellora, Gopinath Rao, vol. I, part II, p. 313, and pl. LXXXVIII fig. 2.
Works on art, which were compiled at a later date, also contain matters chiefly relating to these subjects, and the names of Śilaparātā, Śrī Viśvakarmāvatāra-Śāstra and Rāmapāmanda may be mentioned in this connection. Texts or portions of texts are, in many cases, the same in two different works, showing that either one borrowed from the other or both drew from a common source. Thus those describing the image of Śūrya as given in Viṣṇudharmātāra are identical with those quoted from Matsyapuraṇa in Gopinath Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography. On the other hand, different manuscripts or editions of the same work are found to contain varying texts, though there is no great discrepancy in the delineation of the essential features of the images. Then again, the texts in many cases are so very corrupt and there are so many copyist's mistakes on account of unintelligent copying, that we must be very cautious in drawing any far-reaching conclusions from a mere consideration of these texts, without reference to corresponding icons to bear out their evidence. Fortunately for us, the extant sculptures representing the Sun follow to a great extent one or other of these texts laid down in various works.

Without going into details, we may observe that the most prominent peculiarities of the image, as referred to above, find their place in these descriptions. Thus to quote Varāhamihira, a representative writer of the sixth century A.D.:

"Nāsā balāya jānghoreṇaṇāvākārāṇi Comnatāī Rave. Kūryākūda焘yavasāni 

pādāvuro yēvat. Vībhāṛas = svakarārāḥ pāṇiḥṣyam pāṇakajē mukūṣadhārā. 

Kūndalabhūṣita-vadanaḥ pralambhāra viyadja (viyanga) vritāh." The Matsya Purāṇa (Bangavasi Ed., p. 903, ch. 261, v. 3-4) lays down that the Sun-god is to be shown in certain sculptures as having his body covered by a kind of garment and feet covered by effulgence, and possessing other peculiarities. The Śrī Viśvakarmāvatāra-Śāstra describes the image of Śūrya in these terms:

Ekacakra ratheiva=stārkhanuja swārathih. 

Turagaiḥ saptaḥiryuktaḥ(?) rddhastatra 

sthiroravīḥ. . . . Vrihatav (1) kṣa surakīdāca sulaṃvayo kumudayathā. 

Śahārān 


Sanālapad 

mārajive (1) vibhṛat sakaṇḍhe kare kramāt." —(ch. 28, v. 51-53, etc.).

To translate it rather freely: "The Sun-god should be placed on a divine one-wheeled chariot with seven horses driven by the charioteer, who is no other than (Aruṇa) the younger brother of Tārkhsha. He should be wide-chested, red-coloured, and beautiful like a water-lily. A thousand brilliant rays should emanate from him, and he should be adorned with jewelled ear-rings. The body of the image should be covered by a coat of mail. He should hold two beautiful lotuses by their stalks and the lotus blossoms should be shown parallel to the shoulders).

Though no mention is here made of the Avestan waist girdle—the avyaṇa, and of the northern style of dress, (udicīyasa) which are, as we have seen, mentioned in an earlier work, viz., the Brhadānīhitā, still we do not fail to find a reference to the fact of the Sun's body being covered, evidently alluded to by Varāhamihira in the term, 'gūdāṇ pādāvuro yēvat.' The Matsya Purāṇa refers to the same peculiarity in these words: "Colakacchānnavapuyai Kavciṭirēṣu darāyey : Vastrayagma samopetān caranau tejasāvītāv." The reader will specially note the expression 'kavciṭirēṣu darāyey,' and that 'it should be shown in certain sculptures' (citra here undoubtedly meaning a sculpture fully in the round and not a picture as some would suppose). This observation of the Purānakaś should be clearly borne


30 The passages purported to be quoted by late Mr. Gopinath Rao from Matsya Purāṇa to describe Śūrya is quite different from the texts describing the same in Matsya Purāṇa, edited by the Vangabāśi Press.

31 Varāhamihira, Brhadānīhitā, ch. 58, v. 47-8.

32 I am quoting from a manuscript copy of this Iconographic text which was kindly lent to me by Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.
in mind, when we consider that these peculiarities of the image of the Sun, which were evidently alien in character, were not adopted subsequently by a certain class of sculptors, and images of the Sun-god devoid of these characteristic features were also known and described by the authors of the Śilapāṭākam.

It has been fully pointed out by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar that a particular form of sun worship (Mihira or Mithra worship) was introduced into India from outside in the early centuries of the Christian era. The legend of Śamba in the Bhārata Purāṇa, Varāhamihira's testimony that an idol of the Sun is to be consecrated by a Maga Brāhmaṇa, the correct identification of these Magas with the Persian Magi, and the aṣṭaṅga worn by the figure of Śūrya as referred to above,—all these facts undoubtedly prove that this kind of worship was not identical with the form of Sun-worship prevalent in India from time immemorial; and it was Iranian in character. It has also been tacitly concluded by scholars that the peculiar type of the Śūrya image, which was worshipped all over Northern India during the Gupta period and subsequently, was also Iranian in character. But it should be pointed out that though this characteristic form of Sun-worship was borrowed from the Persian Mithra-worship, yet the very image of the Sun-god was not Persian, and very few such elements can be traced in its making. If the Śūrya image itself is thought to be derived from the Iranian Mithra, then we shall be justified in asking for an Iranian proto-type of this image. But we know that the Iranians themselves were not in the habit of worshipping images and our search for an image of Mithra, would be in vain, i.e., before Mithraism itself was to a great extent Hellenized. Mithra in ancient Persian monuments was represented by a symbol, as Śūrya used to be in the early Vedic times. Thus, for example, in one of the friezes on one of the four dakhmas (sepulchre) of Darius, near the site of ancient Istakhr near Naqsh-i-Rustam, "between the king and fire-altar appears Ahura Mazda hovering above, and a ball which is certainly meant to represent the Sun or Mithra." According to the writer of the article 'Mithraism' in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (vol. 8, p. 753), 'the busts of Sun and Moon and the circle of the Zodiac are standing features in the Mithraic monuments.' But we shall not be justified in saying that these busts of the Sun were the prototypes of the cult-picture of the later form of Sun-worship in India. The same writer makes the following observation about the expansion of Mithraism in Asia Minor. "The near eastern dynasts which sprang from the wreck of Alexander's Empire . . . . were fervent worshippers of Mithra, the spiritual Yazata . . . . It was doubtless at the courts of these mushroom monarchs that the Hellenization of Mithraism, which was the indispensable condition of its further diffusion, was brought about."37

The fully anthropomorphic representation of Mithra in ancient art was due to this Hellenisation of Mithraism, and the type of Apollo-Helios, the Greek solar divinities, served as the original of this Mithra, as the Greeks saw in him a divinity very nearly resembling their own solar deities. That the Hellenes of Asia Minor identified this form of Mithra with their own solar and planetary gods is shown by a monument set up by Antiochus I of Commagene (69—38 B.C.), viz. "the enormous cairn on the tumulus of Nimrud Dagh" on which are five statues, one of which has the inscription, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes. On another relief Antiochus is represented as grasing the right hand of Mithra, 'who is represented in Persian dress with the radiate nimbus'. Now, we find the representation of this Sun-god Mithra (Mihira) in the coins of Kaniska for the first time, and there he is shown wearing a sort of boot, with his extended right hand holding something, his left hand clasping a sword hanging down from his

34 Brāhmaṇaḥ, ch. 60, v. 19.
35 Mr. S. K. Hodivala in his "Parsi of Ancient India," has collected all the evidence as regards the identification of the Magas with the Persian Magi, see ch. 10.
37 ERE., vol. 8, p. 754.
38 Ibid., vol. 8, p. 754.
waist with his head encircled by a radiate nimbus and body heavily draped. On the reverse of one of the coins of the same king, we see a figure exactly similar to the one described above, but the inscription in Greek is HAIIOC (Helios). If we compare these two figures with the one of Apollo in one of the coins of Apollodotos, we shall see that the latter differs from the former in these respects only; viz., the attributes in the hand are different, the nimbus seems to be absent and the drapery of the upper part of the body is different. But we should make an allowance for the age that intervened between these two types, and the Kushan drapery of the former and the different attributes might be the additions of a later age.

Thus we may conclude that this Kushan "Mihira" most probably had for its prototype the Greek Apollo, as figured on the coins of the Hellenistic kings of India. We may compare with this the representation of Mithra in the Sassanian Art of the subsequent period. We certainly know at least two such figures carved on the reliefs at Taq-i-Bustán, which have been almost unanimously identified by scholars as standing for Mithra (Mithra). One of the figures has been thus described: "The body is clothed in a tunic-like robe, belted at the waist and richly set off at the back by an embroidered border with tassels. His head is encircled by a halo of rays and his feet resting upon a heavily carved sun-flower, while he raises before him in both hands a long fluted staff. He has a foot-gear which appears to include spurs. The sun-flower beneath the feet of the image, an early symbol of Sun-worship, is a triple flower, and the stem from which it rises is clearly marked." This relief on which the figure is engraved, cannot be dated earlier than the latter part of the third century A.D., and we see here what features the type of Mithra came to possess subsequently in Iran. On the other hand, the Greco-Roman artists of Eastern Europe and Western Asia laid much importance on the legend about Mithra's having slain the Bull, and the Greco-Roman monuments came to bear usually the representation of Mithra in the act of slaying the Bull. However, what is to be particularly borne in mind in this connection is this, that Mithra, who was originally represented in early Iranian Art by a symbol as in early Indian Art, came to be endowed with a human form after the cult of the Iranian Mithraism came in contact with the Hellenes of Asia Minor.

Now, should we seek to find in this Kushan Mithra, or as a matter of fact in the Hellenistic Apollo, the actual prototype of the booted Sun image of the early mediaeval period in India? There is certainly much truth in the observation of certain scholars that the expansion of image worship in India was largely due to the close contact of her sons with the idolatrous Hellenistic invaders of India; and this expansion was also in no uncertain measure brought about by the activities and the exertions of the Scythic barbarians who came in the wake of these Hellenes and were largely influenced by them. Certain peculiarities, e.g.,

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40 Ibid., pl. XVII, No. 53.
41 Ibid., pl. V, No. 322.
42 Spiegel, Iranian Art, pp. 41-2; A. V. Williams Jackson, Persia Past and Present, p. 217 and plate.
43 Persia Past and Present, pp. 217-18. Spiegel in his Iranian Art remarks about the other figure: "In the vicinity of the above relief (the one described in the body of the paper) is a panel containing three figures, the middle one is a king wearing a coat of mail, the left a female figure pours water from a vessel in her hand. The male figure on the right wears a diadem, a long beard, a mantle fastened over the breast hangs over its shoulders, it offers to the king the coronal circle. I do not doubt that the female figure on the left represent Anahita and the figure on the right Mithra." (P. 43.)
44 Mythology of all Races, vol. VI, 287-8, pl. XXXIII, pp. 1 and 2.
45 M. Alfred Foucher in his Beginnings of Buddhist Art would date the introduction of the practice of image worship in India after she came in contact with the Greeks. Mr. R. P. Chanda in his Eastern School of Indian Sculpture seemed entirely to support M. Foucher's view; but lately he has modified his opinion and is now inclined to assert that though images were made and worshipped in certain places in ancient India, the impetus to the worship of images came to be widely felt in India of the Saka-Kushan period. See his Murti O Mandir, a vernacular address read by him in the Radhanagore Sāhitya Sammilan, 19th of April, 1924.
the boots worn by the Indian Sūrya and the close-fitting drapery enjoined by the iconographic texts to be shown round the image, and in fact actually met with in most of these sculptures, would certainly justify an answer to the question in the affirmative. But it should also be remarked at the same time that the type which was thus evolved was the outcome of the genius of the Indian artists, and these few alien elements were so entirely subjugated in the later specimens that even the alien character of these features was completely lost sight of, and their presence came to be accounted for with the help of ingenious stories invented by the Indian myth-makers. The Indian artists endowed the image of Sūrya with all sorts of ornaments pre-eminently Indian; e.g., kīrṣa, keyūra, hāra, valaya, udarabandha, etc. They placed two fully-bloomed lotus flowers, Indian solar emblems, in his hands, and their conception of Sūrya as riding on a seven-horsed chariot attended by Uṣā, Pratyūṣā, and several of the other accessory deities, was also indigenous in character. Here is another case in point where the Indian genius is responsible for wholly remodelling, and giving a new and original character to, a type that was primarily non-Indian in nature to a certain extent.46 A very careful consideration of a host of these Sun images found all over Northern India would most probably enable us to lay down the general rule that those images in which the alien elements, e.g., the boots and the close fitting drapery, are most evident, are as a class earlier in point of date than those in which these features are least noticeable. The Sun-images of the extreme South, on the other hand, do not show the least trace of these characteristics, which were to a great extent overcome prior to their first introduction there. The iconographic texts also seem to support our conclusion, and these characteristics, which are more frequently to be noticed in the texts of the earlier period, came to be lost sight of or at most were very slightly noticed in those of the later period.

The legends that are current about the introduction of this form of Sun-worship, with this type of the anthropomorphic figure of the Sun-god as the cult-picture, have been briefly referred to above. But certain details are worth considering in order to account satisfactorily for the peculiarities of this type. The iconographic texts, also mentioned above, in brief, allude to these peculiarities in their own fashion. The peculiar kind of foot-gear, which is to be found worn by Sūrya, was not known to the inhabitants of India proper, and so they enjoined that the images should be dressed like a Northerner (Kūryādudicōyevaṁ). Now, what is meant by this injunction?47 If we look at the effigies of Kaniṣka on the obverse of his coins, or at the headless statue of the same king now kept in the Mathura Museum, we at once understand the meaning of this term, udiyevaṁ. Kaniṣka and the members of his race were to all intents and purposes looked upon by the dwellers of the Indian plain as people hailing from the north, and quite consistently do we light upon certain elements of the dress of Kaniṣka himself, e.g., the peculiar boots, the heavy drapery, though Indianised afterwards to a great extent, the sword hanging down from the belt in a peculiar fashion, in the person of Sūrya. Sometimes even the two male attendants on the side of the central figure, viz., Dasaṇi and Pīngala, are quite curiously enough, dressed in exactly the same way as Sūrya himself. We have seen that Mihrā (Miiloro) of Kaniṣka’s coins, and ultimately Apollo of the coins of the Hellenistic kings of India, formed the original prototype of the Sūrya image. The aṣāṇga, or waist girdle worn by the Persians, is not to be found on the person of Mihrā on the Kushan coins; but we must bear in mind that Mihrā there is covered from neck downwards with a heavy flowing drapery, which in the Indian sculptures of Sūrya gave place to transparent garments, and the position of the Persian aṣāṇga, various sorts of Indian ornaments like hāra, keviṣa, jewelled kīcchdāma, etc., was emphasised.

As regards the peculiar dress of this Sun-god, one other interesting observation can be made here, viz., that we know of at least two other Indian deities who are

46 Of the observations of European scholars like M. Foucher and others regarding the evolution of the Buddha type.
47 ASIAR., 1911-12, Plate LIII.
ordered to be depicted as dressed in the Northern fashion. Hemādrī in his *Vratakhaṇḍa* (vol. II, pp. 145-146), while describing the images of Citragupta and Dhanada (Kuvera), lays down that both of them are to be shown as dressed like a Northerner, and the latter is also to be endowed with a coat of mail (kaṇca)⁴⁸. Citragupta, who is to be placed on the right side of Yama, is to hold a pen in his right hand and a leaf in his left.⁴⁹ Curiously enough, we see in this Citragupta some interesting resemblances, as far as its iconography is concerned, with the pen and ink-pot—carrying right-hand attendant of Sūrya, who is known in iconographic literature by various names, such as Kuṇājī, Piṅgala, Dhatā, etc. This *Uditya-vēṣa* or the Northern dress was not fully understood by the image-makers, and these top-boots were especially unintelligible to them. They liked to identify the heavy drapery of the upper part of the body of Sūrya with the *kavaca*, or coat of mail, which they could understand. At least one of the Indo-Aryan divinities, viz., Varuna, is endowed with this coat of mail by the hymnist.⁵⁰ The elaborate legend about Sūrya's marrying Saṅgā, the daughter of Viśvakarma, her flight from him for his unbearable effulgence, and Viśvakarma's attempt at reducing this unendurable *tejas* of Sūrya, was composed to explain the peculiar foot-gear of the Sun-god. It is there narrated that Viśvakarma put the Sun on his lathe (Śāna-Yaṇtra) and dimmed his brightness by peeling much of it from the upper part of his body; but he left his legs untouched. So some texts⁵¹ say that his legs were covered by his *tejas* or brightness, and the authors of these iconographic texts strictly enjoin that the legs of the Sun-god are on no account to be shown bare by the sculptor. Any sculptor violating this strong injunction will do so at the risk of becoming a leper for seven consecutive births. This story as well as those iconographic texts, which notice this peculiar feature of this type of Sūrya image, show clearly, in this case at least, that the types of the icons were evolved at first, and that then rules were laid down in correspondence with the type already arrived at, for the future construction of such images. We have remarked how gradually this alien characteristic of the Sun was lost sight of, and the South Indian sculptor had no fear of being attacked with leprosy when he carved the image of the Sun with his legs bare, long after the booted Sūrya was sculptured for the first time by his brother artists in Northern India.

⁴⁸ For Sculptures of Kuvera with his feet shod and his body well-covered with a tunic, accompanied by his consort Hārīti, see M. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 145, pl. XVIII, 1 and 2.


⁵⁰ Rigveda, I. 25. 13.—Vibhadrāśīha hiranyāṁ varunasaṁstaniṁj.] ṛ. “Wearing a golden coat of mail, he veils himself in his radiance.”

⁵¹ *Matayā Purāṇa* (Vangavāsi Edition), p. 903, verse 4; cf. *Bauvyā Saktiyā Parishat Patrika*, vol. XVI. Pandit B. B. Vidyavind, in his article on ‘Sūrya Pade Upānāt’ (Shoe on the legs of Sūrya), tries to explain away this covering of the legs as the sculptor's attempt at representing the *tejas* of the Sun as enjoined in the *Matayā Purāṇa*. But he seems to have fully missed the point that the texts and the legend itself in fact try to account for this non-Indian peculiarity in their own way. Again, if Sūrya's feet are covered simply by his brightness, then how it is that we find these self-same boots on the legs of his two male attendants, Dapdi and Kupdi. One other interesting feature about these images seem to have been noticed by very few scholars, viz., even the legs of the female attendants of Sūrya in many reliefs (cf. those exhibited in the Gupta Gallery of the Calcutta Museum) are covered by these identical boots. In this connection, the figure of a soldier (1) on the upstage of the raling of Bharhut should be noticed. The dress of this figure is very peculiar, unlike those worn by the figures of an Indian soldier. "On the feet are boots, which reach high up the legs, and are either fastened or finished by a cord with two tassels, like those on the neck of the tunic." The type of the figure seems to be an alien one and we may compare it with the lion-riding negroid (1) figure on the East gate-way at Sanchi. The position of the figure from the waist downwards is not shown in the relief. (Cf. Cunningham's *Bharhut Stupa*, p. 32, pl. XXXII. 1, and Grünwedel's *Buddhist Art*, pp. 33-34, fig. 10.
We know that the iconographic texts usually give two hands to Sūrya, and it is generally implied there that the figure of the Sun-god should be a standing one. Reliefs of Sūrya with two hands and in a standing posture hail from every part of India. But images of the Sun with four hands and in a sitting posture are also found in India, though very rarely. An early image of the Sun that was enshrined in Multan, which according to the legend of Sāṃbā in the Bhāvaiśya Purāṇa was the first to welcome this novel form of Sun-worship (Mithra worship) in India, has been described by the early Arab writers who wrote about India. This description, though not very clear, is well worth reproducing in connection with the seated type of the Sūrya image. Abu Ishāk, Al Istakhrī, who flourished about the middle of the tenth century A.D. writes, "The idol is human in shape and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular (squat) posture, on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin-like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. . . . . The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees, with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted." 62 Al Idrīsī's description of the image is similar in character, but he says 'its arms, below the elbow, seem to be four in number.' 63 Other seated images of Sūrya are noticed by Mr. Gopinath Rao. 64 As regards the four-handed images of Sūrya, Mr. Macdonell remarked that no images of Sūrya endowed with four hands are to be found in India. But Prof. Venkatesāvara has contradicted Mr. Macdonell and has referred to a few reliefs where the Sun-god seems to be endowed with four hands. 65 But it should be remarked here that of these four-handed images of Sūrya, all seem to be of the seated type, and if a general observation can be made with some approach to accuracy, we should modify Mr. Macdonell's statement and say that standing images of Sūrya with four hands are hardly to be found in India. Another type of the image of the Sun, riding on a single horse, is referred to in the Agni Purāṇa and the Śrī Viṣvakarmāvadātā Śāstra. 66 One such relief in Kandi (Bengal) is mentioned by Mr. Nikhilnath Ray in his History of Murshidabad.

Solar character can be traced in the origin of the many important Brahmānical deities of the Purāṇic period. We have seen that Sūrya enjoyed a very prominent place in the Rigvedic period, and Viṣṇu, recognised as one of his aspects, came to be regarded as one of the most prominent divinities subsequently and became the cult head of Vaishnavism. As such, many images of various types were made of him. The story about Samgā's flight from Sūrya relates how from the leavings or parings of the resplendent body of the Sun, many weapons and attributes were made for other divinities. Thus Sudarsana Cakra, Vajra, Sūla, Sakti were each made out of these cast-off portions of the Sun-god, and they came to be regarded as the weapons particular to Viṣṇu, Indra, Śiva and Skanda respectively. This legend perhaps shows, in no doubt a very peculiar way, the solar basis of these gods. Mr. Krishna Śāṣṭri remarks in his South Indian Gods and Goddesses (p. 236): "But within the flaming orb is recognised the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) whose body is golden, who assumes the form of Brahmacū in the morning, Mahēśvara (Śiva) in the midday and Viṣṇu in the evening . . . .

63 Ibid., vol. I (1867), p. 82. Idrīsī remarks 'There is no idol in India or in Sind which is more highly venerated.'
64 Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. I, part II, plate LXXXIX (Chittorgarh relief), pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 1 (Bronze, Madras Museum), fig. 3 (Marble, Rajputana it is four-handed).
65 JRAS., 1918, pp. 521-2.
66 Śrī Viṣvakarmāvadātā Śāstra, ch. 28, v. 59. Athabāvaamsadridhaḥ kūrya ekastu Bhāgara. Agni Purāṇa (Vanga Vasi Edition, ch. 51, v. 3), borrows this passage from the former work and its description of the images of the other Adityas is also a case of wholesale borrowing from the same.
Fig. 1—Surya with his Attendants
Fig. 2—Surya with his Attendants from Konarak, Orissa

Dr. Stella Kramrisch
The Date of the Kautāliya

By H. C. RAY, M.A.

"The finding of the Arthaśāstra of Kautāliya," says Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, "will remind students of Roman law of the fortunate accident which made Niebuhr light upon the manuscript of Gaius at Verona, in 1816." 1 The importance of the recovery of this work can scarcely be exaggerated. There is hardly any field in ancient Indian history on which this Arthaśāstra has not thrown welcome light. All students of Indology are therefore highly indebted to Dr. R. Shamaśāstry for not only editing but also translating it into English. To the translation again of this work Dr. Shamaśāstry has added a learned preface putting together all the references to this Arthaśāstra and discussing its age and authorship. His contention is that the present work was composed by Kautāliya, Prime-minister of Chandragupta the founder of the Maurya dynasty in the 4th century B.C. In the introductory note which Dr. Fleet has written and which has been published at the beginning of this translation the same English scholar gives us clearly to understand that he is in substantial agreement with the conclusions of Dr. Shamaśāstry. Soon after their views were published, however, they were hotly assailed by European scholars, such as Hillebrandt, Jolly, Keith and recently Winternitz. Prof. Jacoby was the only exception. 2 The criticisms levelled by these scholars may be reduced principally to 3 views:

1. The work might have originated with Kautāliya, but was developed and brought to its present condition by his school.

2. The work was itself originated and developed by a school of polity which was associated in later times with his name.

3. The work might itself have been composed by one single author or at least one compiler or editor about the 3rd cent. A.D. and been fathered on the legendary Chandaśāya Kautāliya, who was then looked upon as the type of a cunning and unscrupulous minister.

Let us now take into consideration the first two points which are closely allied. Kautāliya, it is contended, may have originated the work, but the work itself was systematically developed and brought to its present condition by a school either founded by him or associated with his name. What is the evidence adduced in support of this position? Whenever the views of previous authorities on Hindu polity are specified and criticised, they have always been

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1 Indian Antiquary, 1918, p. 136. Rai Bahadur Hiralal on Trimurtis in Bundelkhand has tried to bring out the solar character of these Trimurtis, see Plate II and compare it with the 3-headed figure of Sūrya in Chidambaram in Mr. Krishna Sastrī's work. See also ASIAR., 1913-14, pp. 276-280.

2 For references to the works of the above scholars, see the bibliography at the end of this chapter. V. Smith in his Early History of India and Thomas in the Cambridge History of India have virtually agreed with Dr. Shamaśāstry and Prof. Jacoby.
followed by a definite statement of Kautilya's own views, with a specific mention of Kautilya in the third person. This use of the name in the third person has led scholars to infer that the work was composed, if not exactly by Kautilya,—by some teachers who flourished in the school connected with his name. I regret I cannot bring myself to accept their line of reasoning. For they have adduced no evidence to demonstrate that the mention of an author's name in winding up the discussion of a subject, already handled by previous ácháryās, must necessarily indicate that his name has been specified, not to denote him as the individual author but to denote his school. It is true that the sūtras of the Pārva and the Uttara Mīmāṃsā, for instance, while introducing such discussions and specifying the names of the various teachers who contributed them, have ended with the specification of the views of Jaimini and Bādarāyana, their reputed authors. It is also true that both Jaimini and Bādarāyana were the reputed founders of these schools, but this latter conclusion does not follow from the mere mention of their names at the end of such discussions introduced into their sūtras. We regard them as the originators of these schools, simply because they have been traditionally handed down as the founders of both the schools. But is there any independent evidence to show that there was a school of polity founded by Kautilya or associated with his name? Kautilya has been referred to so frequently in later literature that, if he had been really connected with a new school, at least one reference to this fact would have been traced somewhere in that literature. What we, however, find is that he is universally considered to be the author of the Arthaśāstra, but there is no reliable evidence that he was the founder of any school. Kautilya does not stand alone in this respect. We have a similar instance in Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāmasūtra. In these sūtras also discussions are frequently introduced with the mention of the names of different previous authors and end with the view of Vātsyāyana himself, whose name has always been mentioned in that connection. Are we then to suppose that the authors of these Kāmasūtras cannot be Vātsyāyana himself, but that their body of sūtras was evolved and completed by some áchāryās of a school of erotics founded by him or associated with his name. Here, also, there is absolutely no evidence to show that there was any such school for the science of erotics.

Perhaps the most extreme opinion expressed in this connection is that of Prof. Hillebrandt, who remarks that the constant use of the phrase iti Kautilyah tells against the authorship of Kautilyah himself, and he therefore ascribes the work to his school. What this view really amounts to is, that the mere use of the name of an individual in the third person is an undoubted indication that the work is not his, but that of his school. This, however, ignores the fact that the practice of an author mentioning his name in the third person, when he has to express his own views, has been handed down in India even to modern times, and this is the reason why we find poets-saints like Nānaka, Tulsidās, Kāvīr, Tukārām, Chandidās and others invariably speaking of themselves in the third person.

I have just said that the mere phrase iti Kautilyah, or neti Kautilyah, occurring in the Arthaśāstra, does not necessarily prove that it was not the work of Kautilya; but of his school. I am prepared to go a step farther. I have already remarked that there is no trustworthy evidence to show that there was any school in existence, which was connected with the name of Kautilya. Why, indeed, should there be any such school at all? Kautilya expressly tells us that his work is a mere compendium of what the authors of Hindu polity prior to his time had written on the subject. He does not claim much originality at all. Nor does he deserve any credit for originality, except in such theoretical discussions as set forth the views of the previous authors. In these discussions only Kautilya gives his own individual opinion, which is to that extent

8 In the Mādhavakāśa Kautilya appears with a disciple. But Jacobi has pointed out that the author of the Drama lived 1,000 years after the statesman and described the time of his hero on the model of his own. Kāmandaki calls Kautilya his guru, but there is nothing to show that Kautilya was his parampara guru.

original. But he cannot possibly be credited with having originated an entirely new system of political philosophy. To say, therefore, that he was the founder of any school is to my mind a view which is not only not borne out by facts, but is inherently impossible.

We now turn our attention to the consideration of the third of the views referred to above. Before, however, we can satisfactorily deal with this question, it is absolutely necessary to discuss another point, which is really the pivot of that and kindred views. So far as the _Arthaśāstra_ goes, in many places we have been told that Kauṭiliya was the author of the book. I have already adverted to the discussions in which the names of previous authors precede that of Kauṭiliya. In three other places in the work the name of Kauṭiliya occurs, namely, at the end of the 1st chapter, at the end of the 10th chapter (IIInd Book) and at the end of the last chapter. Thus it has been calculated that the name of Kauṭiliya occurs in the book not less than 72 times, and, so far as the internal and external evidence of this work is concerned, Kauṭiliya undoubtedly was the author of it; and further, as the concluding verses of the 10th and the last chapters show, this Kauṭiliya must have been the prime-minister of the Mauryan King Chandragupta. Can this Kauṭiliya really be the author of the _Arthaśāstra_? I have already stated that Prof. Jacobé is the only European scholar who answers this question in the affirmative. Prof. Winternitz, however, holds the opposite view. It may not be possible to agree with the former when he says that Kauṭiliya was like Bismarck and could not have found time to establish a school, and Prof. Keith seems to be right when he remarks that "Kauṭiliya was not Bismarck, and India is not Germany." But it should be borne in mind that in India there was never any antagonism between practical politics and the academic pursuit of knowledge. The latest instance is furnished by the two brothers, Mādhava and Sāyaṇa, who were administrators in the Vijayanagar Empire, but who nevertheless found time not only to study, but also to write about Vedic lore. This, I think, satisfactorily answers the argument of Prof. Winternitz, when he says that the _Arthaśāstra_ was the work, not of a statesman, but of a _pañcīk_ fond of pedantic classification and definition. This last characteristic is certainly prominent in the writings of both Mādhava and Sāyaṇa. Nevertheless, history tells us that both of them were shrewd administrators and wise statesmen.

Prof. Winternitz, however, adduces many more arguments in support of his position. Thus he tells us that the very name Kauṭiliya gives rise to serious doubts. The fact that he is never called Chāṇakya and only once Vishnugupta, which is a copyist's addition, raises grave suspicions as to the real authorship. The word Kauṭiliya means "crookedness," "falsehood." Is it likely, he asks, that Chandragupta's minister should have called himself 'Mr. Crooked' or "crookedness personified."? He forgets that in India people often bear names of evil import, but they are not ashamed for that reason of mentioning them. The _Aitareya Brāhmaṇa_ has given us the name SūnaŚeṣopha, which means 'the dog's tail'; and we know that the author of one of the ancient scripts of India was Kharoṣṭha, which signifies 'the ass's lips.' But if we want any instance nearer home, it is furnished by Kauṭiliya's _Arthaśāstra_ itself. For does he not tell us that two of the authors of Hindu polity who flourished before him were Vātavyādhi, _i.e._, 'Gout' or 'Rheumatism' and Pīsuna, _i.e._, 'slanderer' or 'backbiter.' Why should Kauṭiliya therefore be ashamed of calling himself Kauṭiliya in his work, supposing for the moment that it meant 'Crookedness'? But is it so as a matter of fact? If he is to be called "Mr. Crooked," would not the term be rather _Kuṭila_ than Kauṭiliya? Is there any instance of an abstract noun like Kauṭiliya, which must always be in the neuter, being used for a male individual by changing the gender of that word? Evidently Kauṭiliya must be a _taddhīka_ name, and if we say that his mother was Kuṭilā, his name must become Kauṭileya and not Kauṭiliya. And if we suppose that he was called after his father

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6 V. Smith and Thomas seem also to share this view.
7 _Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture_, by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, pp. 309–10.
8 _Arthaśāstra_, pp. 14, 33, etc.
Kuṭāla, the name would be Kuṭāla. I am afraid we cannot hope to explain the formation of the name, if we persist in connecting Kuṭālya somehow with Kuṭāla. The author of the Śabdakalpadruma perceived this difficulty and has therefore given a different etymology, viz., Kuṭāha ghatāha tām lānti kuṭālaṇa kuṭadalhāṇyāḥ teśānapatiyaṁ Kuṭālyāḥ. This explanation may perhaps look fantastic, but what I contend is that the name must be explained as a taddhīha form. It is possible that Kuṭāla or Kuṭāla or Kuṭāla or Kuṭāla was the original name from which Kuṭālya was derived by Pāṇini’s sūtra Gargādibhya yañ. In later times, however, the gotra name Kauṭalya or Kuṭālya was confounded with the abstract term ‘crookedness,’ especially as the prime-minister of Chandragupta, being the means of securing the sovereignty of the Mauryan family, must have been a first-rate diplomat and an adept in state-craft. He came thus to be connected somehow with all the dark and devious methods that are associated with diplomacy and duplicity. Recently Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganapati Śāstri has pointed out that the word Kuṭāla is mentioned by Keśavasvāmin in his Nādarthaṁ-avasamkṣepa, as meaning both Gotra-ṛiṣi and an ornament.

It is thus difficult to see what objection there can be to our considering Kuṭālya, the prime-minister of Chandragupta, as the author of the Arthāpīṣṭhastra. The only way to cast doubt on this conclusion is to show that there are traits of style and some words or names in the body of the book, which are of a much later period. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, for instance, has taken his stand upon this type of internal evidence and has brought the composition down to a much later period. We will therefore direct our attention to these arguments. The strongest internal evidence on which these scholars have relied is the close affinity which the Kauṭālya bears to the sūtra works of a later period and to the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana. The method of stating the views of opponents in a discussion, together with their names, and setting forth the final decision by their specification of the view and name of the reputed work, is a special characteristic of the sūtra works of the later period; and as among these Vātsyāyana is the earliest, being referred to the fourth century A.D., it is contended that Kauṭālya could not have been removed in point of time. He and his work are thus brought down to the second or third century A.D. I confess I am not convinced by any arguments which are based on mere considerations of style. To quote an instance, Mattavilāsa is evidently a drama of the seventh century, but in style, especially so far as the prologue is concerned, it has a remarkably close resemblance to the introductory portions of the 13 plays which have recently been ascribed to the poet Bhāsa. We know the date of the Mattavilāsa positively. It belongs to the seventh century A.D., and as we have got a positive date for this drama, an attempt was made by Dr. Barnett to bring the thirteen plays above-mentioned within this late period. But I do not think this view has commended itself to scholars like Prof. Winternitz, Keith and others. Secondly, it is true that the date of Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra has been settled pretty accurately. There is no evidence that it was added to or was tampered with by interpolations. This, however, cannot be said in regard to the Vedānta-sūtras of Bādarāyana or the Nyāya-sūtras of Gautama. There can be no doubt that both the bodies of the sūtras, as known to us at present, cannot be much earlier than the first century A.D. But it cannot be contended that most of the sūtras forming each one of these sets were not in existence long before. Take for instance the Vedānta-sūtras. To an impartial scholar there can be no doubt that they have been referred to in a passage of the Bhagavadgītā, as noticed by Mr. Amalnekar and Max Muller. What is the explanation of this discrepancy? Perhaps the best explanation is that of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, who has contended with great force that these

9 Edited by Ganapati Śāstri, Trivandrum series, Trakṣārakatyaḥ; verses 5, 33.
11 JRAS., 1919, p. 233 and 1923, p. 422.
12 C. V. Vaidya, Epic India, p. 407.
13 Max Muller, Indian Philosophy, p. 118.
Vedánta-sútras, though they existed long prior to the Bhágavadgítā, were added to from time to time and acquired their present fixity, when they were first commented upon by a most erudite commentator, perhaps Upáravsha. If such is the case, that particular trait of the sútra style, which refers to the opponents’ views along with their names and demolishe them by establishe the doctrine of the author, can very well date back to a time much anterio to the Bhágavadgítā and even the Kauśílyā. There is, therefore, nothing strange in Kauśílyā imitating that style in his Arthaśāstra. Again, it is worthy of note that the Nyāya-sútras, as they exist at present, like the Vedánta-sútras in their present form are of the third century A.D. But curiously enough they do not share this trait of style and we may therefore reasonably ask why they should not share it with the Kāmasútras of Vātsyāyana, although both belonged practically to the same period. The truth appears to be that style is not always a safe argument to go upon. No doubt there are many works of one and the same period which partake of the same characteristic style, but that does not preclude an author from imitating another style,—a style not prevalent in his day. It will thus be seen that the trait of style shown by the Arthaśāstra is also shown by the Vedántasútras, the greater part of which are as old as the fourth century B.C., if not older.

We now turn to a consideration of the views of Dr. Kalidas Nag. He scouts the idea that the ‘entire Arthaśāstra has come out from the head of Kauśílyā, like Minerva from the head of Zeus’ and refers the work in its present form to the post-Mauryan period. His main contention is that the diplomacy of the Kauśílyā is not that of a centralised empire, but indeed that of a very divided feudalism, in which each chief is in perpetual conflict with his peers for hegemony and in his turn is crushed by a new series of wars. It represents the normal atomist politics of a very decentralised epoch,—quite the reverse of the politics of a great empire. Thus the diplomacy of the Kauśílyā is either anterior or posterior to the Mauryas and does not show any trace of the centralising imperialism of Chandragupta. In trying to establish his thesis he even goes so far as to deny the existence of the term Chakravarthin in the treatise. But every student of the Arthaśāstra knows that Kauśílyā distinctly refers to this term. Thus Kauśílyā says:

Deśāḥ pṛthivīḥ: tasajñā Himavatsamudrāntaramudākānāṁ yojanasaharaparimāsa-tiryakchakravartiksetram.<sup>16</sup>

[Deśā (country) means the earth; in it the thousand yojanas of the northern portion of the country stretches between the Himalayas and the oceans form the dominion of Chakravarthin or Emperor.][16]

It is clear therefore that Kauśílyā expressly refers to Northern India (udāchī) as the seat of a big empire (chakravartiksetra), which is inconsistent with the supposition of Mr. Nag that the Kauśílyā reveals the picture of a decentralised feudalism. Clearly Mr. Nag has been misled by those chapters in which Kauśílyā discusses the theories of inter-State relations and war. In explaining these theories Kauśílyā has to assume the grouping of states; but nowhere does he say that these states were all small. No one again will deny the existence of big states like Russia and France in modern Europe, merely from the fact that there is conflict—I might almost say perpetual conflict—amongst the states for hegemony. Yet the theories of inter-state relations of Kauśílyā can be applied substantially to modern Europe, with its great states like Russia and France and tiny states like Belgium and Greece. Kauśílyā truly remarks:

tejo hi sandhānakāraśaṁ: nātaptasī lauhāṁ lohenā sandhāta iti.

(It is power that maintains peace between any two kings: no piece of iron that is not made red hot will combine with another piece of iron.)<sup>17</sup>

(To be continued.)

A VERSION OF HIR AND RANJHA.

BY ASA SINGH OF MAGHANA, JHANG DISTRICT, PUNJAB.

RECORDED BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (Retired).

Prefatory Note.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

This rough Panjabi ballad is of interest to show how deeply the tale of Hir and Rânjhâ has eaten into the minds of the people. It is not a high class poem or even a well-told tale, but its main interest is that it was composed by one Āsā Singh, keeper of a "sweets" shop in the Sadar Bazaar in Jhang, who was a native of Maghiana, a village in that district. This we learn from the last stanza.

Text.

Alif. 1

Āke Rabb nūn yād kariye :
Devī Mātā de sāhītā loṛiye, ji,
Mere andaroū uthīyā Chār-yāron :
" Kissa Hir te Rânjhâ joriye, ji,
Wâris Shâh dā hai bâyân jehrā,
Phog-satte 'atar na choṛiye, ji,
Āsā, Singhanān hâl kuchh gum howe,
Āpo-āp matlab sâr phoriye, ji."

Translation.

Come and celebrate the praises of the Lord,
And ask the help of Mother Devī.
Within me have arisen the Four Friends (saying) :
" Construct the tale of Hir and Rânjhâ
As Wâris Shah2 has told it.
Do not leave out the sprinkling of the scents ;
And if any point is missed by Āsā Singh3
Disclose the meaning of it thyself."

Alif 2.

Awwal dā e bâyân, yâro.
Rânjhīhān bhire zamindâr lokoīn.
Manjū Takht-Hazâre dā Chaudhri sī ;
Bēṭe aṭh, jainde wâkif kâr lokoīn.
Satān nāl oh rakhihe anjor botī :
Dhīdo nāl sī usdâ pyār lokoīn.
Āsā Singhâ, jeḷā Manjū faut hoīā,
Bhâī nāl Rânjhâ karan khâr lokoīn.

1 The poem is arranged in 34 stanzas numbered by letters of the Arabic-Persian Alphabet generally in the order of the letters. Each stanza commences with the letter indicating it.
2 Author of the most celebrated version of the story, translated by G. C. Usborne, and published ante, Vol. L, as a Supplement.
3 The present author.
Translation.

This is the beginning of the tale, my friends!
Rânjhâ came of zamūndâr folk (Jâs).
Manju was Chaudhri of Takht Hazâra,
And had eight sons of whom we know.
With seven he was on bad terms,
But Dhido he loved greatly.
When Manjû died, O Ásâ Singh
There was disagreement between Rânjhâ and his brethren.

Be

Boiâyân márde Rânjhanâ nuñ
Sat bhâi jehre usde han, Mîân :
Ghar jawe te bâviân lánt'ane,
Nâl tuhmatânu de gâqhan jân, Mîân :——
"Naqhi Hîr Syâl di paran leâwen,
Tadân jânâ tuî-nuñ jawán, Mîân.''
Ásâ Singhkahnâdu : gharoî vak hoke
Rânjhâ tabar kitâ pin khân, Mîân.

Translation.

With (vile) words to Rânjhâ
His seven brothers abused him.
They turned him out of the house with scorn and curses,
On hearing these words from a traveller :——
"Go and get the troth pledge of Hîr the Syâl.
She is fit lover for a youth like you.''
Ásâ Singh says, Rânjhâ left his home,
And gave up eating and drinking.

Te

Tarak Hajâre-nuñ kar Rânjhâ
Jhang chaliâ, Rabb di ás karke.
Châi vanjî khûndî te näl bhûrâ,
Gharoî turiâ, Hîr dâ qiyàs karke.
Râtiî vich masît vajâl vanjî.
Mullâî kaqhiâ, 'ishq dî pâs karke.
Kamm Rabb de dekh tûn, Ásâ Singhâ ;
Baiqhâ nadi teû, chit udâs karke.

Translation.

Abandoning Takht Hazâra, Rânjhâ
Went to Jhang, trusting in God.
He took his flute brown with use,
He started from his house dreaming of Hîr.
At night he rested in a mosque and played his flute.
The Mulas turned him away taking the side of love.
Behold God's work, Ásâ Singh.
He came and sat on the river bank, sad at heart.

4 Rânjhâ is really the tribal name of the hero, but it is always used as his personal name.
Sê

Sâbiti șidq de nâl kahndâ:
"Main-nûn jhab de pâr utâr, Miân."
Ghusse ho muhâne jawâb dittâ:
"Paisâ leke karâûge pâr, Miân."
Rânjhâ kahiâ:
"Faqir gharib-hân, Miân,
Hathûn saknâ be rozgâr, Miân."
Âsâ Singhâ, tamâshâ e dekh, tûn bî:
Kehâi karegâ agân kaltâr, Miân.

Translation.

With firm trust he says [to the boatman]:
"Take me to the other side of the stream, Sir."
Angrily the boatman replied:
"I will take you over on payment, Sir."
Rânjhâ said:
"I am a poor man, Sir; Without a livelihood save by my hands, Sir."
Âsâ Singh: behold thou too this wonder:
What commands the Creator will give.

Jim

Jadâû muhâne jawâb dittâ,
Rânjhâ howe khâlî hariân jehâ;
Pichhoû Mullâ kaâj-dittâ ma sût vichoû;
Agûî haûr milîî be-imân jehâ.
Rânjhâ "bismillâh" karke lei vanjî;
Rág gâwîân rûh-parchhân jehâ,
Âsâ Singh, us mušhiâni mard rannân
Sohnâ gabrû, pari de shân, jehâ.

Translation.

When the ferryman had refused to take him across,
Rânjhâ was left alone and perplexed,
Behind the Mulla had turned him out of the mosque,
And in front of him he met another rascal.
Rânjhâ saying "bi’sî’mil’a‘," took his flute
And sang a soul-entrancing ditty.
Âsâ Singh [says], he enchanted both men and women,
This beautiful youth who was like a fairy.

Chim

Chârâneû Rânjhe-nûû berî uthe;
Rannân do’i jhabel diâa ujuhieni;
Berî vich chârâe bahâliâne;
Gîrdî baîth bharîndiâû muţhieni.
Ludhân samajhiâ: "Meriân do rannâû
Is Jaṭṭ di vanjî kuţhieni.
Âsâ Singh: Rânjhe teû te mast hoîû
Ghar ehho, khâwind koloû ruţhieni.
Translation

Two women from the boatmen's hamlet arose
And took him into the boat.
They took him into the boat and made him sit down,
And they sat down and began to pound grain.
Ludhān understood that his two wives
Had been captivated by the Jatt's flute.
Āsā Singh [says]:—They were mad for Rānjhā
Left their house, and quarrelled with their husband.

Rānjhā asks for a true account:

"Whose bed is that spread out in the boat?"
"This is the bedding of Hir the Syāl girl, Sir,
Whose tale is told with that of Bhāg-bhāri."

Hearing Hir's name he was delighted
And he who had fled from his home lay down on the bed.
Āsā Singh [says]:—Some one went and told Hir:
"Some Jatt is stretched upon thy bed."

When she heard this news
Hir the Syāl was vexed:
"Who has lain down on my bed?"

Coming to the river with her companion,
First she began to scold the boatman:
Then she came and looked at Rānjhā.
[Says Āsā] Singh:—Hir's heart was conquered outright
When eye with eye exchanged its glances.

(To be continued.)

The word "Gipsey" is here used in the sense of "nomad." Its use is not intended to suggest any connection with the Romani Chals of Europe. Throughout the length and breadth of India migratory tribes are to be found, some settling down in towns and villages, others still moving from place to place in pursuit of their ordinary avocations. All or nearly all wandering tribes in India have dialects or *argots* of their own. Some of these forms of speech are closely connected with well-known languages, and have already been described in the course of this Series. Thus six are dealt with in Vol. IV, along with Dravidian languages, and seven in Vol. IX as belonging to the Bih languages. In the volume before us six dialects and ten *argots* are discussed. The dialects are Śāli, Beldāri, Bhāmi, Lādi, Ojāki and Pendhāri; the *argots* need not be specified. Say is said on p. 5 to be a mere argot, but on p. 41, to be a distinct vernacular. The latter statement is correct. It is a real dialect with its own declensions, conjugations, phonetic law and syntax, and is as independent as any non-nomadic, non-criminal dialect which, spoken by few people, lies open to the influence of more powerful neighbours. Dr. Konow, however, on p. 5 was perhaps thinking of the Criminal Variation which may be described as an *argot* based upon the dialect.

The author's main thesis is one of intense interest. He argues on both ethological and linguistic grounds that all these nomads had a common Dravidian origin, and that for many centuries they have consisted over India. In fact, he hints that they are indirectly referred to in the *Mahābhārata*, where Yudhishthira is warned of impending treachery in a jargon understood only by himself and the speaker. We can but wish that the limitations of space had not prevented the production of more evidence and precluded a fuller discussion of the whole problem. We should like to know how these tribes differed from other Dravidians, why they separated from them, whether they were ever a united, though separate, whole, how and why they split into diverse elements, and most important of all, what their connection is with the true Gipsies of Asia Minor and Europe. The arguments pointing to original unity are well put together, and a good case is made out. The author will not himself claim completely to have established his position, but he may perhaps say in the famous words of the student, asked after an examination if he had succeeded in demonstrating Euclid Bk. I Prop. 5, "I should not like to say that I proved it, but I think I made it seem very probable."

Though supposed to be Dravidians, these nomads now speak Aryan dialects, generally connected with Rajputani, Gujarati or Marathi. A number of the secret words used in their special *argots* are common to several different tribes, and of these a few are found among European Gipsies. Thus the word *kojja* or *kājh* employed by Śāis and Nās, (also, it may be remarked by Chūrās who are not discussed at all in this volume) is like the Romani *gaj* (? English *cogger*). It does not however mean, as here stated, "man" *pur et simple*. It always mean a man not belonging to the tribe. This is true also of *gaj*. In India there is a further limitation of meaning. The word means a man of ordinary respectable society. Thus Śāis would not call a Chūrā or Gaggā "Kojja," but a Hindu, Muzalman or Englishman would be so called. Other Romani words are jukela, jhukil, chukal chuk or dhokal, dog (Rom. jukel), and rakhlo, boy (Rom. raklo). In addition to these there are of course the numerous Romani words which are common to all Sanskrit languages.

Prof. Konow is much to be congratulated on his contributions to the Linguistic Survey. Of the volumes now before us he has written 5 in all, and Sir George Grierson 11. It is matter of great satisfaction to find distinguished foreign scholars, like him and Prof. Blech of Paris, devoting themselves to modern Indian vernaculars, thus showing that importance does not depend on a remote past. The views expressed in the present work will command general acceptance, except there (occupying only half a page in all) which relate to the connection of Romani with Indian languages. These should be reconsidered.

The treatment of the similarity between dialects widely separated geographically, a similarity which shows itself not so much in individual words as in methods of word-building, and particularly of secret word-building, is valuable in itself and leads to important results. The picture of this great tribe with the *wanderlust* in its veins, a band of people much larger in time past than today, fascinates the imagination; and the possibility of their being of the same race as the real Gipsies should attract the attention of Orientalists and fill with joy the hearts of the founders and supporters of the Gypsy Lore Society.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.
For a very long time there has been prevalent among both Indian and Western scholars a genuine confusion as to the exact signification of the names of the two trees, "Sarala" and "Devadāru". Some have boldly identified the "Sarala" with the "Devadāru"; others have shown diffidence as to the identity, but have not been able to draw a satisfactory line of demarcation between the two; while still others have maintained a sceptical silence. As a matter of fact the actual difference between the two trees is too wide to have given rise to any real difficulty. This will be evident from the following article. The various lexicons, works on Rhetoric, poems, treatises on Ayurveda, works on Botany, Pharmacopoea, popular and scientific nomenclature, books on economic and commercial products, all agree in speaking to the same effect, and thus confirm what I have just now said. Even a careful examination of the various passages of Raghuvamśam, Kumārasambhavam and Meghadūta, in which the words occur, would show that the poet Kālidāsa was also quite aware of this difference.

Let me, first of all, discuss the theme from the side of Lexicons:

(1) Amarasimha speaks clearly enough. He has not only given the names of the two trees in two different places, but has inserted the names of various other trees between them. He has given seven other names for "Devadāru", and two other names for "Sarala."

Cf. (a) Śakrapādanaḥ pāribhadrakaḥ
Bhadradāru drukilimāṁ pātadāru ca dāru ca,
Pūtikāṣṭhakā capa syurdevadāruṇi. (Sl. 54.)
(b) Pātadāru Sarālaḥ pūtikāṣṭhān. (Sl. 60.)

It is apparent from the quotation that Pūtikaṣṭha is a common name for both trees. But this is no argument in favour of identifying them. To cite an instance, 'Dvija' means both a 'twice-born caste' and 'tooth', but this does not imply that a twice-born caste is a tooth.

(2) The Viśes-prakāśa lexicon points out the actual difference between the two, by placing them side by side, while giving the various meanings of the word Deva-kāṣṭha.

Cf. Deva-kāṣṭhantu Sarala-devadāru-mahi ruhōḥ.

(3) The lexicon Mādīnī also very similarly draws a distinction, while giving the various meanings of 'Pūti-kāṣṭha.'

Cf. Pūtikāṣṭhantu Sarala-devadāru-mahi ruhōḥ.

(4) Even the lexicographer Keśavasvāmin seems to have recognised the distinction; when giving the various meanings of the word Dāru, he writes:

"Dāru kāṣṭhā kli punar devadāruṇi"—and again when giving the meanings of pātadāru, he says:

"Pātadāru punah kliyam devadāruṇi pondant. But when giving the meaning of Sarala, he identifies the tree with Pūtikāṣṭhāhvaṇa-druma."

From the above it will be evident that of all the names of the Devadāru tree, viz. Dāru, Pīta-dāru, Amara-pādana, etc., 'Devadāru' was the one most generally known and most commonly used. This is the reason why in explaining the meaning of the other names of the tree, the term 'Devadāru' has always been used. If 'Sarala' meant the same tree as 'Devadāru,' our lexicographer must have chosen that very word (inasmuch as it is the most popular of all its synonyms), instead of such an ambiguous term as pūtikāṣṭha, which, according to Amarasimha and a few other lexicographers, means both 'Sarala' and 'Devadāru'. (Vide above.) Besides, in a very large majority of treatises, Pūtikāṣṭhā is exclusively used for the 'Sarala' tree alone. The author of the Śabda-Candrika, for example, gives
'Pātikāṣṭha' as a name for 'Sarala,' but he does not mention it as a synonym of 'Devadāru.' Moreover, the singular termination in Pātikāṣṭhāhvaya-drumē is significant, and shows that the author must have meant only one, and not two trees by Pātikāṣṭhāhvaya. Even if we take for granted that a singular case-affix has been used to mean both the trees, it stands to reason that the use of the rather ambiguous term Pātikāṣṭha would have been avoided by the lexicographer, in view of the fact that definiteness and clearness are essential to lexicons.

Further, if we go to the etymology of the word Pātikāṣṭha, we find that there is a significant reference to the malodorous principle contained in the wood of the tree. Now, 'turpentine,' which is the oleo-resinous product of 'Sarala,' and is known as Saraladrava, Śriveṣṭa, Śrīvāṣa, Vṛṣahūpa, etc., is decidedly more pungent and offensive in smell than Devadāru oil, or keLu-kō-tel as it is popularly known. All these would go to support the view taken by me, viz., that the lexicographer Keśava-svāmin must have been aware of the difference between the two trees.

(5) The lexicographer Hemacandra explains Saraladrava as Śriveṣṭa, Pāyasa, Vṛṣahūpa. (Vide Martyakāṇḍa, 7th Paryāya). It is a point of much importance that the oleo-resinous exudation from the 'Sarala' tree has so many technical names, while the oleo-resinous exudation from the 'Devadāru' tree has no technical appellation. This also goes far towards pointing out the initial difference between the two trees.

As to works on Rhetoric, Bāgbhaṭa in his work Kāvyānusāsana, ch. 1, very clearly points out the difference.


Even a work on Biography, viz., Ballāla Cūrīgam, a composition of the sixteenth century, draws the distinction.

Cf. Saralāṃ deva-kāśthaṇca (ch. 14, sl. 23).

The works on the Ayurveda most pointedly mark the difference between the two trees and dwell at length upon their different medicinal properties. I quote below passages from the most eminent works on the Ayurveda, where 'Sarala' and 'Devadāru' (or Dāru) have been mentioned side by side.

I. Caraka:


(2) Devadāru—hūḍide de Saralātiṣṭā vacā. (vide Udara-cikitsā, 13 ch. Bangabasi ed., 18 ch.) sec. 77 (or 104, Bangabasi ed.)

(3) Deva paśca[m] Saralām Devadāru Su-nāgaram. (vide Grahāni cikitsā; ch. 15 or (ch. 19, Bangabasi); sec. 32 or (sec. 53, Bangabasi ed.); Dāsamalādyam Ghrām.)

(4) Saralām dāru kēṣaram. (ch. 27, Kṛṣṇambha cikitsā, sec. 16 or (29) acc. to Bangabasi ed.)

(5) Śaṭi—Sarala—dārule—muniṣṭhā. (vide ch. 28, Vātavyādhi cikitsā, sec. 53 or sec. 110, Bangabasi ed.); Valā tāta.

(6) Saralāḥ kilimām hiṣgu. (vide Kalpasārānam, ch. 7, sec. 8 or sl. 12, Bangabasi ed.).

II. Sūtrāta:


(2) Tathāgurum Sarjarasām Saralām devadāru ca. (vide Cikitsāsātānam, ch. 15; sec. 15).
(3) ... Kuṭṭha-dārubhīḥ. Saralā-guru-rāṇābhaḥ (vide Cikitsitasthānam, ch. 19, sec. 15).
(4) Madhukāṁ Kārṣunikā ca Saralāṁ devadāru ca .......... (vide Cikitsitasthānam, ch. 24, sec. 14).
(5) Elā trikāṭukāṁ rāṇā Saralāṁ devadāru ca (vide Cikitsitasthānam, ch. 38, sec. 9).
(6) Prapaṃśaṅkāṁ nalaṁ Saralāṁ devadāru ca (vide Kalpasthānam, ch. 7, sec. 6).

III. Bāgbhāṣa —
(1) Śrīveṣṭa-ṇaḥaka-smṛkti-devadāru-priyāgubhīḥ .......... (vide ch. 17, Śvayathu Cikitsā).
(2) Niruṇḍyurūṣaka-Surāḥsa-Suvarṇa-duṣṭhā Śrīveṣṭa-guḍgulu .......... (vide ch. 19, Kuṭṭha cikitsā, Mahāvajraṇam.)
(3) Saralāmaradārubhīḥ Sādhitaṁ .......... (vide Kalpasthānam, ch. 5).
(4) Sa-bhātṛ-ṛṇa-Saralā- ...... (vide Uttarasthānam, ch. 2. Vālaroga-cikitsā)
(5) Rajānī dāru-Saralā- .... (vide Uttarasthānam, ch. 2, Vālaroga-cikitsā)
(6) ...roma-devāhu-Sarasaṅgam. Mayurapata-Srīveṣṭa .... (vide Uttarakṣṭhānam, ch. 3, Vāla-graha-cikitsā)
(7) ... Saralā—piṇḍāḥ—devadārubhīḥ .......... (vide Uttarakṣṭhāna, ch. 13, Timira cikitsā).
(8) Yojyasa-cāyaḥ bhadra-kauṭhūḥ Kauṭhūcca Sāralāt. (vide Uttarakṣṭhānam, ch. 18, Karṇa-rūga cikitsā)
(9) Aguru-Candana-Kuṅkumā-Sārībā-Saralā-Sarjaraśa-maradārubhīḥ. (vide Uttarakṣṭhānam, ch. 27, Bhaṅga-rūga-cikitsā; Gandha-Tailam.)

IV. Cakradatta—
(1) Rāṇā Vṛkṣudān dāru Saralām Sailavālukam. (Jvaradhī kārah, sec. 52.)
(2) Elā murā Saralā Śailajā-dāru-Kauṇti ...... (Vātavēṇa-hyādikārah ; sec. 51; Elādītayam.)
(3) ... ghanasāra-kunda-Saralā. Śrīvāṣa-maratāru candaṇ. ...... (Vātaviyā- 
(4) ...devadāru. Śrīvāṣācī Śaketaṇam. (loc. cit., sec. 74.)
(5) Mārāsī-dāru-vala-Calām. Śrīvāso. (loc. cit., sec. 75.)
(6) Jīvī-cūcā-devadāru-Saralā-Vyāghri .......... (loc. cit., sec. 75.) (Mahāsugandhi- 
(7) ... Saralāṁ dāru kesaram. ....... (Urūsthambhādhikārah, sec. 7. Kuṭṭhadāya- 
(8) Śailaya-kuṭṭha-guru-dāru. ...... Śrīveṣṭa ...... (Śoṭhādhikāraḥ; Saileyābhaya-
(9) Saralā-guru-kuṭṭhāni devadāru mahāugadham. (Vṛdhyādikārah, sec. 8.)
(10) ...... Kāλd Saralayā Saha ... Punarnava Sigru-dāru-daśamūla. (Vṛṇa-soṭhādhhi- 
(11) ... madana-śrīveṣṭa-Surāhvaḥai. ...... (loc. cit., sec. 15.)
(12) Saralā-guru-bhadraśhīyai ...... (Upadāsādhi-kārah, sec. 2.)
(13) Śrīveṣṭakaṁ Sarjaraśa guggulu Sura-dāru ca. (Mukharōga-dhikāraḥ, sec. 1.)
(14) Evara Kuryād bhadrakāṭe kuṭhe kāṭhe ca Sārāḷe. (Karṇa-rōga-dhikāraḥ, 
(15) Śrīja-puṣpa-śrīveṣṭa ... Saradāru-padmakāra. (Viṣādhikāraḥ, sec. 18.)
V. Bhāva-prakāśa :

(1) Devadāru Smtam dārubhodram dārindra-dāru ca.
Masta-dāru dru-kilimam kilimam Sura bhūruhah.
Devadāru laghu snigdham tiktogam Kaṭupāki Ca.
Vivandhādhmāna-Śothāma-tandrā-hikkā-jvarāsrayit.
Pratāha-pānasas-Ślema-kāsa-kaṇḍu-Samrā-nut.


Another reading has :


Thus B.P. not only differentiates them but gives a list of diseases which they cure respectively. So also the author of Madana-pāla-nighaṇṭu fully differentiates them.

VI. Madana-pāla-nighaṇṭu :


I give below an almost exhaustive list of the various names of 'Devadāru' and 'Sarala' in two columns, so that they may readily be compared. The names common to both are italicised.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Devadāru (Synonyms)</th>
<th>Sarala (Synonyms)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Amara-dāru (Sura-dāru), etc.</td>
<td>1. Śrīvāsa (its oil also).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Indra-dāru (Śakra-dāru), (Indra-vṛṣa, Śakra-pāḍa.)</td>
<td>2. Śri-veṣṭa (its oil also).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Śiva-dāru.</td>
<td>3. Dhūpa-vṛṣa (Dhūma-Vṛṣa).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Śambhavam.</td>
<td>4. (Dīpa-vṛṣa).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sura-bhūruha.</td>
<td>7. Marica-patraka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Dāru (Dārakam).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Snēha-vṛṣa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Pāribhadra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Pūti-kāṣṭha.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22. Dru-kilima.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 Even (VII) Pāta Kāpya has got :—चचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচ�চচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচ�চচচচচচ�চচচচচচচच�চচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচ�চচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচ�চচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচचচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচচ����������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������keyup
Herewith are two tabulated statements of the diseases which they are reputed to cure; the ailments for which both are specific are italicised:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Devadāru (cures)</th>
<th>Sarala (cures)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Suppression or retention of urine or faeces. (Ischuria, Intussusception of the bowels, Constipation, etc.)</td>
<td>1. Ear diseases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dropsy.</td>
<td>3. Eye diseases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. &quot;Rakta-pitta&quot;=Hæmoptysis, Hæmatemesis, etc.</td>
<td>5. Lichens, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Urinary troubles.</td>
<td>6. Boils, buboes, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Itches.</td>
<td>9. Dropsy, Intumesence (tumours, etc.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Hiccough.</td>
<td>11. Phlegm and disorders of the nervous system in general.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Troubles of the Nervous system.</td>
<td>15. Swoons, etc., (Syncope, etc.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Paretic affections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Fistula.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. &quot;Vāta-rakta&quot; (Leprosy, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Syphilis.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Phthisis pulmonalis.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Insanity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Jaundice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Worms, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Rheumatism.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Imparts good complexion and grace.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That Devadāru is a great stomachic and a great digestive drug, will be apparent from its wide use in the preparation of various ‘Digestion’-drugs (cf. Vṛhadagni-mukha-cūrṇa), etc. For its power to kill worms, vide Cakradatta Kṛmīrāgādhikāra. As a remedy for ‘Insanity,’ compare Cakradatta Unmādādhikāra. As an icteric, its reputation stands very high (cf. Tryāṇuṇḍi-māṇḍūram; Maṇḍūra-vajra vajaka, etc.). In subduing ‘calculus’ its power is very great (cf. ‘Varunādi ghṛta’ etc.). As a remedy for ‘Goitre’ it occupies a very high position (cf. Vyasādyam Tailam). In paretic affections both Sarala and Devadāru are used (cf. Mahāsugandhi Taila in Vātavyādhi-Cakradatta). But Devadāru has a far greater reputation as an anti-paralytic drug than Sarala. The former enters into the preparations of Nārāyaṇa Taila, Mahāmāsa Taila, Kubja-prasārini Taila, Aśādāsā-satika-prasārini Taila, etc., all of which are great anti-paralytic remedies. Devadāru is so effective a drug for Rheumatism that almost all the reputed preparations for removing the disease contain it (cf. Rāṣṇādāsā-mīlaka, Rāṣṇā-pāncaka, Rāṣṇā-saptaka, Yogaṛdja-guggulu, Ajamādhāya vataka, etc.). It is a famous drug for Phthisis pulmonalis (cf. Siūpāpalādileha ). In the Ayurveda, Devadāru enjoys a singular reputation as a curative for
Leprosy and various other diseases resulting from an impure condition of the blood (cf. Aṃrtābhyām gṛhaṃ, etc.). Dr. Gibson also recommends the use of the oil of Devadāru in large doses as highly efficacious in Vātarakta Leprosy, malignant abscesses, etc. Dr. J. Johnston is said to have cured a severe case of “Lepra mercurialis” by treating externally and internally with Deodar oil. (Vide Sir G. Watt’s *Economic Products of India.*) Sarala is described in the *Ayurveda* as a great remedy for boils and buboes. The same view is confirmed by a number of European physicians, who discovered its efficacy clinically. Surgeon D. Picachy of Purnea wrote, “I have used it externally, to ripen boils, abscesses, and buboes with good effect.” S. M. Shircore, late Civil Surgeon of Murshidabad, writes, “Gondh-biroza” (oil of the Sarala tree) certainly promotes suppuration when externally applied and is specially useful in indolent abscesses and buboes.” F. Mallone, late Civil Surgeon of Gauhati, writes—“I have found Gandha-biroza to be an excellent application for the ulcers known as Frontier Sores in the Punjab.” (Vide Sir G. Watt’s *Economic Products of India.*)

It will, I hope, be quite evident from what I have shown above that the two trees ‘Sarala’ and ‘Devadāru’ are not only different specifically, but have widely different medicinal properties.

I shall now discuss the matter from the standpoint of Botany. All Western botanists have very pronouncedly distinguished the two trees. Indeed, one (Devadāru) is a cedar, while the other (Sarala) is a pine. Even so old-styled a botanist as Roxburgh, who calls both of them ‘Pine’, distinguishes them very clearly by giving widely different characteristics to the two trees. He calls ‘Devadāru’, *Pinus Devadaru* and ‘Sarala,’ *Pinus longifolia* (vide *Flora Indica*). The more modern botanists have called ‘Devadāru,’ *Cedrus Libani Deodar*, and ‘Sarala,’ *Pinus longifolia*. Indeed the latter is very easily distinguished from the former by its pale green tint, brown corky bark, three-fold leaves, and the absence of any distinct heartwood. The Himalayan Deodar has tufted leaves like the European larch. Its timber is most durable, and from it the highly fragrant resin never disappears, no matter how long it may have been cut.

To make confusion worse confounded, the people in Bengal call a tree by the name of ‘Devadāru’ which is neither ‘Sarala’ (*Pinus longifolia*) nor the Cedrus Deodar. This is a tree which is not a member of the coniferae at all, not even a gymnospermous plant. It is an angiosperous plant and belongs to the same family as the custard apple, i.e., *Anonaceae* N. O. Indeed, the cedar and the pine, although very different, belong to the same family of plants, and their points of affinity are not a few. But this so-called ‘Devadāru,’ i.e., ‘the Devadāru of Bengal’ differs from both of them very radically. It is curious that the people should have applied such a well-known name to the tree, by ignoring the difference which actually exists between this pseudo-Devadāru and the true Himalayan Deodar. This tree is botanically known as *Polyalthia longifolia*, or *Uereria longifolia* or *Guatteria longifolia*. Very probably the origin of such a name for the tree can be traced to the fact, (as Sir George King also suggests in *A Guide to the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta*), that this tree is very often planted in Bengal in the neighbourhood of temples or in the avenues leading to temples, and is regarded as a sacred tree. This tree is known in Orissa as ‘Asoka,’ in the Telugu countries as ‘Putra-jiva,’ and in Tamil countries also as ‘Asoka.’ It flowers in February. Its fruits ripen during the rainy season and are very largely devoured by birds. They look purple and are either ovoid or oblong in shape.

To make the general reader fully recognise the actual difference between these three trees, *viz.*, (1) *Pinus longifolia*, (2) *Cedrus Deodar*, and (3) *Polyalthia longifolia*, I shall give below a table showing their mutual relation at a glance:—
SARALA AND DEVADARU

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Spermaryta

Gymnosperms

Cycadaceae Coniferae Gnetaceae Monocotyledons

Angiosperms

Dicotyledons

Cycas Zamia Dioon Encephalartos etc.

Tunbooa Gnetaeum Ephedra, etc.

Anacaceae (N.O.)

Species—Polyalthia longifolia

(1) Pinus (Pine) (2) Cedrus (cedar) (3) Abies or Picea (Spruce) (4) Tsuga (Hemlock) (5) Sequoia (larch) (6) Larix (Arbor vitae) (7) Thuja (Red cedar etc.) (8) Juniperus (9) Cupressus

Species—Sarala Species—Devadaru

I give below, the different characteristics of the three trees:

The so-called ‘Devadaru’ of Bengal.

I. Polyalthia Longifolia.

Uvaria longifolia (Indian fir or Mast tree).

Habitat—A large erect evergreen glabrous tree, wild in the drier parts of Ceylon and Tanjore, cultivated throughout the hotter parts of India. It is commonly planted in avenues along roadsides in Bengal and S. India.

Stem—Has got good bast fibre.

Branches—Glabrous.

Leaves—Narrowly lanceolate, taper-pointed, undulate. 5 to 8 by 1-2 inches. Base acute; petiole about \(\frac{1}{2}\) inch long.

Flowers—Numerous, dense; yellow-green in fascicles, 1-1\(\frac{1}{2}\) inch across. Peduncles \(\frac{1}{2}\) inch or less; hoary. Pedicell, 1-2 inch densely racemose.

Bracts—Minute, linear; pubescent, deciduous, about or above the middle.

Sepals—\(\frac{1}{2}\) inch long, triangular.

Petals—Narrow, linear spreading tapering to a point.

Carpels—When ripe \(\frac{1}{2}\) inch long; are numerous, stalked, ovoid, obtuse at both ends.

Fruit—Ovoid or oblong, one-seeded and purple. Favourite food of birds. The fruits ripen during the rainy season.

N.O.—Anacaceae (the same family to which custard apple belongs).

(Vide—Hooker, vol. I, p. 62; Theodore Cooke’s Flora of the Bombay Presidency; Prain’s Bengal Plants, p. 204.)

II. Pinus Longifolia.

(‘True ‘Sarala’.)

Habitat—A large gregarious tree of the outer and drier Himalayan slopes, from the Indus to Bhutan, met with as low down as 1500 feet and ascending to 7000 feet. A more or less deciduous tree of the Siwalik range and outer Himalayas and also valleys of the principal Himalayan rivers; attaining usually 100 to 120 feet height, but is very often stunted and gnarled. Trunk usually naked, rarely with 12 feet girth.

Stem—Bark is brown or yellowish-reddish and corky; furrowed; no distinct heartwood is noticeable.

Leaves—Three-fold, filiform, from 12 to 18 inches long; pendulous, with the margins a little scabrous; 9 to 12 in slender triquetrons, back obtuse, sheaths persistent,
**Flower**—The female cones are globose or ovoid. The cones are shorter than the leaves; are solitary or clustered, 4 to 7 inches by 3 inches in diameter; have got scales at the base.

**Scales**—The scales are 1½ to 2 inches by ½ inch are ovuliferous, much larger than the bracts, with thick recurved apices. The scales are persistent. **Ovules** two at the base of the scales, reflexed.

**Male flowers**—Antheral racemes, numerous at the extremities of the branchlets.

**Bracts**—Solitary, one to each raceme. **Filaments**—Scarcely any.

**Anthers**—Clavate, opening on each side and crowned with a large roundish scale.

**Cotyledons**—About 12.

**Oleo-resin**—The oleo-resinous exudation of the tree is ‘Turpentine oil.’ *Saralana* (Sanskrit *Saralana*), *Śrī-Vāsa*, *Śrī-vējaka*, *Pāyasa*, *Yavāsa*, *Ghṛtāhāvaya*, *Kārāhāvaya*, etc., are the Sanskrit names for it. It is popularly known as ‘Gandha-bīroža’ in Upper India.


**III. Cedrus Libani Deodar.**

**Himalayan Cedar.** *(The true ‘Devadāru.’)*

**Habitat**—A very large evergreen tree, (often 250 feet), of the Western Himalayas, extending westwards to the mountains of Afghanistan and eastward to the Dauli river (a tributary of Alakanandā) in Kumaon. Most common at 6,000 to 8,000 feet altitude, but in more eastern section of its area ascends to 10,000 feet altitude. It prefers a light soil and gneiss granite or even lime-stone sub-soil, but in the Himalayas it seeks the northern and western slopes thus avoiding the rain. It is especially abundant in the forests of the Punjab proper (Chamba, Kullu, Kangra, etc.), of Kashmir and Afghanistan. From Kumaon westwards generally 3,500 to 12,000 feet.

The geographical range of Deodar specially in altitude is very wide. In Brandis’ *Forest Flora of North-Western and Central India*, pp. 520-24, three deodar zones have been differentiated. (1) Those in a dry climate in the vicinity of the arid zone of the inner Himalaya having usually the age of trees, 6 feet in girth, above 140 years. (2) Those in the intermediate ranges and valleys having 6 feet girth for an age between 110 and 140. (3) Those in the outer ranges under the full influence of monsoon and having the age of trees 6 feet in girth below 110 years. *[Vide Sir G. Watt’s Economic Products of India and Commercial Products of India.]*

**Stem**—Light yellowish brown, scented and moderately hard. Sometimes the girth of trunk is 36 feet (usually 30 to 45 feet) and age even 600 years. Bark thick, furrowed vertically and cracked transversely. *The Heartwood* is light yellowish. Medullary rays are very fine, unequal in width. *No vertical resinous duct as in Pinus* but the resin exudes from cells which are not visible to the naked eye. Deodar has well-marked annual rings, each of which represents one year’s growth.

**Branches**—Its branches are drooping, being more drooping than the Atlas or Lebanon cedars. Tips are drooping.

**Leaves**—Usually glaucous green, acute persistent for 3 to 5 years, in approximated fascicles of about 40; rigid acute; sheaths very short.

**Flower**—The strobilus or cone is erect, oval, 4 to 5 by 3 to 4 inches; top is rounded. *Scales* very numerous; thin, smooth even edged, transversely elliptic. Is destitute of bracts projecting beyond the scales of the cone. *Cedrus has the cone of Pinus but the Scales are deciduous.*

**Seeds**—⅛ inch; wing longer, broadly triangular with rounded sides. **Cotyledons**—10; leaving a columnar axis.
Oleo-resin—The oleo-resin or gum is called 'kelon-ka-tel' in the Punjab and U. P. A true oleo-resin which resembles turpentine. No technical Sanskrit name for it. (Vide Roxburgh, Hooker, Watt, King, Royle, etc.).

The various and widely different characteristics of the three trees, as given by me above, will afford a true insight into the actual difference between them.

Turning to the works of the great poet Kālidāsa, I shall show that our poet was thoroughly aware of the difference between a ' Sarala ' and a ' Devadāru tree.' In the first place, it will be seen that wherever Kālidāsa refers to ' Sarala,' he mentions some sort of friction or rubbing with its trunk, the result being either a conflagration or the diffusing of the smell of its oleo-resin (cf. Meghaduta's Pārvamegha, sl. 54; Kumāra, I. 9; cf. Gandhā-birūzā, the popular name of it). Even ' Devadāru ' is sometimes described as having its trunk rubbed by elephants (cf. Raghu, 2. 37; and 4. 76), but in such cases there is no mention of any odoriferous oil or resin exuding and diffusing its scent in the air. In the second place, Devadāru is in many places placed in proximity to some waterfall or hill-rivulet, its base thus affording a good place for rest. The Himalayan hunters repose either under or very near a Devadāru grove, where the breeze is still more refreshing on account of being the carrier of the cool particles of a fall of the Bhāgirathī. (Cf. Kumāra, 1. 15.) Thus we find that Mahādeva (Siva) himself chooses a place for his meditation at the foot of a Devadāru tree. (Cf. Kumāra, 3. 44.) In the third place, had ' Devadāru ' meant to Kālidāsa the same thing as ' Sarala,' he could have chosen ' Sarala ' as a substitute for ' Devadāru.' But on the contrary, we find that the poet is very careful about his vocabulary in this respect. The "Purāṇa Devadāru" of Vyasabhādhvajā, of which we read in Raghu, 2. 36, is again mentioned as Devadāru in Raghu, 2. 56. Fourthly, the poet compares the long arms of such a mighty individuality as Himālaya to the tall Devadāru, and not to Sarala. (Vide Kumāra, 6. 51.) Now, the usual height for a Sarala tree is from 100 to 120 feet, while the Devadāru tree often attains to a height of from 200 to 250 feet. We all know that Kālidāsa is specially reputed for his similes or comparisons (Upamā Kālidāsasya); and here we find how accurately his comparison tallies with actual fact. Fifthly, while describing the grandeur of a Himalayan gen or slope, the very favourite flora of our poet seem to be six, viz. (1) the phosphorescent herb which emits light at night; (2) the ' Bhūrja ' or (birch) tree; (3) the ' Kicaka ' bamboo; (4) the ' Nameru ' (an Eleocarpus) tree; (5) the ' Sarala ' tree; (Pinus longifolia) and (6) the ' Devadāru ' tree (Cedrus deodar). Of these six, sometimes he mentions all, sometimes five, sometimes even two or one only. In Kumāra, canto 1, when the Himālaya is being described, we find nearly the complete set excepting ' Nameru.' (Vide slokas 7-15.) In Kumāra, canto 1, sloka 55, we find mention of two only of these plants, viz., ' Nameru ' and ' Bhūrja,' together. In Kumāra, canto 3, slokas 43-44, we find reference to two only, viz.: (1) ' Nameru ' and (2) ' Devadāru.' In the description of the Himalaya in Meghadūta (Pārvamegha) we hear mention of two only, viz.:—(1) ' Sarala ' and (2) ' Kicaka bamboo' (slokas 54 and 57). The description of the Himalaya during the course of the account of Raghu's conquest, as given in Raghu, canto 4, gives us the complete set. (1) Birch, and (2) Kicaka bamboo are mentioned in sl. 73. Sl. 74 mentions (3) ' Nameru.' Sl. 75 gives us (4) ' Sarala ' and (5) the phosphorescent herb which serves as a lamp. Sl. 76 mentions (6) 'Devadāru.' This mention of ' Sarala ' and ' Devadāru' almost side by side is both conclusive and convincing. Had ' Sarala ' meant to Kālidāsa the same tree as ' Devadāru,' there would have been no necessity for mentioning it again in the very next sloka. Besides, even if we take for granted that the poet meant identical trees by ' Sarala ' and ' Devadāru,' the rhetorical fault of "Samāpta-punarāditattā" occurs, which is too broad and obvious a blunder to be committed by so great a poet.
In conclusion I wish to say a little about Mallinâtha the great commentator. Many scholars have accused him of not knowing the difference between these two trees. To free the great savant from such censure, I shall present to the reader the actual perspective taken by him. Just as Roxburgh and some other botanists include both cedar and pine under the general name ‘Pinus’, or just as we still now include the pine, the fir, the spruce, the larch, etc., under the generic title ‘Pinaeae’, so Mallinâtha included both the ‘Devadâru proper’ and the ‘Sarala’ under the generic epithet ‘Devadâru’. Thus we find in his Sañjîvâni on Raghu-Vamsa, canto. 4, sl. 75, ‘Saralâsu devadâru viśeṣeṣu’. This is at once emphatic and convincing. Had he meant by ‘Devadâru’ the very same tree as ‘Sarala’, he would never have said this. It is only because he takes ‘Devadâru’ in a generic sense that he says, “Saralândam devadârudrumāndam” in his Sañjîvâni on Meghadûta Pârvamegha, sl. 54 (or 55 acc. to some editions). Such a use of the word in a generic sense is warranted by the fact that even nowadays we find ‘Sarala’ called ‘Saral Devadâr’ in Gujarât and Mahârâstrâ. Similarly, in the Tamil Districts it is still called ‘Saral devdâri’, and in the Telugu Districts it is still known as ‘Saral devadâru’. Besides, if we take note of the fact that Mallinâtha came from a country which was very probably a Telugu-speaking one or at least a neighbouring one to that where Telugu was spoken, our perspective becomes clearer. I hope that I have thus established Mallinâtha’s position in some measure.

The Himalayan flora much resemble the European. The most prominent groups are, (1) the Coniferae—of which again the pine, the cedar, the spruce and the fir, are by far the most abundant; (2) the Cupuliferae (oak family)—of which the most prominent members are the oak, the hazel, the beech, the birch and the alder; (3) the Salicineae (Amenticeae, N.O.), of which the poplar, the willow, the osier, the aspen and the abele stand out; (4) the Urticaceae—of which the elm and the plane deserve mention; (5) the Oleaceae—of which ash and olive are prominent members; (6) the Sapindaceae—of which the maple, the sycamore, the horse-chestnut deserve mention; (7) the Tiliaceae:—of which Eleocarpus ganitrus or ‘Nameru’ is most prominent. It is interesting to compare with this the favourite Himalayan Flora of Kâlidâsa.

In fine, I would draw attention to the fact that ‘Sarala’, or Pinus longifolia, is still now called by that very name and its corruptions in the Punjab and in Kashmir. It is sometimes called ‘Sarala,’ sometimes ‘Sarlâ’, and also ‘Sallâ’. This fact alone goes a great way towards establishing the difference between the Pinus longifolia (Sarala) and the ‘Devadâru proper.’ Lady E. Smith, also, in her Simla flowers shows us the initial difference of the two trees. J. Forbes Royle, M.D., V. P.R.S., in his “Illustrations of the Botany and other branches of the Natural History of the Himalayan mountain and of the Flora of Kashmir” gives nice illustrations which cannot but impress one who bestows a glance on them. Indeed a picture of the flowers and leaves of ‘Sarala’ and ‘Devadâru’ respectively would at once convince even the most sceptical of the great difference existing between the two trees.
WADDELL ON PHENICIAN ORIGINS.

By Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.

(Continued from page 147.)

4. Partolon.

Waddell gives much space to the discussion of "Partolon, King of the Scots and traditional first civiliser of Ireland about B.C. 400." The Indian references are now temporarily dropped and the languages compared are Western. The argument begins by "disclosing the Hitto-Phoenician origin of the clan title Uallana, or Vellaun(us), or Wallon of the Briton king Cassi-veilaun of Cad-wallon and of the Uchlan of the Cassi Britons." Two quotations are given: - "The Scots arrived in Ireland from Spain. The first that came was Partolonus [Part-olon]." - Nennius [Ninian]; and "The clan of Geleoin, son of Erc-ol [i. e. Ivr] took possession of the Islands of Orc [Orkney] . . . . that is the son of Partai . . . . went and took possession of the North of the Island of Breatan." - Books of Lecan and Ballymote."

We can now start on the investigation. Gy-oloinne = Gi-oln = Geleoin = , by British phonetics, Wallon, and taken with the title Prat or Prwt, identifies the "Phoenician Barat author of the Newton Stone inscriptions," as "Part-olon king of the Scots, son of Erc-ol Parthai," who came to the Orkneys about B.C. 400. In the inscription he called himself Ikr or Iear. Here we get a clue. Gi-oln = Geleoin = Gleoin of the Irish-Scot histories of Part-olon was king of Scots in Ireland, and in the Book of Lecan there is a passage: - "In the same year came [to Erin] . . . . from the land of Trafinc [Tarsi?] the Geleoin . . . . Icathiri [Agadir] was their name, that is . . . . son of Part-olon."

From this Waddell sees "a memory of King Part-olon's temporary location in Spain, as Agadir is the ancient name of Gades, the modern Cadiz," and of "Tarsus, the ancient Tarz or Tarsi." Then he gives us a philological sequence: - "Newtown Stone, Gy-Aoloin, Gi-oln; Irish-Scot, Geleoin, Gleoin; Ptolemy, Uallaun(i); Cymric, Wallon. But Ptolemy's full name is Katya Uchlan, which represents Cassi-Uallaunus, Cassi-Vellaunus of the Roman days in Britain."

Having got thus far, Waddell says that this last title is proved to be Hittite by some difficult philological remarks, which he caps by an allusion to an inscribed monument (with figure) from the Roman wall at South Shields to "a Briton lady" of the Cat-ullauna clan, married to "a Syrian Barat from the Phoenician city of Palmyra" in the second century A.D. The Cat-ullauna Clan was found in Selkirk and Ceti-oin in Yarrow in the fifth century A.D.

Gy-oloinne and Gioln "seem significantly to survive in Clyne's Dam near the Newton Stone, and in Cluny or Cloney or Kluen (Khilaani) Castle near Mt. Bennachie: see also Cluny in France, and finally "the fact is established that Prat-gioln is the source of the later form of Part-olon" and "the Phoenician Barat author of the Newton Stone is revealed as the historical original of the traditional of Part-olon."

Nennius states that Partolomus came from Spain to Ireland, and the Book of Ballymote that he arrived at Scene in the Bay of Kenmare in Kerry, whence the Newton Stone shows that he migrated to the North of Scotland for some reason. Geoffrey's Chronicles supports all this and records his meeting with Gurgiunt Boabtruc in the Orkneys, by which the North of Scotland is probably meant. Waddell finds the Phoenicians in the Orkneys and Shetlands from a hitherto unread inscription on a pre-Christian Cross at "Lunasting on the mainland of Shetland or Land of the Shet = Khat = Xat = Hitt-ite = Ceti of the early Scot monuments. Waddell gives his reading, which he got "without difficulty in a dialect of the Gothic of the Eddas," and finally we learn that "the Duke of Sutherland is still called locally Dino Cat or Duke of the Cats, i.e., Catti." Geoffrey describes Part-olon as "of the Bar-clenses," where Bar = Barat, which was written by the Sumerian-Phoenicians simply as "Bara," and clenses
is the Latinised form of Giohn = Uchlan. "The Book of Leinster (the Book of Dun)" calls Part-olon the 'Son of Sera or Sru,' thus "attesting the remarkable authenticity of the tradition of the Irish-Scots" in preserving "the favorite form of the ancestral Barats' name selected by the founder of the First Phœnician Dynasty in Mesopotamia, who regularly called himself the 'Son (or descendant) of Sar.'" The migration of Part-olon from Cilicia to Spain, Ireland and Scotland was "probably owing to the massacring invasion and annexation of Cilicia and Asia Minor by the Spartan Greeks in B.C. 399." If so, his Newton Stone can only be dated as about B.C. 400. It must have been inscribed considerably later.

Such is Waddell's method of identifying Bart-olon, on which so very much depends in the whole argument. Having "established" this Waddell goes on by philological means to "disclose" a Phœnician origin for several names in the neighbourhood of the Newton Stone: e.g., Watle, Wast-hill, Bourtie, Bartle, Barthol, and Bartholomew, which he finds is actually Bart-olomus, Bart-olon. The Brude title also of so many of the ancient historical kings of the Picts in Scotland (this people, by the way, being non-Aryan) "now appears clearly derived from Prwt or Prêt, with variant Brut, as a title of Part-olon." Waddell, however, explains at length that the "kings entitled Brude, Bruide or Bride," ruling over the Picts, "themselves appear to have been not Picts in race but Bart-ons or Brit-on Scots, i.e., Aryans" and Phœncians by origin, like Bart-olon, the Scot of the Newton Stone. This explanation, however, raises a difficulty. If the ruling race was so entirely foreign, it is not prima facie apparent why the present race of the British Isles should have that ruling race as its principal ancestors. We shall see how Waddell deals with this question.

5. The Vans, the Picts and the Scots.

In order to clear the ground for "the great and hitherto unsolved question as to how and when the Aryan language and civilisation were first introduced into Britain and by what racial agency," Waddell dives into three questions:—

1. Who were the aborigines of Ireland on Partolun's arrival?
2. Who were the Picts?
3. Who were the Celts?

As these three races—the Vans, Vans or Fens "presumably the Fene or Fein title of the early Irish," the Picts of Scotland, and the Celts, are non-Aryan, Waddell's lucubrations do not here demand the same close attention as when he is considering the "Phœnician Britons." He only deals with them to clear the ground, but he does so in the same manner and with the same wealth of enquiry and decisions as he employs in the case of the Phœncians.

Firstly he discloses the "Van or Paine origin of Irish aborigines and of their Serpent-worship of St. Brigid, and of the matrilineal customs of the Irish and the Picts." The first migration into Erin is "stated in the Irish records to have been led by a woman, Cessair or Cesair," who, as the matriarch, landed at Duna-mark in Bantry Bay, "adjoining Part-olon's traditional landing place at Scene in Kenmare Bay." Now, the term 'Bantry Bay' means "the Bay of the shore of the Bans [Vans]." I may remark here that he has seen Macalister's work on the ancient days, but his opinion is "in no way modified by it."

Waddell then at great length leads us right across Europe to Asia Minor and to India in his search for Cessair's people, the Vans. To him the evidence of their existence in the British Isles is broadcast in place names, suggesting that "the whole of Britain was formerly known as the Land of the Pents, Venets, Bans, Fins or Vans," while the old name for ancient Britain as Al-Ban [whence Albion] means probably "the Rocky Isle of the Van or Ban." After going through Europe and Asia Minor and finding the Vans everywhere, Waddell says:—"these Vans or Biani were clearly, I find, the Pani aborigines of the Indian Vedic hymns and epics, who opposed the early Aryans in establishing their higher solar religion before the departure of the Eastern branch of the Aryans to India." This remark must be due to his denial, already alluded to, of the Vedas and the Epics referring to India: the Pani
referred to would be, in his view, tribes in Asia Minor. Then Waddell adds:—"they were possibly also, I think, the remote prehistoric originals of the 'barbarians,' as the Chinese still term generally the barbarous tribes on the Western frontiers of the Celestial Empire, as far at least as Asia Minor."

Waddell thinks that "primitive matriarchist dwarfs" from Van [Armenia] penetrated to Britain at the end of the old Stone Age via Gaul. They brought with them two fetishes of the Serpent-cult: (1) the Magic Oracle Bowl or Witches' Cauldron or Churn of Fire, and (2) Fal's Fiery Stone (Lia Fail). Later the female patron Saint of the Irish was Brigid, Bridget or Bride, an old pagan goddess, admitted into the Church and canonized for proselytising purposes. The tribal name Fomor, Uomor, of the descendants of the matriarch Ceasair. Waddell traces to the name "of a chief of a clan of the dwarf tribes of the Vans, called in the Gothic Edda Baombur,"—probably Virnur, the Upper Euphrates, separating the ancient territories of the Vans and the Goth, Baomuro's tribe Vans. Thus, roughly speaking, does Waddell deal with the aborigines of Ireland, and in the course of his discourse the Picts are often mentioned as being mixed up with the Vans. He, therefore, proceeds to enquire into the Picts, whom he finds to be "non-Aryan in racial nature and in affinity with the Matriarchist Van, Wan or Fian dwarfs, and as aborigines of Britain in the Stone Age."

The Picts "have hitherto baffled all enquiries. Their name does not appear in Latin authors before A.D. 296; presumably because . . . that was not their proper name, but a nickname." They next appear with the Scots (Irish Scots) in A.D. 360 as "breaking through the Antonine Wall between the Forth and Clyde." They then brought the Britons till the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, when they joined in the Britons against them. They dwelt in caves and were associated with the 'Pixies,' were matriarchal and connected with the Feins of Ireland, i.e., with the Vans, and disappeared historically on being finally conquered in A.D. 850. Waddell is of opinion that their sudden appearance and disappearance is "probably due to a mere change in their tribal name as aborigines." 'Pict' he thinks is due to the Latin pictus, painted, that is 'wood-dyed,' and the British forms of Pict, Pekt, Peith, and so on, to their smallness (cf. English, petty; Welsh, pitiw; French, petit). It is also the Pit, Pet, connected with many place names. "On a review of all the new available evidence" Waddell thinks that their proper name was "Khal-des or Khal-tis . . . applied to the aborigines of Van in Asia Minor . . . in the ninth century B.C." This name is preserved, he also thinks, in Caledon, Clyde, Cador, Chiltern and many other names. Ictis (Vectis) for the Isle of Wight is also, according to him, another form of the name. On all the evidence he looks on the Picts as a "primitive small-statured people probably from the Van Lake region [Armenia] . . . wandering Westwards . . . ultimately reaching Albion . . . and giving off a branch to Erin." They are in fact one with the Vans. But we are not yet in a position to consider further the Britons of the Aryan Part-olson until we have considered the Celts, who were, says Waddell, Aryans according to the philologists, but not Aryans according to anthropologists. He considers the Celts, Keets or Cullers to be the Khaldes of Van or the Picts. This is to say that the Vans, the Picts, and the Celts are all types of one and the same race; but "unless the Celts are out of the way, we cannot solve the vexed question of the origin of the Britons and the Aryan question in Britain."

In the first place, the term Celt or Kelt, with its adjective, was "only introduced into the British Isles by unscientific philologists and ethnologists some few decades ago." In Greek and Latin authorities, Waddell tells us, the Celts were limited to Western Europe, i.e., Gaul, but were never spoken of as being in Britain. Their first appearance as inhabitants of Britain was in A.D. 1706, whence "that application of the name got into literature from 1757 onwards. Thus "the so-called British and Irish Celts were not Celts and there were even no Celts in Britain."
Who then were the Celts? Waddell answers that they were "early Picts calling themselves Kheldis or Khattis, an early primitive people," who, he finds on a mass of evidence, "were the early Chaldees or Galat-i or Gal-li of Van and Eastern Asia Minor and Mesopotamia in the Stone Age." Anyhow, they were not Britons.

6. Brutus the Trojan and British Civilisation.

The way is now clear to go on with "the hitherto unsolved question as to how and when the Aryan language and civilisation were first introduced into Britain and by what racial agency." Let us begin with Brutus the Trojan. "At length he came to this island named after him Britannia, dwelt there and filled it with his descendants:"—Nennius (Ninian)." And then Waddell goes on:—"this earlier portion of the Chronicles records circumstantially the first arrival of the Britons by sea in Albion under King Brutus the Trojan about the year B.C. 1103, and his colonisation and first cultivation of the land, and his bestowal thereon of his Trojan (Aryan) language and his own patronymic name Brit in the form of Brit-ain or the Land of the Brit-ons." Brutus the Trojan is not mentioned in the Latin classics, and Waddell explains this omission at some length, rehabilitating the early British Chronicles. Brutus' traditional birth-place was "in the Tiber province of Latium," which Waddell "connects directly both with Troy and Ancient Britain."

The story of Brutus is succinctly as follows: After the Trojan War Æneas with Ascanius fled to Italy, obtained the kingdom of Italy (Latium) and Lavinia, the daughter of king Latinus. He was succeeded by Ascanius, who was the father of Brutus. Here Waddell has a characteristic note:—"King Latinus of Mid-Italy is stated in Nennius' version to be the son of Faunus [?] Van], the son of Picus [?] Pic., the son of Saturn." Brutus accidentally killed his father and fled the country, going to Greece, whence he took a large fleet with men and treasure to Gades (Cadiz), and thence again to Albion, where he arrived about B.C. 1103. Here the Chronicle says:—"Brutus called the island after his own name Britannia and his companions Brit-ons . . . . from whence afterwards the language of his nation, which at first bore the name of Trojan [Doric Greek] or rough Greek, was called Brit-ish . . . . But Corineus, in imitation of his leader, called that part of the island, which was given to him as Duke, Corinea and his people Corinene [Cornish men]." About B.C. 1100 "Brutus founded on the Thames a city [London]," which he called "New Troy," by corruption afterwards known as Tri-Novantum, until "Lud, the brother of Cassi-vellaun, who made war against Julius Cæsar, obtained the government of the kingdom . . . . and called it after his own name Kaer-Lud, that is the City of Lud [or Lud-Dun corrupted into Lon-don]." Brutus died about B.C. 1080, and his kingdom was divided among "three famous sons named Locrin [England], Albanact [Scotland], and Kamber [Wales]." Waddell avers that the whole account of the wanderings of Brutus is credible, finding Greco-Phoenician Colonies under Corineus, who bore a Greco-Phoenician name, at Gades, and also where he landed in Britain—Totnes, with a Brutus Stone still shown, not far from the tin mines of Cornwall. At this last place "descendants from the Romans [properly Trojans from Alba on the Tiber] under Sylvius Posthumus [maternal great-uncle of Brutus]" were already settled. "The date of the invasion of Alban [Britain] by Brutus and his associated Phoenicians is fixed directly by totalling up the reported years of reigns in Britain of Brutus and his continuous line of descendants and successors down to Cassivellaunus and his successors in the Roman period."

Having in such fashion dealt with the first invasion of Albion by "Trojan and Phoenician refugees from Asia Minor and Phœnicia," Waddell launches on the "Aryanising civilisation of the Picts and Celts of Britain by Brutus and his Brito-Phœnician Goths," and in the course
of his remarks, he discloses "the Phoenician origin of the Celtic, Cymric, Gothic and English languages, and the founding of London in the Bronze Age." He commences with a quotation from the Rig Veda: --"the tribes subject to the Cedi [Ceti or Gete, Goth Phœnicians] are skin-clad." Cedi here would, however, in ordinary English script, be written Chedi, and Ceti = Keti. This consideration immediately raises a question; can we legitimately equate Chedi with Keti or Getæ?

The Chronicles describe an opposition to the invasion of Brutus by 'giants,' and this introduces a new people as inhabitants of Britain, whom Waddell calls "an earlier trading branch of the Aryans and Phœnicians—the Muru or Amuru or Amorite giants and erectors of the Stone Circles and the Giants' Tombs"—old exploiters of the Cornish tin-mines centuries before Sylvius and Brutus. —"The higher Aryan civilisation" was, however, introduced by Brutus, who set to work at once on landing "to till the ground and build houses." The houses he built were of timber; i.e., they were Hitto-Phœnician, as is seen from "the common Briton affix for towns of-bury, -bora, -burg (as well as broch), and Sanskrit, pura, . . . derived from the Hittite and Catti buru, a Hittite town, citadel or fort." He travelled across England from Totnes to the estuary of the Thames, giving names to the chief rivers, which Waddell finds, including the name of the Thames itself, to be "clearly transplanted namesakes from the rivers of Epirus, whence Brutus sailed, and rivers of Troy and Phœnicia," in a style common to all time. He instances, inter alia, the Exe, the Axe, the Avon, the Ouse, and the Thames, which last is "clearly named after the Thiamis, the great river of Epirus, the Phœnician origin of which seems evident by its chief tutelary being named Cadmus, the name of the famous colonising and civilising sea-king of the Phœnicians." On the Thames Brutus founded Tri-Novantum (London) three centuries or more before the foundation of Rome. He prescribed laws, which "involves writing in the Aryan Phœnician language and script . . . the form of which . . . we have seen in about B.C. 400 on the Newton Stone." As has already been said, Tri-Novantum also became later Kær-Lud. This leads Waddell to make a typical note:—"Kær, the Cymric for fortified city, is now seen to be derived from Sumerian gar, to hold, establish, of men or places: cognate with Indo-Persian gahr, fort; Sanskrit, grijh, house; Eddic-Gothic, goera, to build, and gard or garth."

What was the language that Brutus introduced and imposed on the aborigines of Albion and on the names of very many places, rivers and mountains? It could not be Celtic or classic Greek or Roman. It was obviously Trojan, which the Chronicle says "was roughly Greek which was called British." This Trojan was Doric Greek, "contemporary specimens of which fortunately still exists from the twelfth to the tenth centuries B.C. . . . in Schlie- mann's excavations at Hisarlik." Waddell finds the Trojan script and language clearly akin to those of the later Aryan Phœnicians, and of the runes of the Goths, and of the legends stamped on the pre-Roman British Coins of the Catti, and the parent of the language and writing of the present day in Britain—"the so-called English language and script." The Goths Waddell has already "disclosed" to be Hitt-ites, who were "primitive Goths," and their runes have to him an obvious "affinity" to Hitt-ite script. The Anglo-Saxons are much later on the scene, so it is "evident that the so-called Celtic and the Brithonic Celtic languages in the British Isles are merely provincial dialects derived from the Aryan Trojan Doric introduced by King Brutus the Trojan."

This great man also introduced Law, Art and Roads, so that the early Britons were anything but savages. Bronze was introduced by the Phœnician Morite or Amorite exploiters

11 This word is, however, properly gath, and the r is not at all the letter r of Persian.
of the tin mines centuries before Brutus, but he popularised it. In Religion he introduced an "exalted monotheistic religion with the idea of One God of the Universe, symbolised by his chief visible luminary, the Sun," that is Bel, in contradistinction from the aboriginal matriarchal serpents and the bloody sacrifices of the Druids. In fact Brutus created in the Britons a highly civilised, proud, powerful, refined race, who soon founded a colony on the Rhine (B.C. 970), so that there is "disclosed a hitherto unobserved British origin of the Anglo-Saxons and the Anglo-Saxon Language." This opens up a vista for Waddell of many "British" remains in Denmark, France, Germany and Moravia up to the Russian borders.

Thus does Waddell show the Amorite-Catti-Phoenician origin of 'Things British.' The Brito-Phoenicians, he says, have left their marks broad-cast on place-names of all sorts all over the British Isles. Quoting from the Vishṇu-Purāṇa that "the principal nations of the Bhāratas are the Kuruṣ [Syrians] and the able Pānch [Phoenicians]," Waddell (the ascription of the Bhārata and Panchāla of the Vishṇu Purāṇa are his) gives a large number of names all over the country containing Barat in some form or other, orSUMER, on the ground that "Cymry (pronounced Cumri) or Cumbers is derived from Sumer," the alternative tribal epithet of the Phoenicians. The reader will find many surprising facts stated, and then Waddell passes in the same vein to "Catti, Keith, Gad and Cassi, titles in old ethnic and place names." He commences again with a quotation from the Vishṇu Purāṇa:—"his [the Khattiya's] sources of subsistence are arms and the protection of the earth. The guardianship of the earth is his special province . . . . By intimidating the bad and cherishing the good, the [Khattiya] ruler, who maintains the discipline of the different tribes, secures whatever region he desires." Waddell's ascription of 'Khattiya' to the people spoken of is explained in a foot-note:—"the old Indian Pali form of this tribal name was Khattiyo, which is spelt Kshatriya in the later Sanskrit?" But this statement raises the questions: what has Pali to do with the Vishṇu Purāṇa? Is Pali older than Sanskrit? Whatever the answers may be, Waddell finds Khatti and its allied terms spread everywhere in Britain.

Beginning with the classical Cassiterides of the Cornwall "tin islands," which name finds spread wherever tin—"the cassiteros [so he spells it] of Homer and the classic Greeks and the Sanskrit kāstira"—was taken "by the Cassi . . . . the leading clan of the seagoing Phoenicians." Here he says some remarkable things:—"the Attic Greeks wrote 'kattiteros and Katti-terides,' thus showing the same equivalency as was used in Britain for the Cassi and Katti tribes and coins. In . . . . Sanskrit tradition kāstira is tin and the place-name Kāstira, or place of kāstira or tin, was located in the land of the Bāhikas, a despised out-cast tribe, who also gave their name to a sheet of water, and who now seem to be Peaths or Picts of the Sea of Victis or Icht in Cornwall. The Arabs called tin kaz-dir, and the Assyrians and Sumerians . . . . kizasadir, kasdur and kazdur." So the Cornish tin mines belonged to the Cassi tribe, and Waddell gives a number of place-names containing reference to the Cassi all over England and Scotland, stating that there are a similar number in Ireland.

He next observes that there are many Cassi-Catti "pre-Roman Briton" coins, and then he goes on to say:—"the current notion that the early Britons derived their coinage by imitating a stater of Philip II of Macedonia (B.C. 366—360) can no longer be maintained. Indeed one of the chief advocates of the old theory was latterly forced to confess, on further

12 But in the Vishṇu Purāṇa surely the term would be 'the Kshatriya's.'
observation, that the Macedonian stater could not be the sole prototype from which the early Briton kings modelled their coinage." Waddell’s view is that the coin is Phoenician in origin. Finally, Waddell gives a number of English surnames, despite their known late origin, which "clearly" preserve "vestiges of the name of the Catti, Khatti or Gad tribal title of the Aryan-Phoenician citizen of Britain . . . presumably in patrilineal descent."

7. Moric Phoenician Stone Circles.

Having thus dealt with the revival and distribution of the Phoenicians in waves over Britain, Waddell discusses the prehistoric stone circles still found there and elsewhere. Here his views are as subversive as ever, and he openly follows the theory of distribution by Phoenicians propounded by Elliot Smith and Perry. To give the trend of this argument, it is necessary to quote him at length. "The great prehistoric Stone Circles of gigantic unhozen boulders, dolmens (or table-stones), and monoliths, sometimes called Catt Stones, still standing in weird majesty over many parts of the British Isles, also now appear to attend their Phoenician origin. The mysterious race, who created these cyclopean monuments, wholly forgotten and unknown, now appears from the new evidence to have been the earlier wave of immigrant mining merchant Phoenician Barats, or Catti Phoenicians of the Muru, Mer, or Martu clan —the Amorite Giants of the Old Testament tradition; and from whom it would seem that Albion obtained its earliest name (according to the First Welsh Triad) of Clas Myrd-in (Merddin) or 'Digging of the Myrd' . . . . about B.C. 2800." To this statement he appends the following remarks:—This early Phoenician title of Muru, Mer, Maratu or Martu meaning the 'Western Sea' or 'Sea of the Setting-Sun,' which now seems obviously the Phoenician source of the names Mauretania or Morocco . . . Mor-bihan or Little Mor, . . . is found . . . . in Britain associated with Stone Circles and megaliths, and mostly on the coast; e.g., Mori-dunum, . . . several More-dun, Mor-ton and Mar-tin, Cer Marthen, West Morland, More-cambe Bay, Moray, etc."

Waddell then brings arguments to show that the Phoenician remains in Egypt, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, are identical with, or similar to those in Britain, and that these last date long before Brutus the Trojan. He next states that "the purpose of the great Stone Circles now appears, somewhat more clearly than before, from observations now recorded, to have been primarily for solar observation; whilst the smaller circles seem mainly sepulchral."

On the first of these points Waddell found something for himself "which has hitherto escaped the notice of previous observers." He found "by personal examination at Stonehenge, Keswick, Penrith, etc., that the point of observation was not at the centre of the circle, but at the opposite or south-west border, where I found a marked observation Stone." At Keswick . . . . where the fine circle is "locally called Castle Rigg, or Castle of the Rig, a title of the Gothic kings, cognate with the Latin Rex, Regis and the Sanskrit Raja of the Indo-Aryans, and the Ricon of the Briton coins . . . . he found "an observation stone, with marks on it, inscribed in "Sumerian linear script" reading "seeing the low-sun," which was presumably "seeing the sun on the horizon." He then found a similarly inscribed stone at Stonehenge and in several other circles.

On these purely personal observations he builds up a long argument to show that "the great prehistoric Stone Circles in ancient Britain were raised by the early Mor-ite scientific Brito-Phoenicians as solar observatories . . . and that their descendant Britons continued to regard them as sacred places." On the way to this result Waddell remarks that the name Hare-Stones is sometimes applied to the Circles in Scotland, and they seem to him to contain "the Harri or Heria title of the ruling Goths of the Eddas, which I show is the equivalent of the Hittite title of Harri or Arri or Arany." The name "Keswick . . . . means the Abode of the Kes, i.e., the Cassi clan of the Hittites."

(To be continued.)
BOOK-NOTICES.


This is another of Sir George Grierson's invaluable notes on Indian philology. A dhātvādēsaka is a Prakrit root-substitute for a Sanskrit root, such as whereby Prakrit hoi can be an equivalent for Sanskrit bhavati. Sir George then points out that Prakrit roots are (1) identical with the corresponding Sanskrit roots, (2) regularly derived from them, (3) unconnected by any admitted phonetic rule, e.g., where Skr. root ca- equals Prak. root ca-. (4) derived from Skr. roots but having changed their meaning, are substituted from some other Sanskrit root with a meaning more nearly akin. The last two classes from the dhātvādēsaka.

Sir George then gives 1590 Prakrit forms collected from five standard works. His lists, however, go beyond the true dhātvādēsaka and include "many perfectly regular Prakrit words." In discussing the last of the classes of Prakrit roots above described, Sir George makes a very valuable remark: "there was never one uniform school of Prakrit Grammarians for the whole of India. There were certainly at least an Eastern and a Western school, which had marked variations in their teachings . . . each school developed independently of the other, so that after the lapse of centuries the diversities became very wide." All this is well worth bearing in mind.

As a matter of detail Sir George points out that the nasalisation of words in modern Indian vernaculars is no modern innovation, nor is it accidental, but as a development it is at least as old as the dhātvādēsaka. Here again we have a very valuable suggestion.

R. C. TEMPLE.


Of this most useful compilation Mr. Kaye writes in his Preface that "although this summary account goes over old ground it is all based upon original texts." I would like to add that when an expert goes to the original texts it matters nothing how much his subject covers old ground. In his Introduction Mr. Kaye carefully scrutinises the history of the examination of Hindu astronomy by European students in a scholarly manner and winds up with this pregnant paragraph: "In the following chapters considerable attention is paid to the earlier Greek period of Hindu astronomy, and the later material might, with some propriety, have been excluded altogether. However, not only has this later period a sort of traditional claim to attention, but its study often helps to elucidate obscure points of the earlier period.

For the Hindus, when they absorbed Western ideas, often gave them an Indian setting; and also the period of absorption is one of such extreme interest in the history of civilization that any light thrown on it from the east is valuable. Therefore this later system has been analysed in some detail and a brief account of the chief Hindu astronomers who expounded the Western astronomy has been included," (may I add ?) to the very great benefit of all students.

Mr. Kaye then goes into the earliest works dealing in some way or other with astronomy, and these he dates from B.C. 1200 to A.D. 200—all early Hindu dates are however still controversial—and calls them the Periods of the Vedas, Brâhmanas and Upanishads, Sûtras and Vedâgams. The Maṇḍavâraka, Râmâyana and the Parâṣadgas he considers apart; and finally he calls the whole of the oldest works Period A, which he divides into Vedic (A1), and Post-Vedic (A2). He then divides the other early writings into Period B (B.C. 400 to 1000), and subdivides them into the Gupta (B1) and Bhaskara (B2). In this Period B wrote Pulâsa, Âryabhatâ, Varâha Mihirâ, Brahma-gupta and Bhâskara. In the Vedic times the year had 360 days with occasional intercalary months, in Post-Vedic times there was a five-year cycle of 5 × 366 days. In the Gupta times came knowledge of the planets and eclipses of formal astrology and other details. In the Bhâskara times there was a further development of these latter matters.

Mr. Kaye then examines the texts under the Period A1 including the Jâtakas and passes on to early formal astronomy, i.e., Period A2, "the main astronomical features of which are (a) the five-year cycle of 5 × 366 days, and (b) the omission of all references to planetary astronomy." Here he again examines the texts. This starts him on the discussion of definite astronomical subjects, such as the Nakshatras, Stars and Constellations, Years and Seasons, Solstices and Equinoxes, and Precession. All this leads him to consider the important subject of Vedic Chronology and "a number of arguments that have been employed to fix the chronology of the earliest Hindu works. These are fairly stated and the reader can form his own opinion of their value. Mr. Kaye then considers the Planets and the week days—subjects on which he is very informing.

He is then taken to the introduction of Greek astronomy about 400 A.D., and its dominating influence on Hindu astronomical teaching, which is admirably exhibited. This brings him to his (second) Period B—the study of Hindu-Greek astronomy and the great astronomers who presented it. Mr. Kaye subjects them to searching criticism, and then passes on to Hindu Astronomical
Instruments. "The only instruments of practical utility for astronomical purposes described in ancient Hindu works are the sun-dial and the clepsydra. An armillary sphere is also described as an instrument for purposes of demonstration. The only Hindu instrument of any antiquity actually found is the clepsydra, consisting of a metal bowl floating in a vessel of water." A footnote adds: "It is the only instrument described in the Akki-i-Abbar," and to this it may be added that time was kept in the Royal Palace at Mandalay by a clepsydra, when the British took possession in 1885.

Mr. Kaye then attempts "to summarise, with the aid of modern mathematical formula, the more technical portions of the classical Sanskrit astronomical texts" and this "to aid the study of a particular intellectual phase" of a period "characterised by a remarkable renaissance of literature, art and science in India." (A.D. 500—1000.) And thus Mr. Kaye is drawn to certain "conclusions," which all students of things Indian should study and digest, and he winds up his highly valuable monograph with remarkable observations on Hindu astrology (Appendix I). He adds a further Appendix on Hindu Astronomical Deities, which has, however, already appeared in J.A.S.B., 1929.

Altogether, Mr. Kaye has produced here a most important monograph, of which the only criticism I have to offer is as to the form in which it is printed. It would be so much more handy, and therefore more useful to students generally, if it were printed in octavo form. This would be quite feasible as there are no plates.

R. C. TEMPLE.

Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603—1721, by C. Wessells, S.J., Martinus Nijhoff, the Hague, 1924.

This is a work of real value to all occupied in historical research. It gives accounts in detail of those early missionaries, whom the Jesuits sent into Central Asia in the 17th century, and of whom we have had but the scantiest knowledge hitherto, and that not by any means accurate. Father Wessells has now, however, written a scientific and authoritative book, based on documents in actual existence, though they are difficult to get at, and he has thus not only done justice to a most worthy series of old travellers, but has dug a well of sound knowledge for those who would appease their thirst for it at the original sources. One can hardly speak too highly of a work of this description.

The old Jesuit fathers thus resuscitated are firstly Bento de Goes (1562—1607), who became a Jesuit in 1584 at Goa and started travelling for the Society in 1595, continuing to do so till his death twelve years later. In this short period he went first to Lahore and Agra. Then he returned to Lahore on his journey to "Cathay," via Kabul to Yarkand and Khotan. Two years later he started for China from Yarkand, going to Aksu, Turfan, Cham: and then to Su-chou, where he died. As a journey alone it was a great accomplishment, as another great traveller, Sir Aurel Stein, testified in words of warm sympathy 300 years later. But the great value of it was that he discovered to the world of searchers that Cathay is China.

Father Wessells then takes us to Antonio de Andrada (1580—1634), who reached Goa in 1600, but did no travelling till 1624, when he set out from Agra, for Tibet, reaching Tsaparang via Srinagar in Garhwal and returning to Agra in the same year. On this first journey he was accompanied by Manoel Marques, another Jesuit. In the following year 1625, Andrada started again for Tsaparang and laid the foundation of the first Christian Church there in the following year. This time Fathers G. de Souza and Marques, were with him and the mission was joined later by others: Fathers de Oliveira, dos Anjos and Godinho, and Antonio Pereira, Antonio de Fonseca, F. de Azevedo. Andrada himself returned to Goa and died there in 1634. After his departure others carried on the mission, which lasted till 1641 after a fashion, when the Tibetans closed Tibet and Marques was left a prisoner in their hands. Andrada did great things for geography, but they raised much controversy later on.

Next comes Francisco de Azevedo (1578—1660). Unlike the others, he lived to be 82, after working at various mission stations in India. He became a Jesuit in 1597 at Goa, and out of his long life he spent six months in the Himalayas in 1631.

He started by going from Agra to Tsaparang, whence he went to Leh and thence to Lahaul and Kulu (Nagar), and back to Agra. He has left a valuable and most interesting correspondence behind, which is now unearthed for the first time.

Following Andrada's advice in a letter from Tsaparang, Fathers Stephan Casella and T. Cabral started for Utsang (Tibet) in 1626 from Cochin. Stephen Casella (1585—1630) became a Jesuit in 1604 and reached India in 1614. J. Cabral (1599—1669) became a Jesuit 1619 and arrived in India 1624. In 1626 they both reached Hugli and then Dacca and Hajo (in Assam). Thence they went to Kuch Bihar and Rangamati, and thence to Phari in Bhuten. Then they went separately to Shigatze in Utsang (Tibet), arriving there in 1628. In 1629 Casella returned to Kuch Bihar and there picked up Father Manoel Diaz; with whom he started at once back for Shigatze, but Father Diaz died at Morang and Casella himself in the next year at Shigatze. In 1631 Cabral returned to India via Khatmandu, Patna, Rajmahal and Hugli. Thereafter he travelled far indeed; in Japan, Tonkin, Malacca and Macao, returning finally to India, dying at Goa in 1669.
This journey to Tibet via Bhutan and home via Nepal was as adventurous and valuable as any and we cannot be too grateful to Father Wessels for reconstructing it from original manuscripts.

Next come Johann Grueber and Albert d’Orville, a German and a Belgian, with a tremendous journey. Grueber (1623—1689) became a Jesuit in 1641 and set out for China in 1656, via Surat and Macao. From 1659 to 1661 he was employed in the Observatory at Pekin. Albert d’Orville (1621—1662) became a Jesuit in 1646 and set out for China via Goa, Macassar, Macao and Shansi. In 1660 he joined Grueber at the Observatory at Pekin. In 1661 they started across the Asiatic continent on their wonderful journey to India. They went via Hai-ning and the Great Wall to Lhasa, thence via Katmandu to Agra, which they reached the following year (1662). Here d’Orville died soon after arrival from the effects of the journey.

At Agra Grueber found another companion in Heinrich Roth (1620—1668). He became a Jesuit in 1639, was in Smyrna in 1651 and proceeded to Goa via Ispahan, and finally went to Agra where he joined Grueber. In the end, after much wandering, he died in Agra. With Roth, the indefatigable Grueber started for Rome via Delhi and Lahore and down the Indus to Tatta. Thence through Mehran and Kirman to Ormuz, and thence by road through Mesopotamia to Smyrna by a route known to Roth. They reached Rome in 1664. Three months later Grueber started with Roth back towards China, but he only got as far as Constantinople, where he became seriously ill and had to return by sea to Leghorn and thence to Florence. Roth went on alone to India. Thereafter little is known of Grueber except that he did not return to China and died at Sarospatak in Hungary in 1680.

All these men, Grueber, d’Orville and Roth were wonderful travellers, especially when we consider the conditions under which they travelled and the absence of maps and predecessors’ accounts and also the ill-will that many high personages among Muhammadans and others evinced to them en route. The pity is that they were not men with a ready pen.

The last Jesuit traveller of the 17th century to come under Father Wessels’ notice is Hippolyte Desideri, an Italian (1634—1733). Became a Jesuit in 1700, he left Rome with Manoe Freyre for India in 1712. In 1714 he set out from Delhi for Tibet, via Srinagar (in Kashmir) and Leh, and arrived at Lhasa in 1716, whence Freyre returned to India. Desideri wandered about Tibet till 1721, when he was back in Lhasa, whence he returned to India via Kulti and Katmandu, reaching Agra in 1722. Finally he returned to Rome, where he arrived in 1728 and died in 1733. There has been much controversy over Desideri’s travels and one is thankful to Father Wessels for “reinstating” him from original documents.

These old Jesuits were wonderful men and we cannot be too grateful to the editor of their correspondence for thus placing before us the work they did and the difficulties they overcame in their simple, unassuming way.

R. C. Temple.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA, by
SANTOSH KUMAR DAS. Calcutta, 1925.

This little book contains a series of lectures delivered to the defunct Kalikātā Vidyāpīṭh in 1922—23 by the author, who is now Professor of History and Economics at the Tribhuban Chandra College of Nepal and formerly at the Bagerhat College, Khulna, Bengal.

As the Institution before which the lectures were delivered is dead. Prof. S. K. Das has thought it best to publish them with additions, and he has done his best to cover his assertions by quoting his authorities—of which there seems to be about 150 of all sorts and ages, judging by his list.

His lectures cover the whole ancient period of Indian History from the Paleolithik, Neolithik, Copper and Big-Vedik Ages, through the Brāhmaṇas, Buddhist, Mauryan, Kushān and Gupta Periods to Harsha. And he appears to take a sensible view of his subject in the ancient times, avoiding “on principle all theoretical disquisitions,” and aiming at presenting “the facts in a connected manner with a view to illustrate, as far as possible, the gradual development of the economic conditions from the earliest times.” Altogether, it is a good book to place in the hands of young students.

R. C. Temple.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

In reference to the North Indian Proverbs, collected by the late Dr. W. Crooke, which appeared in the issue of this Journal for November 1924. Sir George Grierson writes as follows:—

“These sayings are very common all over North India in slightly varying forms. Collections of them have more than once been made, and will be found in my Bihar Peasant Life, pp. 274 ff. and in Patrick Carmey’s Kachahlī Technicalities, Allahabad, 1877, pp. 217 ff. Probably all those printed in the Indian Antiquary of November, 1924, will be found in Bihar Peasant Life, including two different versions of the first saying in the list.

The wording of these sayings varies, as I have remarked, but the substance is always preserved. In North India agricultural operations are dated by the position of the Sun in the Lunar asterisms i.e., according to the Solar year. The Lunar-Solar year current in N. India is manifestly unsuitable for dating agricultural operations.”

R. C. TEMPLE.
THE DATE OF THE KAUTILYA.

BY H. C. BAY, M.A.

(Continued from page 175.)

Germany under the Hohenzollerns wanted to play the part of the Vijñānabhikṣu on the continent. Before them France under Louis XIV and Napoleon had tried and failed at Blenheim and Waterloo, and at present it is the power of the legions of France and the Navy of Britain that is keeping the peace of Europe. France under the leadership of Poincaré is again trying to play the role of a conqueror. Germany is her enemy. Because

\[ \text{tasya samantato māṇḍalāḥbhikṣu bhūmikṣārārājprākṛtyā.} \]

(The king who is situated anywhere immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is the enemy.)

And Germany is the natural enemy of France, because

\[ \text{bhūmikṣārārāj prākṛtyāmitraḥ tulyābhikṣārā rah.} \]

(The foe who is equally of high birth and occupies a territory close to the conqueror is a natural enemy.)

Again Russia before the war, and Poland after it is the friend of France. For Kautilya says:

\[ \text{tathāvā bhūmyakṣārārāmitrapraś.} \]

(The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy, but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend (of the conqueror). Similarly it can be shown that in the age-long conflict between France and Germany, Italy has played the part of a Madhyama, and America that of an Udāśina power. Italy joined this war owing to her natural hostility to Austria, and America, because the Lusitiania was sunk and her commercial interests were jeopardised.

The above will show that there is nothing in Kautilya, which is inconsistent with strongly established kingdoms and empires. It only pre-supposes the existence of groups of states, all of which were not necessarily small or weak. No one can say that when Chandragupta ruled, there were no other kingdoms in India. There was the powerful state of Kalīgā, which was not conquered till the time of his grandson Aśoka, and beyond that the Andhra and Tamil States. On the North-Western frontier of India lay the powerful Selukid Empire, and it is well-known that the vision of the Maurya politicians was not limited by the four corners of India, but took cognisance of even distant Egypt and Macedon. Kautilya's denunciation of a king with a Kusārapāśa, his rejection of the views of the Mānavas, Bārhaspatyas and the Ausanasas, his reference to Indra's Pārśa of a thousand gāṇas, his mention of a Chakrawarta in Northern India extending over a thousand gāṇas, and lastly the whole of the second book give clear indications that, when the author was writing, a big and a growing centralised empire existed in the North of India.

Dr. Nāg has also raised objection on another point. In his opinion the most definite argument against Prof. Jacobi's theory is furnished by an examination of the geographical facts. He says 'any serious student will hesitate to consider as having been written in the fourth century B.C. a treatise containing names like Hārahura and Kapišā, Kāṃbhoja and

19 *Ibid.*, and *Trans.*, 2nd ed., p. 313. In a later age the Cakavatyas of Vātāpi were the *prākṛtyāmitra* of the Pālava sovereigns of the South.
21 Ašoka's Rock Edict, XIII.
22 *Political History of Ancient India*, by Dr. H. C. Raychowdhury, p. 144.
23 The correct form of the name is Kapišā and not Kapišā, as Dr. Nāg specifies the word. The spelling of some of the words in this quotation is wrong, e.g., Hārahura and not Hārahura.
Araṭṭa, Bāhika and Vanāyu, Tāmraparṇi and Pāṇḍyakavāṭa, Suvarṇakudya and Suvarṇabhūmi, China and Nepāla. Let us see how far this argument is sustainable. Of these geographical terms Bāhika is mentioned in the Atharva Veda. Kāpiṣa is mentioned not only in Pāṇini, but according to Pliny it had been attacked by Cyrus, the founder of the Achaemenian empire. Kāmbhoja is mentioned, not only in the Aṣṭāvatara Nikāya, but also in Yāsaka’s Nirukta (II. 2) and in the inscriptions of Asoka, even if we omit the somewhat doubtful reference to it in the early Persian Inscriptions. Tāmraparṇi and Pāṇḍyā are referred to both in the Indica of Megasthenes and the Inscriptions of Asoka. Suvarṇabhūmi is mentioned in early Pāli literature, which, according to many eminent scholars, looks back upon the Pre-Maurya period. The Araṭṭas are referred to by the author of the Periplus in the first century A.D. and that they lived in India two or three centuries before that, is proved by the evidence of the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtras. In fact, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has already started a plausible theory about the conquering campaigns of Chandragupta with the help of the Araṭṭas. Vanāyu is taken by Dr. Nāg in the doubtful sense of Arabia. But unless he can show that the term Vanāyu came into vogue in the Post-Mauryan period, the mention of it is no evidence in his favour. For it was not at all impossible for a Mauryan statesman to know about Arabia, if he was in constant contact with the rulers of the whole region between the Aegean sea and the Hindukush. But the mention of China surely would have become a piece of valuable evidence in Dr. Nāg’s favour, if it could be conclusively proved that it is derived from the 1st Tsin dynasty, which was founded by the Duke of Tsin in c. 221 B.C. Unfortunately the derivation is not accepted by all. Mr. Giles, for instance, remarks that the constant ‘coupling of the word China with the Daradas, still surviving as the people of Dare-distan’ on the Indus, suggests it as more probable that those Chinas were a kindred race of mountaineers, whose name as Sinas in fact likewise remains applied to a branch of the Dard race.’ Again it is not entirely impossible that the word is an interpolation, as Dr. Keith suggests. The mention of the words Nepāla and Suvarṇa-kudya cannot be conclusive, because we do not know as yet when and how the words originated. But the occurrence of the word Hārahārā in the following passage:

Mṛdvikārasa madhu. tasya svadeśo vyākhyānaṁ ṛṣipāñcayaññāṁ hārahārakamānī.  
Now what does hārahāraka mean? Does it refer to the country of Hārakūras? The more correct form of the name that has been accepted by scholars is Hārahāna, the White Ephthalites. Supposing, however, for the moment that the correct name is Hārahāra and not Hārahāna, where is the evidence that there was any country near India where this nomadic tribe was settled? We know of no portion of India which was named after them, as portions of the Punjab, Rajputana and Kathiawar were no doubt named after the Gurjaras. Then, again, supposing that a country of the Hārahāras existed and Kauṭilya was referring to that country, we should naturally expect a cha after hārahārakam. According to Dr. Taraporewala, ‘Hārahārakam is evidently a loan word.’ The word might be a Persian word. ‘Hurā’ has been used in the Avesta to mean wine, and in Middle Persian to mean an intoxicating drink made of mare’s milk (vide Bartholomae, Iranisches Wörterbuch). Hence, according to him, the

word probably corresponds to the Sanskrit Sāra-Sūrah (best wine). There can be no doubt, as suggested by Dr. Taparewala, that hārahūra is a loan word. But the derivation suggested by him is uncertain. In lexicons hārahūra is made synonymous with ‘grape,’ and hārahūra or hārahūraka with ‘wine.’ That seems to have been the original sense, which suits here excellently. Kāpiśāyanam hārahūrakam will therefore mean ‘wine extracted from the grapes of Kāpiśa.’ Thus the careful examination of the geographical information gives us no definite proof of a Post-Mauryan date for the Kauṭiliya.

There is another problem which deserves our attention in this connection. V. Smith, Thomas, Roychowdhury, R. K. Mookerjee and N. Law have pointed out many agreements between the accounts of Megasthenes and Kauṭiliya. But recently, in discussing the date of Kauṭiliya in one of his Readship lectures in the Calcutta University, Prof. Winternitz laid much emphasis on the work of his pupil, Dr. Otto Stein, who has tried to show that Megasthenes agrees with Kauṭiliya only in such things as would not change at different periods of time, e.g., irrigation by means of canals, etc., while he contradicts Kauṭiliya in many essential points. The assumption is that they must necessarily belong to different periods. But he forgets that Kauṭiliya’s work was not merely an ‘imperial gazetteer of the Maurya Empire.’ Kauṭiliya makes it perfectly clear that his Arthāśāstra was ‘a compendium of almost all the Arthāśāstras, which, for acquisition and protection of the earth, have been composed by ancient teachers.’ And as such, his work was almost an encyclopaedia of the Science of Polity up to his period. Thus it would not be reasonable to expect homogeneity, in the sense that it should reflect only the epoch of Kauṭiliya. Though Kauṭiliya was not wholly devoid of originality as a political thinker, yet it cannot be denied, as he himself admits, that his work bore more or less the character of a compilation. Therefore the treatise naturally includes many facts which belonged to a period anterior to Kauṭiliya. Then again, it is quite possible that the present treatise was written by him, before Megasthenes came to Pāṭaliplūtra. When he came, many innovations in administration might have been introduced by Chandragupta personally or in consultation with his ministers; for example, ‘the boards described by Megasthenes as in charge of the business of the capital,’ which are unknown to our author, may have been, as V. A. Smith suggests, introduced by Chandragupta personally later on.

Lastly, Megasthenes was not a trained critical observer. Had he been so, his Indica would not have spoken of the seven Indian castes and contained all the fine stories about gold-digging ants, and men who could lie down in their ears, and so forth. Moreover, the original work of Megasthenes has been lost, and his account has only survived to our times in second or third-hand extracts. In these circumstances, he must be a very brave man who would venture to declare dogmatically that since Kauṭiliya and Megasthenes disagree, they must be referred to different periods.

Objections against referring Kauṭiliya to an early date have also been taken on two more points. Prof. Jolly, for instance, after examining the legal part of the Arthāśāstra, has expressed the opinion that ‘if the book is considered as having been written three centuries before Christ, including the legal part (Dharmanātiḥ), then the whole accepted chronology of the Hindu

36 It is also extremely significant that Kauṭiliya in his Arthāśāstra never mentions the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and the Hūnas who are generally referred to in all compositions of a later period; cf. Kāśikā-vyākaraṇa Pāṇini, IV. 2. 99.
38 Megasthenes and Kauṭiliya.
39 Arthāśāstra, p. 1—Prakṛtyād labhe...kṣtam.
40 Early History of India, 3rd ed., p. 141.
41 Another possibility that suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, that the Arthāśāstra was written while the empire was in the making. See also Raychaudhari, Political History of Ancient India, pp. 149-51.
Schools of Law tumbles like a pack of cards. Instances are not rare in the history of scholarship, when a new discovery or invention destroys the cherished theories of ages. Thus, with the discovery of the Sarnath Inscriptions of Kumragupta II and the Damodarpur plates of Budhagupta, the whole accepted chronology of the Imperial Guptaists tumbled like a house of cards. Much capital, again, has been made out of the fact that the oldest (1 hitherto known) treatises on metallurgy, attributed to Patanjali and Nagarjuna, appear to be more primitive than the chapters on the same subject in the Kautsilya. Mercury, for instance, which Sir P. C. Ray could not trace any further back than the earliest Tantric texts in the fifth or the sixth century A.D., and which is only once mentioned in Charaka and the Bower MSS. (fourth century A.D.), is mentioned by Kautsilya. But I should like to ask these scholars why they must refer every treatise, showing an imperfect knowledge of a subject, to an earlier period than one showing a more developed knowledge? Is lack of developed knowledge always a test of antiquity? Kambadaka's Nitisara, the present Sukraniti and the Barhastapya Arthaasstra, for instance, show an imperfect knowledge of statecraft in comparison with the Kautsilya. But is any scholar for that reason ready to refer the latter to a later date? If they are not willing to follow such a course, why then should Kautsilya be alone referred to a later period than those treatises which show a more imperfect knowledge of metallurgy. Scantiness and imperfection are often the symptoms of decay and not of antiquity. These arguments can therefore never be conclusive.

The above discussion will show that the arguments advanced against the theory that the Arthaashastra in its present form was a work of the Maurya period are far from convincing. I shall not, however, be surprised if somebody detects some interpolations in our present texts. But these interpolations must be very few and far between, and may perhaps be found confined to the Bhayas portion of the work. In a moist climate like that of India the MSS. require frequent recopying, and it is just possible, as Dr. Nag suggests, that in the course of these frequent changes of materials, some slight alterations or interpolations have crept into this work. But this he has not demonstrated. Failing more substantial arguments, the conclusion of Dr. Shamsastry that the Arthaashastra represents the work of a writer of 300 B.C. is not to be lightly rejected.

Modern Works on the Arthaashastra and its date.

Hildebrandt, A. ... Uber das Kautsilyasasthra. Breslau, 1908.
Jacobi, H. ... Kultur-Sprach- und Literarhistorisches aus dem Kautsilya, Sitz. KPA., 1911.
Uber die Eechtheit des Kautsilya. Ibid., 1912.
Indian Antiquary, 1918-19 (Eng. Trans.)
Jolly, J. ... Arthaashastra und Dharmaasstra. ZDMG., 1913.
Kolleetaneen zur Kautsilya Arthaashastra. Ibid., 1914.

44 Introduction to his first and second editions of the Text and the English Translation of the Arthaashastra of Kautsilya.
WADDELL ON PHŒNICIAN ORIGINS.

By Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.

(Continued from page 197.)

8. Cup-Markings on Stone and Circles on Coins.

On this abstruse subject Waddell is even more original and startling than he has been hitherto in this book. The long title of this Chapter thereon is sufficient proof:—"Prehistoric cup-markings on circles, rocks, etc., in Britain; and circles on ancient Briton coins and monuments, as invocations to the Sun-god in Sumerian cipher script by early Phenicians: disclosing decipherment and translation by identical cup-marks on Hitto-Sumerian seals and Trojan amulets with explanatory Sumerian script: and Hitto-Sumerian origin of gods-names; Jahoveh or Jove, Indra, Indri, Thor of the Goths, St. Andrew; Earth-goddess Maia or May, the Three Fates, and English names of the numerals." Material enough here, one would think, for a whole book.

Starting with eight figures of cup-marked stones in Britain, Waddell gives eleven of cup-marks on Hitto-Sumerian amulet whorls from Troy, which he compares with ten figures on archaic Sumerian seals and amulets associated with a Sumerian seal dated B.C. 3000, showing "circles as diagnostic circle marks of Sumerian and Chaldee deities in the Trial of Adam, the Son of God Ia (Jahoveh or Jove or Indara)."
He then says that the early Sumerians wrote numbers as strokes (e.g., | for 1, || for 2 and so on), which became circular holes when applied by a drill to stone: o = 1, oo or Ω = 2, and so on. He found that "many of our numerals in English, and in the Assyrian languages generally, are also derived from the Sumerian names for these numbers, although the fact has not hitherto been noticed." We have already had his ideas on 'one' being equivalent to Sumerian ana and now he tells us that through "the occult values attached to certain numbers by the Sumerians," we are able to identify the Hitto-Sumerian god-names on the seals and tablets with the names of the leading Aryan gods of classic Greece and Rome, of the Indian Vedas, of the Gothic Eddas, and of the ancient Britons, as inscribed on their pre-Roman coins and monuments. So o = 1 or 10 = God as monad; oo = 2 or 20 = the Sun-god; oo = 3 or 30 = the Moon or Moon-god, and so on up to nine figures and two special kinds of o. Waddell then launches into an explanation of the cup-marks in the light of the above observation and certain startling philological comparisons, which are not easy to follow.

He arrives in the course of his study at a remarkable philological conclusion: "It will be seen, in scanning the key-list in the table, that the first or single circle or cup-mark, title for God, Ia or Jove, or the One God, has the value of A (i.e., the Greek Alpha); whilst the title for Him is the large double o (i.e., the Greek O-mega), a name now seen to be also derived from the Sumerian makh, great, and surviving in Scotch, 'muckle' or English 'much' and 'magnitude,' etc. It thus appears that the early Sumerian and our own 'pagan' ancient Briton ancestors called the Father God Ia or Jove by the very same title as God in the Apocalypse, namely, 'Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last.'" In a footnote Waddell adds that "Ia is also Indara."

By the key-list Waddell reads the inscription on the scene about Adam already noticed, to mean "how Adam broke the wing of the stormy South-wind." He also read many other Hitto-Babylonian seals and found them to explain "the circles on ancient Briton coins and the cup-markings of pre-historic Britain," so that he could even read these last.

Waddell in the same way next reads the "archaic Morite tablet of about B.C. 400" found at Smyrna, on which he asks us to "note the initial word-sign for 'tomb' in the picture of the ancient barrow of the Indo-Aryans with its finial called thupa or tope," i.e., according to his reading: but surely the Buddhistic stupa or tope was a reliquary not a 'tomb.' The 'word-sign' is, however, remarkable, as under Waddell's reading of the tablet, it is to "a princess or priestess of the Bel-fire cult, named Nina, who is significantly called therein an Ari, i.e., Arya and Muru, i.e., Mor or Amorite. It invokes Taś for the aid of resuscitating the underground Sun and the Word Cross." Finally he says: "it is significant that a large proportion of the words of the Morite tablet of about B.C. 4000 are radically identical with those of modern English, thus the second and third 'good girl' occur literally in the Sumerian as 'kud-gal.'" This is truly an astonishing deduction, as, even granting that 'kud gal' is a right transcription of the 'picture' writing, which I give here, both the translation into 'good girl' and the transcription rest on the single assertion of Waddell himself.

He next proceeds to "unlock the long lost meaning and racial authorship of . . . . the prehistoric cup-marking in the British Isles" by the same keys, and finds them "to be substantially identical with the Sumerian cup-marked solar amulets of Early Troy," and thus to be "Litanies for the resurrection of the dead by the Sun-Cross." He reads them to be invocations to the Archangel Taś, Ia or Jove = Indra. Their date he presumes to be that of the Stone Circles, B.C. 2300. He also shows a Briton coin inscribed 'Tascio' with

13 All this seems to mean that in Waddell's view Sumerian makh is the origin of the Greek, megas; Latin Magnus; English, much; Scotch, muckle.
cup-marks.” Thus “by new evidence . . . the truth of the conjecture of a Phœnician origin . . . is established and “positive and conclusive proof of the Aryan origin of the Sumerians, and of the Hitto-Phœnician origin of the Britons and Scots” is gained.

9. Sun-worship and Bel-fire rites and the Sun-cross.

Having arrived so far in this fashion, Waddell now further develops his argument by “disclosing the Phœnician origin of solar emblems on pre-Christian monuments in Britain and on pre-Roman coins, and also the same origin of the Deazil or Sun-wise direction for luck, etc., and of John the Baptist as an Aryan Sun-fire priest.” He starts with six quotations, of which I select the following. From the Sumerian Psalms he quotes:—“In the right hand of the king, the shepherd of his country.” On this he remarks that the word for shepherd is “siba, disclosing the Sumerian origin of the English word ‘shepherd,’” though ‘shepherd’ is clearly ‘sheep-herd’: but perhaps he means that the English sheep = Sumerian sib-a. Then he goes on from the Mahābharata:—“the able Panch [Phœnician], the Chedi [Cetti or Catti] are all highly blest, and know the eternal religion—the eternal truth of religion and righteousness.” It will be observed that this time we have Sanskrit name as Chedi not as Cetti: but can Chedi be equated with Catti! Ch with k?

Waddell is now fairly launched on an enquiry—partly ethnology, partly folklore, and partly philology—of a wide and bewildering character under his guidance. Its object is to “furnish additional proof that those elements of the higher civilisation and religion and their names were introduced into the British Isles by the Aryan Barat Catti or Brito-Phœnicians.” They are therefore of prime importance to the present discussion.

Waddell begins by stating that “the former Sun-cult is attested by the turning of the face of the dead to the East in the Stone and Bronze Age tombs,” and in the “Deazil or Sun-wise directions in masonic and cryptic rites and in the lucky way of passing wine at table.” The Phœnicians were a highly religious people, and “in worshipping the One God of the Universe, whom they symbolised by his chief visible luminary the Sun,” they cherished the monotheism “expressed in the Sun-worship and Bel-worship . . . . down the ages in the Mediterranean.” It is also expressed in many other ways, notably “in one of the oldest Aryan hymns of the Vedas, in a stanza which is still repeated every morning by every Brahman in India, who chants it as a morning prayer at sunrise:—

The Sun’s uprising orb floods the air with brightness:
The Sun’s enlivening Lord sends forth all men to labour.”

And then says Waddell:—“the Hitto-Sumerians usually called the Father-God Induru or Indara, the Indra of the Eastern Aryans and the Indri of the Goths,” and to him most hymns and monuments are everywhere addressed. “This Aryan idea of the One Father-God symbolised by the Sun is the Aten-worship of Egypt,” and so is Akenaten’s new art “. . . which is seen to be patently Phœnician.”

In the Newton Stone inscription the title for the Sun is Bel or Bil, which “is now disclosed to be derived from the Sumerian (i.e., early Aryan) word for Fire, Flame or Blaze,” to prove which statement Waddell has recourse to some wonderful etymology from Sumer to English. After which “we see the significance of the name St. Blaze for the taper-carrying saint introduced into early Christianity as patron of the immediate solar festival of Candlemas Day,” and of “the Bel-fire or Bel-tane rites and games, which still survive in many parts of the British Isles . . . . the name Bel-tane or Bel-tine means literally Bel’s fire.” Waddell here has a reference, used later on by him, to the generation of the sacred fire for igniting fire-offerings to Bil or Bel “by the friction of two tender sticks, or fire drill, employed in Britain down to the middle ages and by the early Aryan Phœnicians.”
He next proceeds to show that St. John the Baptist was made by Christian missionaries "the patron saint of the old pagan Bel-Fire festivities, who transferred them to the Eve of St. John's Day, the 24th June," celebrated all over Europe and by the Phœnician colonies. All this suggests that St. John, "who bears an Aryan-Gentile and non-Hebrew name, was himself an Aryan-Gentile and of the Fire-Cross cult." And then Waddell goes on to state that "his initiatory rite of baptism is wholly unknown in Judaism, whereas it is a part of the ancient ritual of the Sumerian and Aryan Vedie and Eddie Gothic Sun-cults." And this theory he supports with more remarkable philology. In the same way he supports another statement that the temple at Jerusalem was "a famous ancient Sun-God temple of the Hittites and Amorites connected with the Sun-God Nin-ib, otherwise styled Taš, i.e., the Hitt-Phœnician archangel of God and the Tascio of the Briton coins and monuments."

Waddell has next some remarkable passages on "the Cross-sceptre or staff traditionally carried by John the Baptist as a special emblem of the Sun-God Ninib of Jerusalem. As the Son of God, that Sun-God is given in Sumerian the synonym of the God of the Cross + wherein that Cross in the form of St. George's Red Cross is defined as 'Wood-Sceptre' and also as 'Fire' and 'Fire-God' under the name 'Bar or Mas' (i.e., the English bar or mace)." So that "take up his Cross and follow me," is a reference to the fiery Red Cross sceptre and symbol of the Sun-cult . . . . and is not an anticipation of the crucifix." These reflections lead Waddell to suggestions as to the Christ himself, which are, to say the least, startling; and of "the wise men of the East," the Magi, he says:—"this name is obviously derived from the Sumerian Maš, as bearers of the Maš or + Cross," which, he says, is an entirely new, and I may add isolated, derivation. Waddell has several more novel derivations for names in the New Testament.

Then he returns to the Bel-Fire, winding up with the remark that "altogether the Phœnician origin and introduction of the Bel-Fire into Britain, as part of the old Sun-worship, thus appears to be cleared and established." And after some remarks that Deasil or Dossil, "the right-handed way of the Scots, who called the opposite Wdeinos or contrary to the Sun, which is considered unlucky," was "inculcated in the old Aryan Vedie hymns and epics . . . . as the right way, or right-handed way, pra-daxina [dakhshina]." Waddell passes on to the solar symbols on British coins. These he finds are used in the same conventional ways as on Sumerian and Phœnician seals. One observation he makes here is, at least a little confused: "the interchangeability of the Sun's vehicles seen on the British coins, etc., as Horse (Asvin), Deer (or Goat), Goose and Hawk or Falcon, is voiced in the Vedas and often in dual form:—

O Asvin [horse], like a pair of deer,
Fly hither, like geese, unto the mead we offer,
With the fleetness of the falcon."

Here it seems to me that the Vedic composer only asks the Asvin to fly like a deer or goose or falcon. He does not identify these creatures with the Asvin.

Waddell next discusses "the Sun-Cross of the Hitt-Phœnicians as the origin of the Christian Cross on Briton coins and monuments, and of the Celtic and Tree Cross in Christianity, disclosing the Catti, Hittite, or Gothic origin of the Celtic or Runic Cross, the Red Cross of St. George, the Swastika and the 'Spectacles'; the introduction of the Cross into Christianity by the Goths; and ancient Brito-Gothic hymns to the Sun." We find him here as energetic and discursive as ever in the discussion. "The name 'Cross' is now discovered to be derived from the Sumerian (i.e., early Phœnician) word garza, which is defined as 'sceptre or staff of the Sun-God,' and also 'sceptre of the King.' Its word-sign is pictured by the two-barred cross or battle-axe (khat, the root of Khat-ti or Hittite) . . . . The Sun-Cross, engraved by the Phœnician Cassi, King of the Scots, on his votive pillar at Newton to the Sun-god Bil . . . . was substituted in Christianity by the Goths for the crucifix
of Christ, which crucifix was of quite a different shape from the True Cross or Sun-Cross, now used in modern Christianity. The earliest form of the True Cross was, I find, the shape +, wherein the arms are of equal length.” And then we come to some more of Waddell’s Etymology:—“It was called pîr, with the meaning of fire, thus disclosing the Sumerian origin of the English words fire and pyre; Gothic, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon and old English fyr, fire; and Greek pyr.” It was “a simple symbol of divine victory and not a crucifix, but usually coloured red, its original colour as the red or fiery cross.” Its origin “I find was the crossing of the twin tinder sticks, as producing by friction the sacred fire. See the Rig Veda:—

The Bharats—Srava the divine and Vâta the divine—
Have dexterously rubbed to life effectual fire.
O God of Fire, look forth with brimming riches,
Bear in each day our daily bread.”

Waddell then observes that the Hitto-Sumerian and Phoenician conventional variations (giving a large number on two pages of illustration) of the Cross were identical with those on pre-Christian and pre-Roman coins of ancient Briton. The Swastika he takes to be “the simple St. George’s Cross” with free ends added to a bent foot pointing in the direction of the Sun’s apparent movement across the heavens, i.e., “towards the right hand.” The Celtic Cross, “supposed to have been invented by the Celts,” he traces back to Sumerian times, when “the simple equal-limbed cross was sometimes figured inside the circle as the Sun’s disc, and sometimes intermediate rays were added between the arms to form a halo of glory.”

Waddell then examines the relation of the “True Cross in Christianity” to these pre-Christian crosses. The Crucifix of Christ is “figured in early Christianity as the shape of a T, the so-called St. Anthony’s Cross,” which “occurs extremely rarely . . . . because the crucifix was not a recognised Christian symbol of the early Christians . . . . The Cross does not appear as a Christian emblem before A.D. 451.” And then it was “not a substitute for the Crucifix,” but “a sceptre and symbol of divine victory, as it was in the Sun-cult.” Christ on the Cross does not appear until the tenth century A.D., and then as a transference from the old Aryan Sun-Cross of victory. This was the contribution of the Goths to Christianity, “as a vestige of the ancient Red Cross of the Catti or Xatti or Scot Sun-worshippers,” which quotation from Waddell contains an etymology of the term ‘Scot’ characteristic of him.

The Red Cross of St. George sets Waddell on to that Saint, and he finds his original in “Bel the Geur, the Dragon-slayer and protector of the Hittoite Cappadocia.” This clue discovers “the associated Crosses in the Union Jack . . . of St. Andrew and St. Patrick . . . as forms of the same Sun-Cross.” The “gyron cross of British Heraldry is the gurin cross of the Hitites . . . . which seems to be a form of the Hindu Swastika . . . . found on early British monuments . . . . It bears the synonym of baru or fruit, i.e., berry, and thus discloses the Hitto-Sumer origin of the English word berry.” And then Waddell has some more wonderful etymology thus:—“the details of the Catti or Hititite seal of about B.C. 2000 are seen to be substantially identical with those of the old pre-Christian Cross at Cadzow (or Cads-en, the koi or town of the Cad or Phoenician), the modern Hamilton, an old town of the Briton kingdom of Strath-Clyde, in the province of the Gad-eni, the Brito-Phoenician Gad or Cad or Catti.” Both the Briton and the Hititite crosses, he says, have a figure of Tasia, the archangel, above the Swastika, of which the symbol known as “the Spectacles” is a decorated example, having its origin in the Catti or Hitto-Sumerian Solar worship. The ancient True Cross was of wood, and “the modern popular superstition ‘to touch wood’ in order to avert ill-luck is clearly a survival of the ancient Sun-worship of the wooden Cross.”

(To be continued.)
A VERSION OF HIR AND RANJHA.

By ASA SINGH of MAGHIANA, JHANG DISTRICT, PUNJAB
Recorded by H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (Retired).

(Continued from page 179.)

Dāl.

Dekh-ke rūp Rānjhetre dā Āp us-di Hir tamām hūī:
Rānjhe ākhīā: “peā-he palāng Hirē ?”
Uth-chalīā: “Sā-di salām hūī.”
Hir kahīā: “kiūn rūthke uth-turyōū ?”
“Sātoū das, ki sakh kalām hūī ?”
Singhā! Hir Rānjhete nūn kah-chuki:
Sane khesh kabīle ghułām hūī.

Translation.

When she saw the beauty of Rānjhetrā,
It was all over with Hir.
Rānjhā said: “Am I lying on Hir’s bed?”
He rose saying: “I make my salām.”
Hir said: “Why are you displeased, that you get up to go?
Tell me what harsh word has been used.”
[Says] Āsā Singh! Hir finished speaking to Rānjhetā:
The message of love had enslaved her.

Zāl.

Zikr kardā Rānjhā Hir age:
“Authī prīt pālan; sunehāl Hirē,
Jadān ’ishq de mu’āmilā sire āsan,
Jadān prīt na sāgē pāl, Hirē.
Tusāū haūr de nāl vivāh karnā
Sadi karegā kaun samāl Hirē.”
Rānjhā kahīā je:—ţhag-ke mārnāī.”
Tadāū hunī chhād khiyāl Hirē.

Translation.

Then said Rānjhā in Hir’s presence:
“Love is hard to bear; listen Hir,
When an affair of passion possesses one,
Then, Hir, love cannot be endured.
You will marry with another,
Then who will look after me.”
Rānjhā spoke:—“I shall die from the deceit”
Then he immediately ceased to regard Hir.

Re.

“Ranjhiā tud-dī ho-chuki.
Je maiū Chūchake dhi Syāl Jaṭṭī,
Kasam Pir faqīr dī khā kite;
Dīl jor lītā Jaṭṭ nāl Jaṭṭī”
Hik mākār fareb banā kite:
Rānjhā kar-le turi charwāl Jaṭṭī.
Āsā Singh! Kah nāl le Rānjhe-nūn;
Kare bāp de aģe suwāl Jaṭṭī,
Translation.

"Ranjhâ, your affair is finished.
I am a Syâl Jaṭṭi, daughter of Chûchak,
Who has taken an oath on his Pir
That a Jaṭṭi must be united to a Jaṭṭi."
Then she made a trick and deception:
The Jaṭṭi made Ranjhâ become a herdsman.
[ Says ] Âsâ Singh! She took Ranjhâ with her
And went to beg of her father.  

Ze.

Zâriân karke Hir jîti,
Age bâp de kare o bât, Miân:—
Âkhe: "Châk rakho in-nû, bâblâwe.
Jehre nît paunde dineû rât, Miân.");
Bâp Hir tuâ puchiâ: "Kaun hondâ ?"
Kahendâ: "Nâû Dhido, Ranjhâ zât, Miân."
Singhâ! Chûchak Syâl ne châk rakhiâ
Hir nál jain-dî mulákât, Miân.

Translation.

Hir wept greatly before her father,
And said these words to him:—
"Take him into your service, daddy,
He will always be there day and night."
Her father asked of Hir: "Who is he ?"
She said:–"His name is Dhido by caste a Ranjhâ."
[ Says Âsâ ] Singh! Chûchak the Syâl engaged the man,
Who was in love with Hir.

Sin.

Sâriyân majhiyâû hak turiâ
Sache Rabb dâ nâm samâl Ranjhâ.
Wâr wâr kulârke kah Chûchak:—
'Rakhe Mangû de vich khîyâl, Ranjhâ;
Bele vich musibatâû bhâriâû.
Râlâ-kire kise de nâû, Ranjhâ."
Âsâ Singhâ! Majhûn bele le-vaûyâ
Hoiâ dhup de nâû be-hâl Ranjhâ.

Translation.

In the true God's name Ranjhâ
Drove out all the buffaloes.
Again and again Chûchak charged him:
"Look out carefully in Mangû, Ranjhâ:
In the island there are many accidents.
Let them not get mixed up with any others, Ranjhâ."
[ Says ] Âsâ Singh: Ranjhâ drove out the buffaloes,
And became senseless from the heat.

6 That he would engage him as his herdsman.
Skên.

Shauq se tiā, Miāā, Rānjhne nūū
Chūrī den chali Jaṭṭī Hīr, Miāā : 
Bele vich Rānjhe mahīū chārde nūū,
Dūroū rāzar āyā Panj-Pir, Miāā.
Chūrī Hīr thīū leke nazar dhardā
Nāle majh bhūrī sandā shīr, Miāā.
Singhā! Hīr bakhshi Pirān Rānjhne-nūū : 
Pir vidā hoe deke dhīr Miāā.

Translation.

From love for Rānjhā
Hīr, the Jaṭṭī, went out to take him his food.
While he grazed the buffaloes in the island,
The Five Pirs appeared to Rānjhā from afar :
As he received his food from Hīr,
Among the grey buffaloes.
[Says Asā] Singh : the Pirs gave Hīr to Rānjhā,
And disappeared having given him courage.

Swād.

Ṣāt ḍīṭhā Kaido Hīr jāndī :
Chūrī legāī nāl tatbīr haisi,
Chānā rakh Ranjhete de pās Jaṭṭī.
Nadiōū len-gāī thandā nīr haisi ;
Pichhon Rānjhne-thuū chūrī mang-lītī.
Kaido banke āyā faqīr haisi.
Āī Hīr Rānjhā kīī galh, Singhā!
Kaido magar bhānnī Jaṭṭī Hīr haisi.

Translation.

Kaido saw clearly Hīr going [to Rānjhā]
And the artifice with which she took the food,
And left it with Rānjhā.
He took some cold water from the river,
And then went to Rānjhā and asked for some food.
Kaido came disguised as a beggar
Hīr came and talked to Rānjhā, [says Asā] Singh.
And behind Hīr, the Jaṭṭī, came Kaido.

Zwād.

Zarb lāī Jaṭṭī Hīr dājhi ;
Mār Kaido nūū hāloīn be-hāl kītā .
Kaido mel chūrī āyā pās Chūcāk,
Ān Hīr dā kull hawāl kītā .
Sunkē Hīr digall harīān hoī ;
Ghusse nāl Chūcāk rang lāl kītā .
Singhā! Chār mahīū Rānjhā shahr āyā,
Chūcāk ghar-thīū dūr charwāl kītā .
Translation.

Hir, the Jaṭṭi, struck Kaido
And beat him severely.
Kaido took the food and came to Chûchak,
And told him all his tale regarding Hir.
Hearing about Hir Chûchak was distressed
And his colour became red with rage.
[Says Asâ] Singh: When Rânjhâ came back to the village driving the buffaloes,
Chûchak turned his herdsman out of the house.

Tœ.

Ţaur phiryâ tadoń Chûchake dâ,
Jadâű bhâiyâű ne kitâ tang, lokoû.
Baith Hir de vihâh di gal karde.
Nâle sochde mand-theî chang, lokoû.
Sunkhe Kheriâũ-ne bhej nâî dittâ ;
Kahiâ : “Saide sang karnâũ je ang, lokoû ?
Singha ! Hir sang Saide mangâũ Chûchak.
Hoyâ Rânjhne da zarad rang, lokoû.

Translation.

Then Chûchak’s intentions changed,
When the brotherhood pressed him hard, good people.
He set to work to make a marriage for Hir.
Much he thought in sadness, good people!
On hearing this the Kheris sent a barber
And said: “Do you wish to make a betrothal with Saidâ ?”
[Says Asâ] Singh: Chûchak betrothed Hir to Saidâ,
And Rânjhâ’s colour became yellow, good people!

Zœ.

Zulm kitâ bâp Hir de ne
Ditti Saide-nuû Hir vihâh, lokoû.
Ratti vas nachale Ranjhetre dâ :
Dineũ rât bhardâ ūhanje sâh, lokoû.
Hir Kheriâũ di ġolî nâha charî.
Ate marandâ rakhî châh, lokoû.
Mahû wâste Chûchake minnat kitî :
Rânjhâ chaliâ ho hamrâh, lokoû.

Translation.

With great harshness Hir’s father
Gave her in marriage to Saidâ.
Rânjhâ’s blood would not flow in his veins:
Day and night he heaved cold sighs.
Hir refused to mount the Kheris’ palanquin
And wished to die, good people.
She begged Chûchak for a month’s grace,
Rânjhâ went along with her, good people.
'Ain.

Ishq dâ mâyâ, Miâû Rânjhâ
Rahûh kâh ghussa âyâ chal pichhâû.
Bibi Hîr de pyâr dukhyâr hoke
'Ashiq ân baîthâ jâl-mal pichhâû.
Jaṭṭi Hîr dâlgir jâû zikr sunyã ;——
" Rânjhâ ândâ ândâ giyâ val pichhâû ;
Singhâ! Hîr likhyâ :— "Jogi bane âweû."
Dittâ khatt kâshid hathgal pichhân.

Translation.

Afflicted with love, Miâû Rânjhâ
Followed after in a passionate rage.
Distressed by love for the Lady Hîr,
The lover came and sat behind a jâl tree.
Hîr, the Jaṭṭi, heard of his distress :
" Rânjhâ is coming after us."
[Says Âsâ] Singh : Hîr wrote : "Pretend to be a jôgî."
And gave her letter to a messenger to take back to him.

Ghain.

Gham-haṭyâ jadoû khatt milyâ,
Jogi bannan di kare tatbûr Rânjhâ.
Gorakhnâtth de tîle-theû jâ-phauthâ,
Aukhe jhâg bele jangal chîr Rânjhâ.
Nâth dâr-ma-dâr tâû bahut kîtâ,
Aipar pakkâ hoyâ dâmangîr Rânjhâ.
Singhâ! Hîr de khatt theû 'amal karke,
Âkhir-kâr ho-giyyâ fâqîr Rânjhâ.

Translation.

When Rânjhâ grief-harassed received the letter,
He arranged to disguise himself as a jôgî,
And reached the shrine of Gorakhnâtth.
With great trouble he cut through the jungle,
[Gorakhnâtth then made a thorough arrangement for him,
And Rânjhâ became his true devotee.
[Says Âsâ] Singh : acting on Hîr's letter,
At last Rânjhâ became a fâqîr.

Fe.

Fer turyâ āsar Kheriyâû di :
Raste milyâ ek aiyâl, dâdhâ.
Le shakl pachhânus Rânjhne di :
Lage puchne hâl-hawâl, dâdhâ.
Jhâgar-jhâr pichhôû Rânjhe âkh-dîttâ :——
"Mainyâû hûû Rânjhâ prît-pîl, dâdhâ."
Singhâ! Pallâ chhûrâ aiyâl kolûû ;
Rangpur pohutthâ shaunq nûl, dâdhâ.
**Translation.**

Then he turned again towards the Kheris;  
And on the way he met a shepherd,  
Who recognised Rânjhâ's appearance without doubt,  
And began to ask his news.  
After some parley Rânjhâ told him—  
"I am that Rânjhâ greatly afflicted by love."

[Says Åså] Singh: at last he got rid of the shepherd,  
And reaching Rangpur, was mad with desire.

\[Kâf (1).\]

Kâl kuâuriân bharan pâni;  
Aiûyân khuh heteâ shahr jo vasidiani.  
Sohnâ vekhke mast-almast jogî,  
Mâr saínâã sârâã hasdian.  
Rânjhâ khair di wâste shahr turyâ;  
Woh bhi châ ghare kadam kasdian.  
Singhâ! "Nawâ jogî sâdî des âyâ."  
Vanj Hîr Syâl nuâ dasdian.

**Translation.**

Some girls were drawing water,  
They dwelt by the well below the village;  
They saw a handsome, crazy jogî.  
All the girls laughed at him.  
Rânjhâ went to the village to beg for alms;  
And they went with him carrying their waterpots.  
[Says Åså] Singh: They said: "A new jogî has come to our country."  
And they went and told Hir, the Syâl.

\[Kâf (2).\]

Kiyâ "alakh! alakh!" Rânjhe  
Pahle vich vehre pind Kheriyâû de.  
Dârî Jaṭṭ dî gâû theâ dudh duyâ.  
Jaṭṭi kharîk lârî nûl jheriyâû de:—  
"Nâû Khair dâ," ten ñunje Hîr taîû:  
Jhâtî paundâ phire vich vehrîyâû de.  
Singhâ! Rânjhe ne vanj bandâr vichoû  
Kaçhyâ Sahtî nuû nûl bakherîyâû de.

**Translation.**

Crying "alakh, alakh," Rânjhâ  
First went into the court-yards of the Kheris' village  
And milked the cow of Dârî, the Jaṭṭ.  
The Jaṭṭi [his wife] drove him out with abuse.  
[Saying]: "In the name of God", he searched for Hîr,  
And wandered round peeping into the yards.  
[Says Åså] Singh: Rânjhâ by a trick  
Got Sahtî to come out of the yard,
Gāf.

Gai charkhā chā gharīn Sahtī;
Magarān Rānjhā bue te ā-khalā,
Vekh Hīr nu ā: “Alakh” jagāyasū,
Nāl Sahtī de morchā lā-khalā,
(Sahtī muthā chīnā, Rānjhā lave nāhin),
Kar Hīr de milān dī chāk khalā.
Singhā! Sahtī theū goī nāl nishā kitā:
Āp molīyān dī mār khā-khalā.

Translation.

Sahtī took her spinning wheel into the house,
And Rānjhā followed her and stood at the door.
Seeing Hīr he cried loudly “Alakh”:
And while he stood wrangling with Sahtī
(For Sahtī was pounding chīna, Rānjhā did not take it),
He stood there arranging how to meet Hīr.

[Says Āsā] Singh : He gave Sahtī a stupefying drug in a pill
And she herself pounded it with the pestle and ate it.

Leāī Hīr pahchān Rānjhā,
Baith puchhī, vāng nimānīyāā de :—
“Khabar yār dī das kāi, Miān Jogī,”
Galāū kardī nāl bahānīyān-de.
Rānjhā bāgh nu āi, ta Hīr pichhe,
Mel hoiē dard Rānjhāniyāā de.
Singhā! Milke Hīr jān guareī āī;
Sahtī jān kaḍhe nāl ta’ānīyāā de.

Translation.

Hīr recognized Rānjhā
And sitting down, as it were asked his news :—
“Tell me, Miān Jogī, some news of my lover,”
Says she speaking with craft.
Rānjhā went to the garden and Hīr after him,
And there they met, and Rānjhā’s grief left him.

[Says Āsā] Singh : Then Hīr came back to the house,
And Sahtī drove her out with her scorn.

Mīm.

Mihr setīn Hīr sang Sahtī :
Dūū nāl salāā nigāh kardī :—
“Tain-nu ā mile Baloch te āsāū Rānjhā.”
Sahtī yār de milān dī chāh kardī,
“Aj Hīr nu ā khet legānīyāā maiū,”
Sahtī mā age gal jā kardī.
Singhā! Makar dā Hīr nu ā sapp laryā,
Sahtī sabb sahelī gawāh kardī.

6 The whole scene illustrates the Chiniot proverb :—“khoīr pās, nī, vēhrī dīyā āī namāh.” He says to the women in the yard “give me alms, my dear.” This proverb refers to the impudence of begging jogīs or jagātres, who enter courtyards (vēhrī) and address the women in them as nī (dear, darling) a term used only by a husband to his wife. Sahtī was Hīr’s nānān or husband’s sister (sister-in-law),
Translation.

Sahti and Hir had been friends
And with hearty advice she regarded her (and said) :-
"Let the Baloch meet you and Rânjhâ me."
For Sahti had a lover to meet,
"To-day I am taking Hir away to the fields :"
So (Ranjhâ) said to Sahti :
[Says Asâ] Singh : The snake of treachery bit Hir.
Sahti made all her companions witnesses to what was said.

Nûn.

Nâl zâfî Ajjû bâp tain
Sahti akhâl : "Phâh kahâ, saîm ;
Jaṭṭi Hir nuâ laryâ râng zâlim.
Le mandri kull bulâ, saîm,
Kâle Bâgh andar baithâ ek jogi."
Sahti akhyâ : "Sad le â, sâîm."
Singhâ ! Saïde de kahe na mûl âyâ.
Ajjû leaundâ Pir manâ, sâîm.

Translation.

With lamentation Sahti says to her father Ajjû :
"Set a snare, my lord,
A wicked snake has bitten the Jaṭṭi Hir !
Send and call all the soothsayers :
There is a jogi staying in the Kâla Bâgh."
Said Sahti : "Call him here, sir."
Says Asâ Singh ; At Saidâ's word he would not come at all.
Ajjû sent and brought the saint.

Vâw.

Vekhhe Hir dâ hâl jogi
Kahndâ : "Karâh changi mantr mår jab de."
Sahti Hir faqir nuâ laî khere ;
Kothi vich pawan bahar vâr jab de
Sone Pir sore teû Murâd âyâ ;
îpo-îp le tureni yâr jab de.
Singhâ ! Khabar hoî dinî Kheriyâhu nuî,
Mile jâh Murâd sawâr jab de.

Translation.

Seeing Hir's condition, the jogi
Said :"I will recite an excellent charm for a snake at once."
Sahti and Hir brought him to the kherâ ;
But just as [Ranjhâ] was entering the house
Murâd, the horseman, came from Sonâ Pir,
And himself took the lover away.
Says Asâ Singhâ : "In the morning the Kheris had the news
That Murâd, the horseman, had met him [Ranjhâ]."
He.

Hār sawār Murād koloī
Mile suttē Ranjhete nūn ā, Mīān.
Hīr kho-laē turt Ranjhne thūn ;
Kītā mār faqīr fanā, Mīān.
Ākhā Ḥīr : "Jā kūk tūn pās adalī"
Rānjhā kūkyaī uthe jā, Mīān.
Singhā ! Rānjhne dī surn kūk Rāje ;
Khere lāīnī zebt karā, Mīān !

Translation.

By violence the horsemen with Murād,
Came upon Rānjhā while he slept.
They quickly dragged Hīr away from Rānjhā
And beat the faqīr [Rānjhā].
Hīr said : "Go thou and cry for justice to the judge."
Rānjhā went and raised his cry.
[Says Āsā] Singh : The Rājā listened to Rānjhā's cry,
And seized the property of the Kherīs.

Ldm (2).

Lā jehrā legiyā Hīr Kherā,
Nāl khushī de watan-nūn phir charīā.
Rānjhe Hīr bad-du'ā dittī ;
Lagi ag, te 'Adal dā shahr sariā.
Rājā samajhā be-insāf hoiā
Khushī jāūndā Khere-nūn phir pharīā.
Singhā ! Hīr mili phir Rānjhne nūn
Leke Jhang-Syāle nūn ān-varīā.

Translation.

When the Kherīs took Hīr away
With joy to their own country,
Rānjhā and Hīr cursed them
And the village of 'Adal caught fire and was burnt.
The Rājā understood that there had been injustice,
And gladly went and seized Kherā again.
[Says Āsā] Singh ! Rānjhā received Hīr again,
And taking her entered into Jhang Syālā.

Alīf (3).

Ākhā Hīr de mā-peān ne :
"Leāwī Rānjhīa janjh banā-karke."
Khushī nāl Rānjhā rawān watan hoīā,
Pohutthā apnā ves vatā-karke.
Pichhe Hīr de mā-peān matā kītā ;
Hīr mārīe zahr khawā-karke.
Singhā ! Hīr-nūn mā-peān zahr dittī,
Kītī gor andar dākhīl jā-karke.
Translation.

Then Hir's parents said:—

"Let Ranjhá bring the marriage procession."

With joy Ranjhá departed to his own land
And arrived there, having changed his clothing.
Then Hir's parents conspired,
And killed Hir by giving her poison.

[Says Ásá] Singh: Her father and mother poisoned Hir
And put her into her grave.

Ye.

Yád kar Hir de má-peán ne
Kitá Ranjhe val káshid taityar jab de.
Pohutthá Takht-Hazáre de vich káshid
Milíá Ránhjhe-nú áhín már jab de.
Káshid ákhíá: "Mar-gál Hir tera.
Ránhjá rowan lagá zár-o-zár, jab de.
Ránhjá Hir de ghám vich saut hoíá.
Ásá Singh! Mile deño yár jab de.

Translation.

Then Hir's parents remembered,
And again sent a message to Ránjhx.
The messenger arrived at Takht Hazára.
And met Ránjhx uttering sighs.
The messenger said: "Thy Hir is dead."
Ránhjá began to weep and lament,
Ránjhx died of grief for Hir.
And then, [says] Ásá Singh: the two lovers met at last.

Alif (4).

Unnh sa ik-tálhí san haisf.
Assú mánh náwin Somwr, jáno.
Qissa Hir te Ranjhe df dosti dà
Kitá shauñq de náí taityår, jáno.
Zihá Jhang, Maghiáñá men ghar merá.
Sadar Káñu halwáí dà kai, jáno.
Howe harf kam-besh, tu mu'áf karnái
Ásá Singh Hindi wákif-kár, jáno.

Translation.

This is the year nineteen hundred and forty one.7
Know that it is Monday, the ninth of the month Asauj.
Know that with pleasure I have compiled
This story of the love of Hir and Ránjhx.
My home is at Maghiáñá in the District of Jhang.
Know that I keep a halvát's shop in the Sadar Bázár (of Jhang).
If there is a letter too much or too little forgive it
And know that Ásá Singh is skilled in the Hindi tongue (i.e., Panjáhl).

7 That is, Samvat 1941 or A.D. 1884.
MISCELLANEA.

THE CATAMARAN IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In Mr. J. J. Cotton's paper on George Chinnery, the Artist, who flourished between 1774 and 1852, in Vol. VI, Proceedings of Meetings, Indian Historical Records Commission, India, January, 1924, there is an account of a little book entitled 'Views of Madras' which was published in 1807. To this Chinnery contributed six plates. Plate IV represents the "Cattamaran," used as a sea boat off Madras, and to it is attached a quaint and accurate account of them.

"The Cattamaran is a raft composed usually of three, but sometimes of four, logs of wood, which are fastened together with ropes made from the cocoa-nut tree. These are cut to a point at one end, whilst the other is left broad and flat. The opposing surfaces at the juncture of the sides of the wood are made smooth, but the upper and under parts of the raft are rounded off. They are paddled along by the Natives, and by their means communication can be held with the ships in the roads, much quicker than by the Masoolah Boat, and in weather which the latter could not venture through the surf. They are managed with great ease, and if the men are washed off by the surf they readily regain their station on the raft. On these rafts all species of goods can be conveyed on ship-board, that will not be damaged by salt water, and when several Cattamarans are joined together, the heaviest Cannon are transported by them to and from the ships as well as shot, anchors, and many kinds of Military stores."

Note by Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.

In December 1874, I was a Lieutenant in the Royal Scots Fusiliers, stationed in Fort St. George, Madras. I went on board the mail boat going to Calcutta to see a friend. The weather was doubtful and the sea very rough. I spent about an hour with my friend in the saloon, and on going on deck I found the cyclone signals flying on shore and every Masoolah boat gone. The ship itself was making ready to go to sea, but a Cattamaran or so still hung about it, looking for letters. To one of the men keeping them I gave a letter to my Commanding Officer explaining the situation. It reached him quite safely through an awful surf. I did not see Madras again for several days, as the mail boat went right out to sea.

BOOK-NOTICE.

SIVATATVARATNAKARA, by BASAVA RAJA OF KELADI.

Published for the first time by Messrs. B. M. Nath & Co., Vepery, Madras.

This is an encyclopedic work in Sanskrit containing about 108 Tarangas or chapters in 9 books or Kallalas, and contains in all a total of about 13,000 slokas or verses. According to the colophon of the work, it was composed in the year A.D. 709-10 by the Lingayat prince Basava of Ikkkeri. This work was hardly known before, and is one of those brought prominently to light by the work of the search Party of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library which made an attempted publication possible. It is a work of great magnitude, dealing with all branches of learning much affected at the time. Though there is not much that is original it still gives one an idea of the prevalent state of culture in South India and the departments of it that came in for cultivation at the time. It is a work of some considerable importance historically, as the chapters in it which may be regarded as historical, throw a very considerable light upon a comparatively dark period of South Indian history.

HOBSON-JOBSON.

"People in England have no conception of the overwhelming religious antagonism which this festival [Muharram] can arouse, and are not much assisted to a better understanding by the London Press. One of the leading newspapers in 1923 informed its readers that the Bakri Id was a festival in honour of 'Bakri, a writer of devotional verse.'"

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A few weeks later an illustrated daily paper referred to the Muharram as 'the Muhammedan, a festival in honour of Hobson-Jobson, the grandson of the Prophet.' "Edwards, Crime in India, p. 12. It is quite clear that the creation of "Hobson-Jobson" is an art still very much alive.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

R. C. TEMPLE.
TIRILINGA AND KULINGAH.

By G. RAMADAS, B.A., M.R.A.S.

In the Purle plates of Indravarman, son of Danārava, the donee is said to have been a native of Tiriliṅga, and he was made to settle in Kalinga by the gift of a piece of land in the village of Bukkur in Kurakārāṅga. The modern word Telugu appears to have come from Tiriliṅga.

The existence of the country called Tiriliṅga has not till now been supported by any ancient document, and philologists have had to speculate on the origin of the name Telugu. Some argue that Trilṅga has been coined to justify the origin of the language, while Sanskrit scholars contend that Telugu is derived from Trilṅga. Historians who have secured documentary evidence for Tri-kalinga, venture to derive the word from it. Since there exists a charter which proves that there was once a country called Trilṅga, it is desirable to study its history and to determine where it existed.

The document, in which Trilṅga is mentioned, is dated in the year 149 of the Kalinga era. It has been shown in the 'Chronology of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga' that they reckoned their years from A.D. 349. The date of the grant is therefore A.D. 498. This clearly proves that Trilṅga was in existence in the fifth century of the Christian era.

Ptolemy, a navigator of the second century, gave the latitude and longitude of a place he called Trilingan, and Yule and others, led by that information, located it in Arakan and identified it with Tripurā. But as it cannot be known from what place the Egyptian navigator started his measurements, much reliance cannot be placed on what he has said.

Though none of the other Purāṇas mention this place, the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa alone gives some mythical account of it, which appears to be later interpolation. I shall have to speak of this again.

In the long list of countries, said to have been invaded by Samudragupta, the name of Tiriliṅga is not found. But this cannot be assumed to disprove the existence of the country. Possibly the chief centre of administration, as in the case of other kingdoms, may have been mentioned in the list and may not have been identified by us with Tiriliṅga. It may also be that the region known as Tiriliṅga formed part of the kingdom under a ruler mentioned in the Allahabad Paśastī. But indirectly it can be proved that the region existed in the time of the great Gupta invader.

The Siddhantam plates, dated in 193rd year of the Kalinga era (A.D. 542), mention Erandapalle, a country said to have been subdued by Samudragupta. Since the Purle grant of Indravarman is earlier by only 44 years, it may be presumed that Tiriliṅga and Erandapalle were co-existing. Whether the region existed prior to the fourth century is not apparent, as there are no records to support it.

Documents indicating that Tiriliṅga was in existence after the fifth century cannot be found; but there are nevertheless indirect proofs for it. The Telugu language is found in Samatsārnamul, a word used in the Chikulla plates of Vikramendravarman II. On palaeographical grounds the plates are assigned to the eighth century. The stone inscription in the temple of Śrī Malleśvara-svāmin in Bezwaḍa is in Telugu verse, and the inscription belongs to the ninth century (A.D. 890).

From the middle of the eleventh century Telugu compositions flourished, and in them is given clearer information regarding the country, which lent its name to the language spoken by more than half the population of the Madras Presidency.

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, No. 27.  
4 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, No. 25.
Atharvanāchārya, who lived about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth, says in his Tīrīḷaṅga Sābdanukāsanam,

‘तत्त्वाति प्रतिलेख कोणे सर्वेक्षणां लक्ष्यम्

शरदेष्वः श्रवणां श्रवण्यं सन्धियं कहि: कौन: \ II

करोमेव शरदेष शाखापानां श्रवण्यां सन्धियांम्

वाहिष्कांगानि सृष्टिणि कांशे व्याकरणेन विदत् \ II

May the grammar of Tīrīḷaṅga words, including the science of lakṣhana, composed by the poet Atharvana find fame in the world. Having studied the rules of Bṛhaspati and the grammar of Kaṇva, I shall write a grammar, including lakṣhana, of the language of the people of Tīrīḷaṅga.”

Here Tīrīḷaṅga is used in the plural to denote the people. So also in Aṇḍhra Kaumudi,

कर्णाौत्तथ श्रीवर्मा गृहरा राजवसिनि: \ I

श्रीवर्मा राजविश्व: पञ्च विश्व तेषां वासिनि: \ II

“Karnatas, Tīrīḷaṅgas, Gurjaras, the inhabitants of the Rashtra country, (and) Dravidas are the five Dravida (sects) living to the south of the Vindhya (mountains). Karnatas are the people speaking the Kannada language; Dravidas are the people speaking Tamil; the people of Gujarat are the Gurjaras, and Maharattas are the people of Rāshtra. Therefore Tīrīḷaṅgas are the people living in the country to the north of the Krishna. In Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍita more precise limits of this country are given:

श्रीवर्मा भाषा काण्डिता महेश्वरगिरि संधियांम् \ I

प्राकारतु महेश्वर श्रवण द्वारातु चारकिर्ति \ I

त्रिलोकानि महेश्वर स्म तिरीलिङ्ग भए वहन् \ I

तिरीलिङ्गांनि न्यायसिद्धां द्वारेषु गाँधूऽन्तः \ I

अन्तरिर्विद्वृत्तानि द्वारातेन विनवमुक्ता \ I

सुश्रवण स्रवीदश तुम्हारे हृदयातु राजविस्तम् \ I

अवस्तु तत्त्र त्रिश्रवणां गोवर्दितं दत्ते \ I

तत्काला सन्धियां तेषां तिरीलिङ्गिनि विद्यतम् \ II

“Designing an extensive frontier comprising Śrī Sāile, Bheemesāvara, (Dākhārāma) Kāḷesā and Mahendra mountain, (he) made three gates (in it). The three-eyed god, Mahēsa, holding the trident in his hand and attended by his followers, posted himself at the three gates in the form of three liṅgas. Andhra Vishnu, helped by the gods, fought for thirteen ages with the giant Niśambhū and killed that best of the rākṣasas. He then took up his residence on the banks of the Godavari; since then the country is known as Tīrīḷaṅga.”

Whatever be the extent of the country, the central seat was on the banks of the Godavari, and that was Tīrīḷaṅga. The region of which Tīrīḷaṅga was the capital was known by the same name. Regions under the control of a government are called after the place where that government is located. Kingdoms invaded by Samudragupta are indicated by their capital towns. The nāḍus, regions, take their name from the chief city in them; e.g., Vēgi-nāḍu is the country under the sway of Vēgi.

The various sects amongst the Brāhmaṇs of Southern India adopt the name of the region from which they originally came. Vēgi-nāḍu Brāhmaṇs were the natives of the region around Vēgi; so were the Kosala-nāḍus and Vela-nāḍus. The sect of Brāhmaṇs called Telagāṇyulu must have been at one time, the natives of the region of Telaga; for Telagāṇyulu is a modification of Telaga-nāḍulu.

This sectarian division on the regional basis was not confined to the Brāhmaṇs alone. Amongst the Sūdras is a class known as the Telagas, which is merely a corruption of Telaga. The Sūdras of Kāliṅga are known as the Kāliṅgas; those of the country around
Siिधachalam in the district of Vizagapatam (Govara Kshetra of the Siिधachalam Inscriptions) are Gavaras. The Telagas are a Telugu caste of cultivators, who were formerly soldiers in the army of the Hindu rulers of Teluguana.6

The region gave its name to the language spoken there. The first Telugu poet, Nannaya, who seems to have had his home in this region, says that the Chalukyan King, Rāja Rāja requested him to write the Mahābhārata in Telugu, in the following words:

ka || Jananuta | Kṛṣṇa-dvaitpāyana-muni Vṛshabhābhi-hita Mahā-bhṛata baddha

"You who are praised by men! write in Telugu the theme that is incorporated in Mahā-bhārata by the sage Krishna-Dvaipāyana, that it may show greater intelligence."

Then the poet engages himself to write it. He calls his language Telugu or Tenugu. But Śrīnātha, an inhabitant of Kondaḍudü, the western part of Krishna District, says that his language is Karnaṭa.

gee || Praudhi barikimpa Saिधa-kṣerta-bhāsha-yaṇḍru

Palukunu, dukāramu-nā nāṇḍra bhāsha yaṇḍru

Yavar-ɛmanna nāktēm korata nā—kavitvambu

Nīṣamu Karnāṭa bhāsha.

"By its grandness it is called Sanskrit; pronunciation and intonation show it to be Telugu. Whatever they may say, what do I lose? Surely my language is Karnāṭa."

Ramakrishna of Tenali says that his native town existed in the Andhradēsa:

Andhra-bhāme.................āra-bha-maina.

Śri Tenāḷya-grahāra....................

Thus the Telugu writers themselves admit that their language differed with the region of their abode. But some use Andhra and Telugu as synonyms. Tikkana Somayaji, a native of the district of Nellore, draws no distinction between Andhra and Telugu. C. P. Brown, author of the Telugu Dictionary, says that there are five varieties of the language, distinguished by prāsa or alliteration. Whatever be the number of dialects, the language spoken in a particular region is Telugu; the Brahmans that lived there formed the sect called Telaga-ṇyulu or Telaga-ṇāḍulu. The cultivators there were Telagās or Telāṅgas.

The rulers of the tract also got their title from it. Śrīnātha, a Telugu poet of the fifteenth century, requests a lord of Telugā for musk. This lord of Telugā belonged to the family of Sāmparaya. Similarly Vemulavada Bheemakavi approaches a Telugā-rāya with a similar request. In Rāma Vīḷāsamu, written in the thirteenth century, a Telugā king is mentioned. He was the son of Erā Potarāju and his name was Ramarāṇendra. Another lord of Telugā is described by Mādaki Siṣūgana in his Andhra Podma Purāṇam. He was the brother of Muttabhupala, and had his capital at Rāmagiri in the province of Sibbi, to the south of the Godavari (Gaṭautami). The poet Siṣūgana lived about A.D. 1340.

Pillalamarri China Vīrabhadraya, who lived after A.D. 1428 in the Court of Savagunda Narasimharaju, says in his Jaimuni Bhūratamu that Sālva Mangu had conquered the southern Sultan and having wrested his kingdom from him gave it to Sāmparāya. It was this Sāmparāya’s son who was called ‘Telugā-rāya’ by Śrīnātha.

Vikrama Chola in about A.D. 1111 marched north and drove Telugā Bhīma6 into the mountains. These extracts prove that a country called Telugā once existed; its ruler was called Telunga-rāya; its Brahmans were Telanga-nāḍulu, and the cultivators were the Telagas. The kingdom of Sibbi, mentioned by Madiki Singana, is perhaps represented by Sabba-vaṟam in Godavari District. It is in this part of the Madras Presidency that the Telagas mostly abound. A study of the family names (generally adopted from the places where they

5 Madras Census Report, 1891.
originally dwelt) of the Telagāṇḍulu (Telaṅga-nāḍulu) and also of the Telagās (Telaṅgās) may help us to give the precise limits of the region called Telaṅga or Teliṅga.

This inquiry also helps us to establish the correct spelling and pronunciation of the name of the region. This name is said to have been a corruption of Triliṅga. Vinnakōta Peddana, a grammarian of the fourteenth century, gives the derivation in his Kāvyālankāra-chṛḍḍmaṇi:

\[ \text{gee} \| \text{Tat-Triliṅga-padamu tat-bhava-maguta-chē Telugu dēśa-managum dēla padiyē} | \]
\[ Venuka dēsamu nāḍrā gondara-bbōda saṅchita gatula baraga chaṇḍu } \]

"That (word) Triliṅga being corrupted, it became clearly applied to the country; afterwards some understand it to mean the country; and some the language. Thus it is applied to both."

Here we may add that the language is said to have got its name from the country.

Appa Kavi, a grammarian of the seventeenth century, explains the origin of the word thus:

\[ \text{te} || \text{gee} || \text{Tatra nivāsanai tanaru katana-nāṇḍram dēsam-bu dā-driṅgā-khya-mayyē} | \]
\[ deluguchu-dabhavamu dānivalana bodamē venuku kondaru dāninē tenugu nāḍrā ] \]

"As it has been the abode of the liṅgas, the Andhra country became known as Triliṅga; Telugu is derived from it; and afterwards it came to what some call Tenugu."

All the grammarians who investigated the origin of Telugu or Tenugu, seem to have worked on the theory that the region got that name by being bounded by the three liṅgas of Śrī Saila, Dākṣārāma and Kāḷesa. Vidyādhara, a poet of the time of Pratapa Rudra of the Kākatiya Dynasty, was the first to invent this argument for the origin of the name. In his Pratāpa-Rudrigaṃ, a work on Sanskrit Rhetoric, he wrote thus in praise of his patron king:

स्वाभिन् । त्रिलिङ्गेये परमेश्वर ।
ैं देव भिषिष्ठ रेख याति महतिम् ।
ह्यति भ्रिष्क्रास्तव ।
वेयां काकति राज कृति विभवे: ।
क्रष्णाष्ट्र शैला । क्रुद्धा: ।
ते देवा । सत्रत्रवाचमेना
भी शैल कङ्केभर
वळ्यात्त निशाचितन: प्रतिष्टिनम्
तःप्रक्ष्ये जालमु ॥

"O lord! the prime ruler of the country of Triliṅga! By which the region attains the great glory of being called Triliṅga, and which by the splendour of the fame of the Kākati kings has been made into the Kailāsa mountains; may those gods of Śrī Saila, Dākṣārāma and Kāḷesa shower their blessings now and be every day vigilant for thy prosperity."

It is only a poetic conception to say that the region got its name from having the three liṅgas on its confines. The Telugu country, or rather the sway of the kings of Warangal, did not confine itself within these three place. The Brahmanda Purāṇa includes Mahendragiri, and says that Triliṅga lay within the four sacred places. Mahendra mountain being situated in the country of Kalinga, to say that this hill was on the frontier of the Telugu country, is to assert that the people of Kalinga also spoke Telugu; or rather, the country as far as the Mahendra hill was also called Telanga. But from the copper-plate grants of the early Ganga kings,7 the country up to that hill was called Kalinga. Therefore the statement in the Brahmanda Purāṇa must have been inserted at a later time.

7 Historical Geography of Kaliṅga, Mythic Journal, July 1924.
The poetic explanation of Vidyādharā had been accepted by other grammarians, and they worked upon it. It has already been shown that Vidyādharā’s explanation is not acceptable, as the Kākati empire extended beyond the three holy places; much less so are the explanations of his successors. So the correct name of the country has to be determined.

In old inscriptions, though written in Sanskrit, the names of places are not found in their Sanskritised form, but in their native form. Kottura and Vēūgi are mentioned in their native form in the Allahabad Prāśasti of Samudragupta. Similarly in the Purāṇa grant, written in correct Sanskrit, the name of the home of the donee is mentioned as Tīriliṅga. This is clearly not Sanskrit. A study of its derivatives in other languages confirms the view that the original name was Tīriliṅga.

Tēlēṅga (221. Census Report, 1911) is a village in Pedda Kimidi Zamindari of Ganjam District. A village Telanga is mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Narasimha Deva II of the Ganga family. This is identified with the village of Teelung of the Indian Atlas. Telāṅga is the name of a family in the Marāṭha country. A Tēlēṅga king is stated to have gone to Sundara Pandya (Jatavarman Sundara I who is said to have reigned from A.D. 1251).

Therefore Tīriliṅga or Tēlēṅga was the proper form, from which the modern word Telugu or Tenugu is derived. Tīriliṅga, but not Tīriliṅga, must be the word that gave rise to Tēlēṅga or Telanga.

The conception that the country derived its name from the three phallic emblems of Śiva on its borders, arose from misunderstanding the last syllable to be iṅga. A careful study of words ending in ṯaṇa helps us to understand rightly what idea ‘Tīriliṅga’ conveyed.

Kaliṅga is the name of a very ancient kingdom; and its derivation is similarly misunderstood. A large number of villages in Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts have names which end in ṯaṇa, a form of ṯiga. Bodda-ṅga (Nos. 79 and 80 Gunasoor Taluk) is formed of Bodda (sycamore tree) and ṯiṅga. Kona-ṅga (No. 287 Parlakimidi Taluk) of Kona (end) and ṯiṅga; Odaṅga (No. 255 Ballepuda Agency) of Oda (lord) and ṯiṅga; Borongo (No. 16 Chikati zamindari) of Boro or Borra (a hollow) and ṯiṅga; Bonangi (No. 14 Śruṅga-varapukota Taluk, Vizagapatam Census Report, 1911) of Bona (food) and ṯiṅga. In all these cases the final termination is ṯiṅga, but not anga, as some would suppose; for that which remains after ṯiṅga is taken away, conveys no meaning e.g., Bon+ang where ‘Bon’ has no meaning.

Sanskrit scholars contend that ṯiṅga and its other forms ṯiga and ṯiga are derived from ṯaṇa, to go. This does not seem reasonable, as the Sanskrit termination has to be applied to a Dravidian word.

Kaliṅga is declared to be formed of Kalin (in strife) ṯiga (to go), i.e., because it had been a country where there was always strife, it is so named. This explanation is quite against what history tells us. The Mahābhārata tells us that the king of Kaliṅga together with his son led a large army to help the Kuru. They were so powerful that Bhīmasena had to spend a day in vanquishing them.

The edicts of Aśoka clearly state that the kingdom of Kaliṅga was peaceful and flourishing; and all classes of men lived in it in peace. The Hathi-gumpha Cave Inscription of Khāravēla does not speak of any strife in the country. Had it been a country where people had quarrelled among themselves, it would not have been populous and wealthy; and a foreign king would not have desired to subdue it. In the light of these facts, the origin given by the Sanskrit grammarians appears unsatisfactory and unfounded.

In the language of the Kuis, a Dravidian tribe, the grain called paddy is known as kulinga. In the Ramayana the grain-eaters are called Kuliṅga:

Adyāḥ panthāḥ Kuliṅgānām ye-chā-nyē dhānya-jeevinah.\(^{11}\)
In the first plain are grown the paddy and other grain-eaters. Kuliṅgā, which is a kind of grain spoken of in the Sanskrit works of medicine. The Aryans in their original home did not know anything of paddy; it is only from the Dravidians in the valley of the Ganges that they got a knowledge of this kind of grain. These Dravidian tribes have been consequently called the Kuliṅgāh. In the Mahābhārata and in the Purāṇas, the word Kaliṅgā, a modification of Kuliṅgāḥ, is used in the plural. This is in accordance with the number, in which the word is used in its native language. nga is the plural termination in the language of the Kuis or Khonds, and is added to words ending in li, ta, ja, da, ga, ra, ti, etc.; nouns expressing a collection are always plural, e.g., hurvi- nga=beans; cheppu- nga=shoes.

It is from this word kuliṅga that the people and their language got their name. When the plural ending is taken away kuli remains. If the medial ‘l’ is taken away, the word becomes kū-i, just as paluku becomes pa-kku; talli becomes tā-i-. It is to be observed that, when the medial ‘l’ is omitted, the vowel in the first syllable is lengthened and the last consonant is doubled. So kuli becomes kū-i; to make the last vowel vocable ‘v’ is put before it and Kū-vi is the name of a tribe of the same class.

These Kū-is or Kāveis were called the Kuliṅgāh by the Aryans. The transition of Kuliṅgā to Kaliṅgā in Aryan mouths is reasonable. The name of the people was afterwards applied to the country inhabited by them. In the ancient works of India, there are evidences to prove that the people whom the Aryans called Kuliṅgās or Kaliṅgās had their original home on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, and they receded along the Ganges before the Aryans. Thus being driven southwards, they were forced to leave the mouths of the Ganges and settle peacefully in the country along the East Coast. By the time of the war of the Mahābhārata, they had established a powerful kingdom there. It is only in the hills bordering this region that these tribes are still found. All this has to be said just to show that the name Kaliṅgā had its origin in the language of the Kū-is.

Thus ‘linga’ in Kaliṅgā has no reference to the phallic representation of Śiva. The word is made up of kali and nga. Similarly the ‘linga’ in Tirillįṅgā has as much existence as that in Kaliṅgā. The word is made of Tirili- nga; the last syllable being the plural termination. It is used in plural to denote a class of people, and the termination nga is added because the singular ends in li. The meaning of Tirili is now obscure and has to be discovered from the study of its derivatives.

Tirili-ka is a small lamp in dialectical Telugu; ka being a termination meaning ‘belonging to.’ So tīrili, a contraction of tiriili, means ‘light.’ If the medial r or ri is omitted, the word becomes tili; just as parupu becomes pappu; nirupu becomes nippu; chīrdku, chikku; tarugu, taggu; moradu, moddu; karugu, kaqgu.

Tilli or Tellā means ‘white, bright’ or ‘light’; its derivative, teli, occurs in teli-navvu (bright smile); teli-ganti (white-eyed); teli-gāmu (white planet, Venus). Tellā-vāre (became pale). The derivativ of this now obsolete word are found in other Dravidian languages also.

Tillai is the vernacular name of Chidambaram, a town between the Vellar and the Coleroon rivers, with its famous ancient temple of Śiva. The name Chidambaram is made of chit (= wisdom) and ambaram (= horizon or sky), i.e., a place of wisdom. The vernacular name Tillai also must mean the same thing, but the Tamil grammarians explain that the name was given to the place because there was a grove of tilla trees (excavaria agallocha); but the place

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12 Like some other names of countries, it is usually confined to the plural number (ngāḥ) confounding the place with the people inhabiting it—Mon. Williams.

bears a Sanskrit name also, which must naturally mean the same thing as tillai. So tillai means 'wisdom' and 'wisdom' is generally described to be 'bright.' Tillai means 'white' or 'bright.' The Telugu words telivi, teliyuta (wisdom) are derived from tirili.

Thus tirili (wisdom, brightness) + iga means 'people of wisdom.' In the Brahmanāda Purāṇa it is said that Andhra-vishnu, along with rishis, resided on the banks of the Godavari. In India all wise and learned men were spoken of as rishis in ancient days. This conforms to the real name of Tirilingā. The place where these Tirilingā (wise men) lived became known as Tirilinga. Sir George Grierson, has nearly arrived at the real origin of the word Telugu when he said: 'It seems probable that the base of this word is telī and that iga or gu is the common Dravidian formative element. A base teli occurs in Telugu, telī (bright); teliyuta (to perceive)'.

Tirilinga, therefore, was a tract of land where learned and wise men lived. Telugu had its origin there. Telangā-nādu Brahmans had their home in that country, and the Telagas were its original cultivators. It had a king called Telungā-rāya. The modern Sabbavarm in the Godavari district marks the position of the country. As the country is mentioned in a document of the year A.D. 498, it must have originated about the fourth century, if not earlier. Telugu, therefore, must have had the beginning of its rise from about the same date.

THE CULTURAL VALUE OF THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN JAVA.
(Translated from the Proceedings of the Java Institute.)

BY MARY A. ROB; JOGJAKARTA.

[The Java Institute held a Congress at Jogjakarta on December 24th to 27th, 1924, when many interesting questions were discussed, and amongst them was the question: What value have the ancient Javanese Monuments for present and future Javanese Culture? In this important discussion the following gentlemen took part: 1. Dr. T. D. K. Bosch; 2. Mr. N. A. van Leeuwen; 3. Dr. Radjiman; 4. Mr. Maclaine Pont. In the following paper their remarks are translated.]

I.

By Dr. T. D. K. Bosch.

The value of the ancient Javanese monuments for present day culture is small, because only a very limited number of enlightened Javanese understand the significance thereof, and the question arises whether it will be possible by education to awaken interest and love for this ancient Javanese culture in larger circles. Can a programme of education, stretching over the elementary and secondary schools, and (may be in the near future) the colleges, again make the ancient Javanese art, at present dead to the multitude, a factor of significance in the intellectual development of the Javanese race? If ever the history of ancient Javanese art becomes a subject in the schools, the Javanese pupils will certainly memorize all facts with unequalled eagerness, and faithfully repeat all facts worth knowing. But all the acquired knowledge will only serve to increase the learning of the pupils. It will fail to awaken feelings of real love and admiration in them for the ancient arts, and it cannot be right to assume that the ancient Javanese art has the same value for the West as for the modern Javanese. Still the impression the West has received of the art will necessarily be mirrored in the education.

Tillai-ndaayam is an epithet of Śiva, as worshipped at Chidambaram. It is explained as Tiltai (the trees of that name)+ndaayam (a lord). So Śiva is made a 'lord of the Tillai trees'. Śiva is generally described as the 'lord of wisdom'; but nowhere is he called the lord of the Tillai trees. It is absurd to translate a kind of tree by Tiltai, in face of these proofs.

Ling. Sur. of India, Vol. IV, Dravidian and Mundari Languages,
Two sides especially of Hindu-Javanese art have interested the European researcher; namely, the historical and the æsthetical. The historical or scientific interest seeks to investigate the developing stages of Hindu-Javanese architecture. The materials at their disposal are, first of all, the buildings themselves, by following the study of whose form of style it is possible to arrive at a chronological classification; secondly, the sources of history, such as the paean of Nagarakretagama, the history Pararaton, and the legends; thirdly, the iconography, or knowledge of images, with which is closely connected the interpretation of the rows of bas-reliefs along the galleries of walls of the temples.

The purely æsthetical method of contemplation is usually opposed to this learned point of view. At present nobody asks who made these works of art, or how or when they were created, or what ideals and aims they express. The only object is to admire the beautiful as the beautiful. The qualities of beauty free the work from its surrounding and temporary milieu. The artist, who creates an actual work of art, works, according to the æsthetes, by grace of divine inspiration, and is thus raised above all temporary happenings. The attitude of complete surrender in devout admiration is the only one possible towards the revelation of creative artistic genius.

It stands to reason that these two points of view can never be so one-sidedly defended in practice. The historian must take over something of the sense of beauty, the æsthetes something of the scientific notion. There is room for an unlimited amount of individual opinion between the above-mentioned extreme courses. Yet the information about ancient Javanese art, which the Javanese receive from the West, moves between these two poles.

*How will the Javanese react thereto?* He will feel attracted towards everything appertaining to his own modern Javanese culture, to the antiquities of the Majapahit, known to him from the babads, to the temple reliefs which show the well-known figures and tales from the *waolang*. But towards the large sphere outside this he will remain a stranger, and all the beauties the æsthetes can display will pass him by without making any deep impression on his mind. From the most distant ages the Javanese have always revealed a tendency to elucidate and group things according to their mystical value, to draw them within the sphere of the supernatural, and to encompass them with the many-colored threads of parables and symbols. Even now-a-days this tendency shows plainly in the mystical contemplations of the *waolang* figures. When the *waolang* still continues to exercise a fascination, not only over the crowd, but over even the most enlightened Javanese, then that fascination is not due to interest in the historical development, nor to rapture over the beauty of the leathern figures, but to the mystical feelings of the spectators which seek something round which to crystallize.

The love of the Javanese will also first be awakened towards ancient Javanese art, when this speaks to him mystic in language. When witnessing a production of Hindu-Javanese art, the interest of the Javanese appears generally just where that of the European *savant* and the æsthetes ceases. He asks for the symbolic significance of the performance, and if he receive no answer, he himself has one quickly at hand, in which good and evil powers, the senses, the vital spirits play an important part—an explanation which usually mocks the most reasonable claims science demands. For instance, the greatest and the only value for its contemporaries of a shrine like the Borobudur must have lain in the fact that it revealed to them the eternal truth about the highest matters—creation, humanity, redemption from the cycles of reincarnation,—in an ingenious symbolism. Nevertheless, over the meaning of the Borobudur as a great symbol, in which the creed of a whole period is expressed,
there is spread an impenetrable veil. Science is still incapable of answering these questions. And in this instance Borobudur is favoured by exceptionally privileged circumstances, in comparison with a Śiva building like the Jandi Prambanan.

Without any exaggeration it can be stated that everything has its own importance in Hindu-Javanese architecture. The tiniest motif hidden to the eye has had a meaning, as well as the awe-inspiring grim kala-head commanding the aspect of the whole gable above the entrance to Prambanan. Also the harmonious proportions between the lower parts of the buildings, the joinings of the profiles, the horizontal divisions, all have symbolic significance; they are founded on numerical mysticism. The same refers to the bright colours, and to all these symbols, each in its own place, and with its own meaning, joined together in a great spiritual building of thought.

Hindu-Javanese art blossomed in the same sphere of mysticism as the medieval West-European. "Symbolism created a cosmic view of a still stricter unity and closer connection" Huizinga wrote in Medieval Autumn, "than causal-scientific thinking enables. It embraced with its strong arms all nature and all history. It created an inviolable precedence, an architectural articulation, a hierarchic subordination. For in every symbolic connection there must be a lower and a higher grade. Furthermore, nothing is too lowly to express and to glorify the highest. All things offer stay and prop for the rising of thoughts towards the eternal; by mutual aid the ascent from step to step is accomplished." We are, however, in closer touch with Christianity than with the Eastern religions. Furthermore, medieval mysticism remains conscious of the fact that it is only expressed by metaphors. Eastern imagination is not so lucid. It is so customary for an Easterner to express himself in symbols, that it is impossible for him to depart from this habit.

Art is only of value to the Indian, in so far as it enables him to give expression to his thoughts and feelings. Science must not withdraw from its duty of leading the way in this respect, under penalty of losing contact with its milieu, Java, and the spirit of the age. This spirit of the age also has its claims. Indeed it is not only the Javanese who show dissatisfaction, when only the outer edge of art is constantly displayed, and no insight is allowed into the world of ideas from which it is derived. Is it to be wondered at that by the strong craving for self-immersion, which during the last years has become manifest in every sphere, many should turn away from official science and knock at the door of theosophy for enlightenment?

As soon as the Javanese realize that the ancient monuments— whoever their makers may be—also have wisdom to impart in glowing ingenious language to the present day generation, then indeed is the seed sown, from which under favorable circumstances genuine love and admiration for the ancient art will grow.

Education will play a very important part in the process of evolution. The starting point must, however, be justly chosen. Science will have to subordinate Javanese intellect, forcing this latter to a logical way of reflection and methodical examination. Beware of the error, however, in considering it only possible to awaken interest for ancient Javanese art by overwhelming the Javanese with historical facts, or pointing out the beauty of it. The value of the ancient art will prove to be chiefly a matter of sentiment. One single shrine thoroughly comprehended will do more towards the spiritual development of the young generation than the combined historical knowledge and aesthetic appreciation of each and every one of the scattered antiquities of Java.

II.

By Mr. N. A. Van Leeuwen.

"The question what religious tendencies are and their philosophical significance" writes William James in Varieties of Religious Experience, "must be answered by the application of two totally different methods of examination. In the first instance the question arises:
What is the nature of the examination, its origin, its history. In the second instance: What is the interest, the significance or purpose thereof? According to the first mentioned method we must make a study of ancient Javanese monuments, and the present and future culture of Java. According to the second method the question arises: What significance can the old Javanese monuments exercise over present and future Javanese culture? Only in this way will it be possible to treat the subject objectively without disturbance by personal sentiments.

I. What are ancient Javanese monuments? Naturally we have in mind the monuments commemorating or narrating a by-gone culture. Consequently it will be necessary first to investigate which forms of culture already exist. Forms of culture can be divided into three categories: Art, Religion, Philosophy. The foundation of the latter is rectitude and moral sense. Science, resting on reason, is not an expression of culture belonging to any fixed time or people.

Consciousness of mankind expresses itself in five different spheres and five different ways: namely, physically as visible deed, emotionally, intellectually, essentially, through being human, and spiritually, in the intellectual life. The three first mentioned are merely human, instruments only of consciousness. The spiritual sphere is superhuman: such expressions as grace, sacrament, charismata, are here suitable. The essentially human sphere falls as under: in faith, discernment, insight and expression. These five phases of consciousness are clearly defined in the three divisions of culture, thus bringing all the forms under fifteen headings as shown in the following outline:

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<tr>
<th>Art</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Philosophy</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Statical</td>
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<td>2. Dynamical</td>
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<td>3. Descriptive</td>
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<td>Theology</td>
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<td>4. Dramatical</td>
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<td>Faith</td>
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<td>5. Architectural</td>
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<td>Mysticism</td>
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The abovementioned groups all have their roots in common consciousness. With regard to natural science, take, for instance, the knowledge of the people as to the art of healing, meteorology, psychology, etc. Music, singing, elocution, dancing, etc., fall under dynamical describing art. Architecture derives its existence from human intercourse, which manifests itself in domestic life, meetings and worship, all demanding buildings, Architectural style is not reproduced from nature, but from mathematics, therein of itself surmounting the natural. So far as to classification of the ancient Javanese monuments.

II. What is the present and future Javanese culture? Lexis defines culture as being the raising of desire above the state of nature. Clay puts culture opposite to nature as premeditation against the un-premeditated and unconscious. Wolff calls culture a form-association of spirits. It can be said also that in nature the cosmic (the individually unconscious) working of the spirit is the most pronounced, whereas in culture it is the personal working. Culture and nature both have their roots in a community. We can only speak about culture also in connection with a group. "Genius" writes Bierens de Haan, "is the workman who by reason of the needs of humanity, and in its service, builds culture. The ingenious personality as a creator of culture gives expression to what lies unawakened in the community."

Culture is not a sum of forms which can be indicated, but something organic, a living something which finds revelation in the forms, but is not confined to these. Just as man is not the sum of one head, two arms, etc. Separate forms of culture cannot be set aside and maintained by technical skilfulness, any more than an amputated arm can be kept alive: vide Berlage, Beauty in Cohabitation, page 75, re the causes of decadence, when he says: "Art is the result of a common working of the spirit, above all of a common feeling." This is specially
true with regard to architecture, which has always been intimately connected with worship, as in the case of temples and cathedrals; or it is a glorifying of social conditions, as expressed by palaces and townhalls; vide Wahlenkamp, on present and future building.

"The soul is fed with neither constructive nor external matter, neither with schools and diplomas, but with spiritual nourishment: with religion and philosophy, and above all with mysticism. Mysticism is not a denial of reason, but its apotheosis. Mysticism completes reason. There is an indissoluble unity between artist, priest and philosopher." (Just Havelaar, The Symbolism of Art, page 17).

The soul of a people lives in culture, and the soul of the Javanese lives in the present day culture. What shapes does this culture show us? Alas, it is a meagre result. All the spiritual expressions—architecture, mysticism, magic—have died out; the essential (drama, wajang, faith and metaphysics) only half exist in tradition. If the future culture wants to become something more—less weak, more creative and more convincing—for the stranger, if it desires to be the living expression of a wide-awake and self-asserting national consciousness, then mysticism must again be revered, the dualism of the faith overcome, and the intellectual science, restored to honour, must again act on the basis of the lower manifestations of culture.

The future culture will take its colour from the future national consciousness. A free Java, an Indonesia, will make a rich culture possible. If Java remains bound down by foreign influences, culture will languish and perhaps disappear.

The factor which must be present, to prevent every expression of culture proving fruitless or absolutely vain, is the national consciousness. The psyche of a race, nation or people, is no abstract matter, but a very concrete reality, organically arranged in the human units, the constituting individuals. This consciousness has need of various forms of body and soul by which to express itself, and in this the human units necessarily must take part. In the blood of the race lie the hereditary seeds, upon which the physical and racial signs are founded. In the same way a human being is not a set of limbs with a soul within, but a soul which has command over various organs in this material sphere.

Now it is essential that the highest trio of elements, architecture, mysticism and magic, again occupy their proper proportions. These three possess a strong common relationship. In the home and the temple buildings, for instance, the various parts have their own symbolic significance; every spot and each construction has its mystical and magic meaning; each style, or orientation, is based on the same hidden reasons. This is also the case in town architecture. Just as mysticism and magic can be considered to be the nerves and veins of the national body, so is architecture the frame thereof.

III. What significance have the monuments for culture? The monuments are only of significance in so far as they form part of the present or the future building of culture. They have as much significance for the present culture as the straw has for the drowning man. The drowning man is in this instance the national consciousness. From this source the seeking for support, the general interest in the ancient, the endeavour to comprehend. Furthermore the fear arising from self-preservation. There is not a culture, but a cultural movement. Life manifests itself by change. Tradition as a system is not culture. At the present moment this cultural movement is very palpable, it using the ancient as foundation for new ideals.

In conclusion, just a word about the practical side of the question. Compare here the essay by Mclaine Pont in Djawa, IV, I, page 71: "The first condition is that all native societies, all native teachers and other intellectuals, should not consider the cognizance of beauty in the architecture of their own people merely as an æsthetical appreciation, but as
a means whereby to enrich and improve, and above all again adapt sane ideas to their own surroundings and daily habits, and not only architecture.”

The ancient only inspires pride, reverence and application, when it intervenes in our lives. It does not enter our lives, if hoarded up in museums. Only visible buildings around us have any influence on our daily lives. But most of the monuments here in Indonesia are no longer even inhabited ruins, let alone the centre of active life. Here no name of street, square, bridge nor palace calls to mind an illustrious past. This is where education can help, firstly by the teaching of history, so far as this is not misused to acquire knowledge, but to build up character, to awaken national pride. The facts of history are the least important parts. History must be idealized; national sentiment arises from hero-worship.

From the very first the work must lead in the direction of a united Indonesia. If the Java Institute only concerns itself with Java, it is liable to one-sidedness. The ancient Javanese monuments must be considered as ancient Indonesian monuments, and included within the circle of all such monuments. When reverence for old Indonesian history is awakened by real Indonesian education, then the national consciousness will again have freedom to work; then ancient Indonesian monuments will become the centre of life, and the soul of the people will arise in self-conscious power. The significance of the ancient lies not in its shape, but in its substance as foundation for the new.

III.

Preliminary Advice by Dr. Radjiman.

By culture is meant an elevation of man by a harmonious development of his abilities in the way of striving towards a certain ideal, a world or life contemplation. Here we must ask ourselves what was the ideal of the ancient Javanese monuments. This is of the greatest importance, because thus only can we ascertain the value thereof, and decide if they have any significance for our future or not.

The Javanese language has no word which exactly expresses the Dutch words for “Art” or “artist,” so deeply is art absorbed in our daily utterings. “Art is a form in which a world contemplation expresses itself. On the one hand we find this contemplation has other possibilities of expressing itself. On the other, the forms we find in a work of art are not only restricted to art itself, but apply to more than one form of civilisation.” (André Jolles in De God, March 1st, 1924). According to Javanese conceptions, still another significance is attached to the work of art, namely the educational value of the work. Between the Eastern and the Western contemplation of life there is a difference, which has far-reaching consequences on the social manifestations, e.g., on morals.

If you approach the Borobudur from the side nearest the Progo, the first impression received from the distance is the two-fold aspect of the monument; to wit, the crowded appearance of the lower part and the empty solitude of the upper part. If you ascend the structure, making a complete round from the lowest gallery up to the stâpa, in which previously the largest unfinished statue of Buddha stood, you will find the explanation. The crowded lower part consists of angular galleries with parapets filled with works of sculpture. The solitary upper part only contains cupolas with images of Buddha placed in a circle unencircled by parapets. The division is the expression of the Buddhistic teaching of being and not being, two contradictions which still are bound together. In this connection the images of Buddha in the galleries carry earthly ornaments, which the Buddhas under the cupolas lack. There is a connection between the ordinary human and the exalted human, which is shown in the galleries. The Javanese artists did not strive to work in exactly truth to nature, but according to a deeper spiritual conception. By numerous singularities of expression it is clearly pointed out that you have to relinquish material matters in order to enter the spiritual. This point of view must be continually borne in mind when judging Javanese works of art.
Let us now proceed to the question: "What is the culture of our present society?" Characteristic of Javanese psyche is its synchronous character. After the fall of Majapahit, the ancient Javanese era yielded place to the Wali's, this being characterized by absorbing the Muhammadan faith without renouncing their previous Saiva and Buddhistic religions. Following upon this, came Javanese contact with Europeans. The decline of the Javanese intellect dates from the Wali period. Still, however, there are features in Javanese society which still expound the old traditions. These features are certainly not consciously the old ones, yet they are closely united with the character of the Javanese life and social perceptions. You have only to bear in mind the various slamatan festivals, the petangans, artistic utterances such as the wayang games, the dances, music and literature. Especially in the wayang games and the literature, which still remain so popular, are there proofs enough that the old culture still clings to our psyche. The heroes of the wayang games are also to be found reproduced on the ancient Javanese monuments.

Western culture pivots around an intellect, wherein material objects become the main point. The Western view of life— With the exception of Jewish and Christian doctrines, which, however, are never lived up to by Western leaders— follows a materialistic trend. By reason of this we have the victories of science, technique and international intercourse. This also engenders the glorification of the idea of "interest," imperialistic expansion, economical theories. As regards the Javanese people it can be stated without doubt that their social development still runs in the direction of the old religious culture, although not so intensively as formerly, on account of the connection with the dominant Western culture, which more or less forcibly inspires a materialistic view. Take for instance the schools. From the elementary to the highest education not once is any allusion made to the Javanese view of life implicit in the old culture.

Our task is to do all we can to awaken again the idea, which is termed "knowledge," of our old culture, especially as regards metaphysics. I do not mean by this that we should not make use of Western experience. On the contrary, there are many things we do not possess at present, and which we shall certainly have to learn. Still they will only be "aids" in the direction of our evolution according to the old conception of culture. Materialistic means will be necessary, but the means must not become the main point.

Thus it is absolutely necessary that we examine the ancient Javanese monuments, and particularly their internal features, according to our own metaphysics, and not from the Western standpoint. We should advise not only preservation, but also reconstruction, of ancient Javanese monuments, according to scientific and aesthetical requirements. Perhaps they will not only spiritually influence present Javanese society, but also be of value to the human race in general.

IV.

Preliminary Advice by Mr. Maclaine Pont.

We may examine the question whether the study and restoration of the ancient Javanese monuments cannot be used as a foundation, on which to build up a new orientation of Javanese art traditions, and a consolidation of Javanese art handicrafts, so that all attempts to raise these could be grouped together to form a school for the exercise of architecture on a classico-national basis. Such a school might be the first step towards the founding of an academy. This would fit in better with the Javanese character than any other technical education. Opinions, however, are very divided as to how great a share the Javanese have had in the erection of the large monuments. A dispute has arisen as to who can claim the paternal rights. It is certainly not difficult to point out many special Javanese elements which are missing from the Indian buildings on the continent, such as the Hala head,
the Makara, the spouts. The exceedingly strong personal element in the Indian images became in Java a stereotyped "loveliness." On the other side Javanese decoration is distinguished from the overloaded continental by its elegant style. Hindu architecture is of a more overwhelming beauty, overpowering us by its irresistible vitality. It is far more solid in conception than the Javanese. It is carried out with an ease which seems to mock all problems. But it is least of all purist. Errors against the teachings of architectural balance are made even in the days of the most perfect works. The Javanese works on the contrary excel in refined architectural spirit, a careful deliberation, an accurate balance. Still more in the same vein can be found.

Real architecture, particularly religious architecture, generally comes after the agitation caused by a new spiritual movement, i.e., not before the spiritual benefits have reached the masses. This in itself makes it very improbable that the large architectural movement of Central Java could have been founded by, or erected for, a few rulers, without the great masses of the people having taken any intensive part therein. The upper classes, including the priesthood, have never had a craving for monumental buildings of worship in the Indian sphere of culture. It is very peculiar in this connection that in Java no palaces of any special interest were built during that period. In the narrow sense of the word the Hindus did not build for themselves. They erected the large religious monuments to consolidate the State. It is significant that the erection of the great buildings in Central Java coincides with the fight for supremacy in Java between the two great dynasties of Java and Palembang. What other purpose did the erection of these buildings serve than the winning of the spiritual aspirations of the Javanese people? The Buddhistic dynasty of Palembang builds Borobudur: opposed to this stands the Saiva Prambangan built after the expulsion of the Palembangers.

How has Hindu rule influenced Java? This influence must have been stronger and of a more sublime character than was ever possible to a mere Hindu builders' guild. There must have been an architecture in Java, resembling in many features the primitive Jamah style, before the Hindu dynasties came to Java. This architecture was used in Sumatra, and perhaps also in Java, in such a way that the differences with Jemps are explicable. It is this style of building which blossomed forth into the grand classical architecture of Central Java.

It is a great question whether the Hindu dynasties gained their supremacy over Java by a war of conquest, and it is easier to assume that they gained a firm footing by their religious propaganda, expounded by missionaries working with an ulterior political aim. The influence exercised by the higher Hindu castes has obviously first of all been a further elevation of the canonical architecture based on Indian proportional outlines. Who were the sculptors? Certainly not Hindus; for there are far too many non-Indian elements in the style.

The two following hypotheses must be assumed: In the first place, before the classical architectural movement, Java had its own school, developed on distinctly Javanese-Malay lines, primarily, perhaps, originating from the heart of Asia over the lands of the Khmers and Jams (Indo-China). In the second place, the reliefs of the Borobudur plainly indicate the influence of a greater kindred sphere. In these reliefs a deliberate compendium is given of all kindred forms of architecture.

There has also been lively intercourse in the south-eastern Asiatic world regarding spiritual matters. The style-notion behind the school of sculpture of the Borobudur is not Indian, but Javanese or Javanese-Malay. It seems improbable that a guild, which during thousands of years, through all climates and diverse periods of culture, upheld their canonical
fundamental ideas, should suddenly by a voyage to Java lose their own constructive line of thought and express themselves in a totally different manner. No Hindu guild can thus have been at work on the reliefs of Java. This does not exclude the working of casual Hindu sculptors. Personal Hindu influence is very possible.

Which part then of the reliefs can have been the work of Hindus? A very close study of a few reliefs of the Borobudur reveal first of all that the sculptors themselves did not possess even the slightest knowledge of Indian structure; secondly that, in illustrating Hindu tales, they picture the persons in complete Javanese surroundings; and thirdly, that this state of things is accepted by both the worldly and priestly builders. But at the same time they intimated that in the Holy-land of India the roofs and emporans were ogee-shaped. In this manner a Javanese representation arose out of conditions in the Holy-land. An influence was brought to bear on Javanese compositions by priests and Hindu rulers having no technical education.

It is quite a different matter with the Prambanan reliefs. Here is a much freer, more realistic style, and only here and there is a reminiscence of some unreal reproduction from the buildings of the Holy-land. There can be no doubt therefore that the lion’s share of the building and composition of the classical architecture of Java must be placed to the credit and the aesthetic initiative of the Javanese. It cannot but strike us how much superior is the workmanship of the few exalted figures, the Buddhas themselves, the sick and the dead and others. These principle figures seem to have been the work of picked men with special faculties. These may have been Hindus.

How is it now with the totally different East Java architecture? In this respect decadence has been suggested. Nevertheless, the East Java temples adhere much closer to the primeval architecture. For all the characteristics of the primeval form are reproduced in the construction of the Jandi Kidal with its four staircases along the base, leading from the gallery to the temple door and to the fauxportes, with its level shut temple-shaft and closed-in sloping projecting cornice. Only the pear-shaped top and the jointed roof are replaced by the spire representing the Holy Mountain.

During the second prosperous period the Javanese, now left more to themselves, created an architecture in the true sense of the word. Whoever makes a successive study of the East Javanese temples is continually struck by the great difficulties to be overcome in the perfectioning of this type, but also by the surprising and exquisite way in which these aesthetic difficulties have constantly been surmounted.

Side by side with this religious architecture there arose in Java a monumental civil architecture, having its own specific laws of beauty and character. As a direct result of their mode of life, mostly spent out of doors owing to the climate, and made possible by the public security, the Javanese produced a typical “walled round” architecture. By a continuously more massive conception of enclosing dwellings and compounds it was possible to erect monumental abodes, without running any danger from earthquakes or renouncing the valuable asset in that climate of an open style of building. Even if the second period of Javanese architecture is inferior to the first with regard to the classical in its religious monuments, its secular architecture is more interesting. The termination of the Hindu-Javanese period in no way dammed the currents of the architectural art arisen in Java.

In conclusion we may make the following statement. Even though the most exalted manifestations of Hindu-Javanese art be ascribed to a fortunate meeting of two highly enlightened cultured people, still the Javanese, and with them a few other races of the
Archipelago, have played an extremely important part in the building of the mediaeval monuments. Part of these monuments must be ascribed entirely to the fine preconceptions of the Javanese builders. These people are not yet dead, and the significance of the ancient Javanese monuments lies in the fact that they form the conscience of the Javanese as a race, by bearing witness to what this race has once been able to create.

By the restoration of the monuments, the intellectual and artistic powers among the native people must be made more of. More consideration ought also to be given to the preservation and the judicious restoration of the few intact buildings left to us from the Muhammadan age. Secondly, the restorations must be in connection with a systematically technical-esthetical training ad hoc of native workmen, for this is the way to arrive at a new development of native handicrafts. The question of how far the work of restoration can be carried is only a question of the pecuniary resources at our disposal. Do not let us be led away by too exaggerated a puritanism.

WADDELL ON PHENICIAN ORIGINS.

By Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BR.
(Continued from page 209.)

10. St. Andrew as an Aryan Phoenician.

Waddell next sets out to show that St. Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland, is a survival of Indara of the Sumerian Psalms and Indra of the Rig Veda. He says that “St. Andrew as patron saint with his cross incorporates the Hitto-Sumerian Father-god Indara, Indra, or Gothic Indri-Thor, introduced, with his hammer, into early Britain by Gothic Phoenicians;” and then that this discloses the “pre-Christian worship of Andrew in early Britain, and the Hittite origin of the crosses on the Union Jack and Scandinavian Ensigns, the unicorn and Cymric goat as the sacred goat of Indara, the goat as rebus for Goth, and St. Andrew as an Aryan Phoenician.” He next quotes Sumerian Psalms as to Indara, and then the Rig Veda thus:—

"Indra, leader of the heavenly hosts and human races,
Indra encompassed the Dragon.
O Light-courier, day’s Creator.

Slaying the Dragon, Indra let loose the pent waters.

Indra, hurler of the four-angled rain-producing bolt."

St. Andrew, with his × cross is the patron saint of the Scyths, Gothic Russia, Burgundy of the Visigoths, Gothland and Scotland, and is Hittite Phoenician origin in his legend. He bears “the Aryan Gentile and non-Hebrew name of Andrew, presumably Aryan Phoenician, and the priestly legend attached to him incorporates part of the old legend of his namesake Indur, a common Sumerian title of the Father-god Bel, who is the Hittite Indara, Indri or Eindri the Divine, a title of Thor of the Goths, and Indra, the Father-god of the Eastern branch of the Aryan Barata . . . . . . . The worship of Andrew with his × Cross was widespread in early Britain, and in Ireland or ancient Scotia, in pre-historic times long before the dawn of the Christian era . . . . . . . He is the Indara stamped with cross, etc., on ancient Briton coins.” Waddell here gives two pages of illustrations of the cross saltire or leaping cross of St. Andrew on “Hitto-Sumerian, Trojan and Phoenician seals” to compare with “pre-Christian monuments in Britain and Ireland,” showing them to be identical. Waddell remarks that St. Andrew’s Cross “appears to have been . . . . . the battle axe or hammer symbol of Indara or Thor.” However this may be, I may say that during the Burmese War of 1885–9 I myself saw dacoits crucified by villagers by being tied to a cross saltire and left to die in the sun. In fact, as an ‘execution’ instrument the cross saltire × is more easy to manipulate than the Christian Cross † or St. George’s Cross ‡.
At this point we have some more etymology. The cross-saltire’s function is defined as a “protecting father or Bel,” and its name has the word value of *pap* (thus giving as the Sumerian source of our English word *papa* for father as protector). It is also called *geur* (or George) or *tuur* (or Thor), and is generally supposed and with reason to picture a battle-axe. It is specially associated with Father Indara or Bel.” Waddell, however, later on says that “the synonym” for cross-saltire is “*gur*, hostile, to destroy, which gives the Sumerian origin of the Old English *gar*, a spear, and *gore*, to pierce to death.” This rather vitriolizes its association as *geur* with ‘George,’ the husband-man, though St. George was the slayer of the Dragon. But perhaps Waddell means that ‘St. George’ arose out of a corruption and has nothing to do with the Western name ‘George.’ In his view, moreover, St. George and St. Andrew are identical and both represent Indara, Indra. In a footnote here is a remarkable statement: “in Sumerian the name In for the hospitable house [or shrine] of Indara discloses the source of our English inn.” There are several more of such derivations in this part of the book: e.g., “The Sumerian word-sign for Kat or Xat, the basis of the clan title of Catti or Xatti (or Hittite) is the original source of Ceti or Scot”; and later on we reach:—“the Scythians were Aryanised under Gothic or Getee rulers, and their name Scyth, the Skuth-es of the Greeks is cognate with Scot.” Also “the Sumerian Sign Xat represented their own ruling clan-name of Catti, Xati, Ceti or Scot.”

St. Andrew came “from Beth-Saidän or Beth-Saida. Beth is the late Phenician form of spelling the Sumerian Bid, a bid-ing place or abode, thus disclosing origin of the English word ‘bide.’ And Saidän or Saidä, which has no meaning in Hebrew, is obviously Sidon. The Phenician sea-port of Sidon was latterly, and is now called Saida and is within fifty miles of Beth-Saida.” On this and other grounds it appears to Waddell that it is “probable that Andrew, Peter, Bartholomew and Philip were not only Aryan in race, as their names imply, but that they were part of a colony of Sidonian Phenicians, settled on the shore of the Sea of Galilee of the Gentiles,” where Christ himself “preached chiefly.”

Andrew, as an Apostle, according to Syrian Church history, “(like Indara, who maketh the multitude to dwell in peace) freed the people from a cannibal Dragon, who devoured the populace by spouting water over the city and submerging it,” as is freely represented in Hitto-Sumerian seals. His name is usually spelt in Sumerian as the House of Waters (In-Duru, or the Inn of the Duru, i.e., the Greek ‘*udor* and Cymric *dur*, water”). On this Waddell point has a remarkable quotation from the Rig Veda:—

“I, Indra, have bestowed the earth upon the Aryans,
And rain upon the man who brings oblations,
I guided forth the loudly-roaring waters.

O Indra, slaying the Dragon is thy strength,
Thou leseth loose the floods

Indra, wearing like a woollen garland the great Parusni [Euphrates] river,
Let thy bounty swell high, like rivers, unto this singer.”

And then he gives a quotation from a Sumerian Psalm:—

“The waters of Parusni [Euphrates], the waters of the Deep
The pure month of Induru purifies.”

And he says that “a similar function is ascribed to Jehovah in the Psalms of David.” This connects Andrew with Indara, Indra, and Induru, and to the Vedic Parusni—Euphrates, Waddell says that “the Euphrates was called by the Sumerians Buru-su or Paru-su, and in Akkadian Puru-sinnu, which latter appears to be the source of the Vedic name of Parusni.” Even Andrew’s reported martyrdom in Achaia under a proconsul *Ægeas is a Hitto-Sumerian
or Gothic myth, as "the Sumers and Goths were historically known as the Ægeans or Achaians;" proof unfortunately in Waddell's yet unpublished Aryan Origin of the Phœnician. Also the desire of Scottish maidens for husbands, which leads to prayers for them on the eve of St. Andrew's festival (30th November) is "now explained by Indra's bestowal of wives": e.g., the Rig Veda verse:—"Indra gives us the wives we ask." On the whole Waddell is clear that St. Andrew is the survival of a Hitto-Phœnician god.

"St. Patrick's Cross also appears to have had its origin in the same pagan fiery Sun Cross as that of St. George . . . . . . St. Patrick . . . . was a Catti or Scot of the Fort of the Britons on Dun-Barton, who went to Ireland or Scotia, as it was then called . . . . to convert the Irish Scots and Picts of Erin in a.D. 433." From "his famous Rune of the Deer" it is evident that he incorporated the Sun and Fire cult into his Christianity, when "consecrating Tara in Ireland, whence the name Deer, the Sumerian Dara, now seen to be the source of our English deer, is the basis of one of the Hitto-Sumerian modes of spelling the god-name of In-Dara, who . . . . is symbolised by the deer or goat." So "we discover that the crosses of the British Union Jack, as well as the crosses of the kindred Scandinavians are the superimposed pagan red Sun-crosses and Sun-god's hammer of our Hitto-Phœnician ancestors."

We next come to the unicorn, "the special ancient heraldic animal of the Scots," which "is now disclosed to be the sacred goat or antelope of Indara, which is figured in early Hittite rock-sculpture with one horn". On the name sig, sigga, Sumerian for goat, Waddell has a long etymological note, which is notable in its way:—"Sumerian quû, quû, supply goat, Goth and Getæ: Sumerian sog, sig supply Sakai, Sæcæ, Saxon, and the Indo-Aryan clan name Sakya, and the Saga, s of Egypt; uz supplies Uku, Achai-oi and Greek aix and Sanskrit aja, a goat. The goat is a universal emblem. In the Vedic hymns "the Sun is sometimes called the goat, with the epithet of "the one-step; in Hitto-Sumerian seals and on Phœnician and Graeco-Phœnician coins" it is found in connection with the Sun-cross and the protecting archangel Taš, and also in early British monuments. And thus it was that the goat and its symbols spread to Britain. In illustration of all this Waddell gives four pages of figures, and notes thereon of goats as Goths in ancient Sumerian and Phœnician seals and ancient Briton monuments.

11. Tas-Mikal, the Archangel Michael.

We are next taken to a discussion on "Tas-Mikal, the Corn-Spirit or Tash-ub of the Hitto-Sumers," who "is Tascio of the early Briton coins and prehistoric inscriptions, Ty the Gothic god of Tuesday, and Michael the Archangel, introduced by Phœnicians; disclosing his identity with the Phœnician archangel Tazs, Taks, Dashap-Mikal and Thiazi, Mikli of the Goths, Daxa [Daksha] of the Vedas, and widespread worship in early Briton; the Phœnician origin of Dionysos and Michaelmas Harvest Festival, and those names . . . . Taso, Tascio and Tascif are synonyms with Dias on ancient Briton coins."

The tutelary deity of the Sumerians or early Phœnicians was Taš or Dias, "the first-born son of God Ia (Jahveh, Jove or Indara), the archangel messenger of Ia." Taš "is haled as the gladness of corn, Creator of wheat and barley. This discovers his identity with the Corn-spirit of the Greeks, Dionysos." Tascio (=Taš) "is the Hitto-Phœnician original of St. Michael the Archangel in name, function and representation," and his cult was widespread in Britain "in the Phœnician period." Vestiges of the cult of St. Michael "as the Corn spirit . . . . survive to the present day in the name Michaelmas for the Harvest Festival (September 29th) in Britain, in association with his sacred sacramental Sun-goose, the Michaelmas Goose of that festival, and in the St. Michael's Bannock or cake of the Michaelmas Festival in the Western Isles of Scotland."

Waddell is of opinion that the idea "of investing God with an archangel" came comparatively late. "The Father-god or Bel was early given by the Aryans the title of
Zagg or Sagg (or Zeus) "with the meaning of Shining Stone or Being, Maker or Creator, thus giving the sense of the Rock of Ages to the God as the Creator." Then "this early Aryan name for God . . . is found spelt by the early Sumerians . . . as Zaks or Zakh, in the form of the enthroned Zax or Zakh (En-Zax), with the meaning of the enthroned Breath or Wind." This, however, is Waddell's personal reading, "the Assyriologists read Zax by its Semitic synonym of Lil. The Sumerians . . . delegated the powers [of God] on earth to a deputy in the person of the first-born Son of Is, the archangel Taš or Taxi (Mero-Dach or Mar-Duk), who was made in Babylonia to overshadow his Father." However among the "Hitto-Sumerians and Phenicians . . . Taš appears to have retained his original character of the archangel of the One God."

Then "the early Aryans or Hitto-Sumerians, Khatti or Catti Goths . . . instituted a patron saint or archangel of agriculture and the plough . . . They also took from this their title of Arri or Arya (English into Aryan), which I find is derived from the Sumerian ar, a plough (thus disclosing the Sumerian origin of the Old English 'to ear' (i.e., to plough) the ground; Gothic, arian; Greek, areain; Latin, arare)." Next, after the fight with "devil worshipping aborigines under the leadership of their great warrior Aryan king, the second king of the first Aryan dynasty of the traditional lists," they apotheosized him as their archangeled patron saint. He is thus, the human original of "the archangel Taxi or Taš, the Tashub or Tash of the plough . . . . the Tassio of the Briton coins . . . . and St. Michael, the Archangel of the Gentiles." He is figured in the same conventional manner on the Briton coins as on the Hitto-Sumerian seals. Waddell gives these plates of coins to show this.

"Michael, in ancient Mesopotamia as Me-ki-gal, applied to the barley-harvest cutting—se-kin-kud," in which vernacular word Waddell characteristically sees the origin of the English see! and cut. "In the Vedas" his name is seen in "Magha-van or Winner of bounty (magha), a title of the Sun-god Indra, 14 and of some of his deputys: and the Vedic month Magha is the chief harvest-month and the month of great festival . . . . In India he is figured as Daks [Daksha], or the dexterous Creator, with goat's head and field of food-crops." His name as given by Waddell in a great number of forms, British to ancient Sumerian, and this starts him on a fresh etymological speculation on the Sumerian origin of Scottish task, an angel or spirit; of the Gothic warrior Ty or Tuesday; of the French Mar of Mar-Di; and of the Greek Dionysos: also of lam, a plough-share (Sumerian) in Lam-mas.

Waddell next discusses "the hitherto inexplicable prehistoric symbol of the "Crescent and Sceptre," in frequent occurrence in the neighbourhood of the Newton Stone, which "is now discovered to represent the ear-piercing of Taš, the heavenly husbandman—piercing the earth by his spear-plough and heaving up the soil into ridges for cultivation." This identification he finds confirmed by the Ogam inscription on the top of the Logie Stone in the same neighbourhood, hitherto unread. This he reads as B(i)L Ta QB HO Ra, and translates, "To Bil and Tachab, Ho raised (this)." Ho he takes to be the same name as Hugh, and its possessor to be a "Cassi Barat in race like Port-olon." In the same neighbourhood have been found many bronze sickles, chiefly at a place called Arre-ton, "presumably 'town of the Aryans.'"

Waddell gives next a fresh etymology, which is at least interesting if one could believe it to be correct. Aberdeen Cathedral is called St. Machar or St. Macker, and this name he takes to be St. Michael or Makhari, "just as Indara's shrine, a little further South, was converted into St. Andrews, where significantly the first Christian church was dedicated to Michael, i.e., the first begotten son of Indara or Andrew." Finally Waddell points out that the cult of St. Michael is all over Britain, as to the antiquity of which he makes the following

14 But have we not here a 'new' sense of Maghavan.
quotation from the most recent clerical authority:—"Given an ancient dedication to St. Michael and a site associated with a headland, hill-top, or spring, on a road or track of early origin, it is reasonable to look for a pre-Christian sanctuary—a prehistoric centre of religious worship." And he winds up with the statement that "for the first time" it is discovered that "the racial title Arya or Aryan . . . . is the Hitto-Sumerian word Arri."


In discussing the general question Waddell starts with quotations from the Vedas, which show his attitude:

Indra hath helped his Aryan worshippers
In frays that win the Light of Heaven.
He gave to his Aryan men the godless dusky race:
Righteously blazing he burns the malicious away.

Indra alone hath tamed the dusky races
And subdued them for the Aryans.

Yet, Indra, thou art for evermore
The common Lord of all alike.

And to him who worships truly Indra gives
Many and matchless gifts—He who slew the Dragon,
He is to be found straightway by all
Who struggle prayerfully for the Light.

Waddell’s general view is that there were several successive waves of immigration of the Aryan Catti-Barat Stock, and despite the mixture with aboriginal blood, this stock has survived in tolerable purity. As to the extent of the intermixing, the early Aryan Gothic invaders were essentially a race of highly-civilized ruling aristocrats in relatively small numbers, and before the arrival of Brutus the Trojan, there was little intermixing. Permanent settlement seems only to have begun in his time, but the aborigines were of a different colour and inferior mentality, and inter-marriage was repugnant. However, increase in the Aryan population and rise in status of aborigines brought about inter-marriage, which steadily increased until there is "no such thing as an absolutely pure-blood Aryan left in the British Isles." Yet the superior intellectuality of the Aryan tended to fix his prominence in the intermixture, making him the back-bone of the nation, though there has never been any wiping out of aboriginal stocks. Therefore on the whole the terms Briton, British, English, Scot, Cymri, Welsh or Irish, in their present day use, have largely lost their racial sense and are now used mainly in their national sense." Thus does Waddell unconsciously answer a question that constantly arises in the reader’s mind during a study of his book:—how could the Phoenicians, assuming that they really did come into and conquer the whole country, have so entirely dominated the minds and the languages of the aboriginal races of Britain?

Waddell has had a magnificent dream, but his methods of etymological, ethnical, and chronological comparison and historical deduction make it impossible for scholars to believe that he has shown it to be true, despite the immense labour he has bestowed on it.
BOOK-NOTICES.


We have here an excellent book by a Madras University historical research student who has set about his work in the right way, no doubt under the experienced guidance of his editor. It is not a new subject, for I well remember Mr. V. Rangachari's voluminous history of Madura in the Indian Antiquary, in 1914-1916 (Vols. XLIII-XLV). But Mr. Sathyana Tha Aiyar has been diving into all the available records, and here he has had the invaluable assistance of Professor Krishnashami Aiyangar. The result is an authoritative book.

The most interesting part of the work at present lies in the Appendices on the remarks of the Jesuit Fathers on this part of India in the 17th century. By this observation I do not wish to detract from the value of the remainder of the book, but the appearance of these travels of Jesuits at that period in South India at the same time as Father Wessell's invaluable Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia makes them of peculiar interest, as they show how indefatigable the "early" Jesuits were and how great were their unconscious services to Indian History during the pioneer days of the European invasion. In Father Wessell's book we have the great doings of Goes, Andrade, Azevedo, Casella, Cabral, Gueber, Roth, d'Orville, Desideri and many another, from Constantino to the Great Wall of China and Tachan, and all through the Himalayas, from Kashmir to Nepal and Tibet and on to Bhutan. Mighty travellers indeed were they. And we have the letters and reports in Father Bertrand's La Mission du Madura III from one Father after another, relating as contemporaries the historical events of their time in the extreme South of India. These are followed by similar documents of the first decade of the 18th century from John Lockman's Travels of the Jesuits, itself consisting of translations from Lettres Edifiantes, and lastly we have extracts from John Nieuhoff's Voyages and Travels in Brazil and East Indies. It hardly need be said that such evidence is of first rate quality, and the mere addition of these appendices to the book justifies its compilation.

The kingdom of the Nayaks of Madura lasted about 300 years in the 15th to 18th centuries, and played a great part in the protection of South India for the Hindus from Muhammadan aggression, and thus its existence was of vital importance to Hinduism generally as a religion. It was also deeply involved in the rise of Christian power in India. A study, therefore, of the history of the Madura kingdom is one that cannot be overlooked by the serious student of Indian History. Any book that throws light on its details is worthy of careful attention.

Mr. Sathyana Tha Aiyar in his Introduction gives an admirable general survey of Madura history. In his view the Hindu principality arose out of the fall of a Muhammadan kingdom there, after the early Muhammadan raids, and its acquisition by the Vijayanagar Dynasty was the foundation of what was afterwards the great Vijayanagar Empire. Madura then became a Viceroyalty of that Empire almost from the beginning, about 1530. Then there were many troubles until about 1538 when the Viceroyalty under the Nayaks became semi-independent. Meanwhile the Portuguese missionaries appeared on the scene and the wholesale conversion to Christianity of the coast fisherfolk, which made them ipso facto subjects of the King of Portugal, raised difficulties. Presently the Empire began to disrupt, and in the events relating thereto Madura took its share, always apparently seeking an opportunity to proclaim itself independent. Then came the Muhammadan attack on the Vijayanagar Empire from its Northern boundaries—from Golkonda and Bijapur—and its final overthrow. The fall of the Empire spelt the doom of the Viceroyalties, and then the Marathas appeared on the scene and Aurangzeb attacked the Nayaks' great enemies, the Dakhani Muhammadan States. The confusion was almost endless, and in the end the Marathas put down the Madura Viceroyalty in the earlier half of the 18th century. But Mysore saved herself and is still ruled by the dynasty that made itself then conspicuous.

Such is the most recent outline of the story of so great importance to modern India generally, the details of which are told with conspicuous ability in the pages of Mr. Sathyana Tha Aiyar and the notes of Prof. Krishnashami Aiyangar.

R. C. TEMPLE.


Dr. Barnett in his foreword to Dr. Law's latest work calls attention to the change of attitude on the part of scholars during the last quarter of a century towards early Indian traditions—particularly those embodied in the Epics, Puranas, and Buddhist and Jain canons. So far from rejecting them en bloc as mere folk-tales, they are now endeavouring to trace the skeleton of real history which is believed, probably rightly, to underlie this huge mass of legend. The excavations at Knossos and the discovery of the Minoan civilization, which are now proved to have formed the basis of more than one ancient Greek myth and legend, are themselves sufficient to justify the
belief of those students of prehistoric India who declare that a kernel of actual fact, albeit small, is enshrined in the tales and legends of the vanished past. For example, Dr. Barnett confesses his conviction that the Bharata war, though obscured by fable, was a real historical event; and speaking generally, scholars are more inclined to adopt in relation to Indian tradition the views which Caxton once expressed in relation to the legend of King Arthur. It will not do, he said in effect, to dismiss summarily all Arthurian traditions as so many old wives' tales. They are too wide-spread and persistent not to have some basis of solid fact underlying them; besides, the people who believe them, love them, and write of them, cannot all be credulous fools. These words might be applied with equal force to the story of the Great War and several other Indian traditions.

Dr. Law's work is frankly an attempt to present a detailed account of the ancient Indo-Aryan tribes which occupied the valley of the upper Ganges and its tributaries in pre-historic times. Starting from tradition, as embodied in ancient Sanskrit and Pali works, and checking it with other literary and archaeological material, Dr. Law gives all the information obtainable about the Kurus, who appear as the Bharta in the Vedic age and are associated with the Panchalas in the Bharmanas; the Panchalas, who were originally termed Kritis, and are associated with the Arthasastra of Kaliya; the Matsyas, orthodox followers of Brahmansism, who are mentioned in the Rig Veda and the Brahmanas, and are associated with the Chedis and Surasenas in the Epics and Puranas; the Surasenas, who are first mentioned as skilled warriors in the Code of Manu, and whose capital, Mathura, was at one time the centre of Krishna-worship and later the temple of the Viṣṇavas religion; the Chedis, who also date back to the Vedic age and later were divided into two branches, one of which occupied Bundelkhand and the other Nepal; the Vasis or Vatsas, a Rgvedic tribe, whose capital Kausambi, not far from the modern Allahabad, became a great trade-centre in a later age; the Avantis, who are mentioned for the first time in the Mahabharata and were associated with the Yadus and Kuntos of western India; and the Umaras, about whom little or nothing is known.

Despite the difficulties of his task, Dr. Law has contrived to compile a most interesting work. As Dr. Barnett remarks, he has spared no effort to make an exhaustive and careful collection of the materials that Indian tradition offers, together with many relevant data from other sources that will aid in the construction of a critical history. Dr. Law's book needs no higher recommendation than this.

S. M. Edwardes.

**TALES FROM THE MAHABHARATA**, by STANLEY RICE, with illustrations by FRANK C. PAP. Selwyn and Blount. London, 1924.

This is a charming little book, containing renderings in verse of eight of the noteworthy legends enshrined in the Mahabharata. Mr. Rice has chosen his tales well—the Dice Match, the Birth of Sakuntala, the Story of Nala and Damayanti, the Death of Bhima, the Legend of the Flood, the Story of Savitri, the Vision of the Dead, and the Descent into Hell. It is these tales, and others from the same vast storehouse of legend and tradition, which, as Mr. Rice rightly remarks in his Introduction, “are living and throbbing in the lives of the people of India, even of those illiterate masses that toil in the fields or maintain a drab existence in the ghettos of the towns.” And who knows but what some kernel of truth and hard fact underlies the two great Epics of India? Many scholars are now disposed to believe that a skeleton of real history underlies the huge mass of epic legend, and that the great war between the Kauravas and Pandavas, though much obscured by fable, was a real historical event. If this be so, the more obviously legendary tales which embellish the course of the Mahabharata narrative acquire additional meaning and importance. Moreover, such stories as those which Mr. Rice has embodied in easy-flowing verse, which closely follows the meaning of the original, inculcate a high moral and are worthy to rank with the ethical teaching of any country. The stories of Nala and Damayanti and of the death of Bhima should be known to everyone. One can only hope that Mr. Rice will publish further volumes of these tales in similar form. The story of Dhruva, which has been described as “the very jewel of samskāras,” would surely lend itself to treatment. And if future instalments of the tales are embellished with illustrations, such as those which Mr. Pape has contributed to the present volume, the series will deserve a place in any library.

S. M. Edwardes.

**IDENTITY OF THE PRESENT DIALECT AREAS OF HINDUSTANI WITH THE ANCIENT JANAPADAS**, by DHIRENDRA VARMA. Allahabad 1925.

This useful little pamphlet of the Allahabad University takes the statements of Sir George Grierson's Linguistic Survey, and shows therefrom that the modern dialects of Hindustani coincide almost completely with the ancient Janapadas of Madhyadeśa. That is to say, it shows that the people and their languages have not changed during all the times of which there is any history. It is an interesting study.

S. M. Edwardes.
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To


INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

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