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A Manuscript History of the Rulers of Jinji.
By S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O.

I had occasion recently to scrutinize a manuscript in the India Office Library, bearing the words "Mackenzie Collection, December 3rd, 1833, No. 38." The existing catalogue of that well-known collection, which was prepared many years ago, does not include this particular manuscript, which has hitherto escaped scrutiny and elucidation. The manuscript, which is written on country-made paper in the Modi character and is in several places difficult to decipher, owing to the bad writing of the scribe and the attacks of white ants, bears on its title-page the English words "Account of the Chengy Rajahs." The identity of the scribe or author is unknown, and there is no clue thereto in the manuscript, which purports to be a kaiyfeyt or record of the rulers of Chandí (Chengy), or in modern spelling, of Ginjee or Jinji in the Arcot district of the Madras Presidency. Readers of this Journal may be interested in learning the main facts set forth in the MS., so far as I was able to elucidate them.

The narrative commences with the statement that during the reign of Krishnâ Râyêl of Ânegoudhi, a certain Vijayarangas Nâik1 came with a permit to Chandí (Jinji) and there secured a jâgrî. He cleared the forest, amassed riches, and effected the settlement of Chandí. In Fadsi 852 [=A.D. 1445] a Dhangar named Anandakona, who was searching for some stray flocks belonging to his tribe, met a Mahâpurusha, who informed him that by his exertions Chandí was destined to become a great place, and that he should straightway go to Vijayaranga Nâik. In accordance with this prophecy, the kingdom of Chandí was established with the help of Anandakona, whose son, Tristapitla, became prime minister of the Chandí kingdom.

Before proceeding further with the narrative, there are one or two points in the above abridged extract which require examination. First, by Krishnâ Râyêl of Ânegoudhi the writer is probably referring to the great Krishnâdevarâya of Vijayanagar (A.D. 1509-29). Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, with whom I have corresponded on the matter, agrees with me regarding this identification, but adds that Jinji had probably possessed a government and a ruling line long before the date of Krishnâdevarâya, "almost from the commencement of Vijayanagar." This probability, coupled with the definite statement in the MS. that Anandakona, the Dhangar, received his summons to Jinji in Fadsi 852, which should correspond with 1445 A.D., leads to the inference that the scribe is shaky in his chronology and that the foundation of Jinji as a kingdom must have occurred before the reign of Krishnâdevarâya of Vijayanagar. The fact that several of the dates given in the MS. conflict with those now generally accepted confirms the view that the chronology of this MS. must be received with caution. Professor S. K. Aiyangar points out that Tiruvannamalai was one of the headquarters stations of the last Hoysala ruler, and that in the time of Kumara-Kampa, who was in power a little later, Jinji must have become a place of some importance, as there was a Brahman governor named Gopana, of Nârâyânavanam near Chandragiri, ruling over the locality. We may, therefore, assume that the actual establishment of a settled government at Jinji took place at some date anterior to the reign of Krishnâdevarâya, possibly in the reign of Devarâya II (A.D. 1424-1446).

1 According to one account, Jinji was built on an old foundation of the Chola kings in 1442 by Vijayaranga Nâik, governor of Tanjore.
The second point of interest is concerned with the tribe of Dhangars or Shepherds, to which Anandakona is declared to have belonged. The Dhangars have played a large, though hitherto undetermined, part in the history of southern and south-western India. In his paper on the Origine of the Pavalas of Kanchi, Professor S. K. Aiyangar has shown that in the earliest times referred to in ancient Tamil literature, an important stratum of cattle-rearing and sheep-owing tribes lived across the northern boundaries of the ancient Tamil land, and were known to the early Tamils by names which clearly indicated their association with those pursuits. We know that the Yâdavas of Devgiri are familiarly termed, even in these days, the "Gauli Rāj"; and other scattered references seem to indicate that from very early days this part of India contained a large body of tribesmen, known as Dhangar, Gauli, etc., whose main occupation was the rearing of domestic animals, who were grouped under chieftains of their own, and who from time to time contrived to establish principalities of varying permanence. As regards Jinji, Professor Aiyangar informs me that according to tradition, the place is said to have been ruled by a dynasty of Shepherds before the rise of the Naik dynasties, and inasmuch as kona or konar is the caste-designation of the shepherd, he regards the name Anandakona, mentioned in the MS., as embodying a reminiscence of that rule. The problem of the origin and history of these cattleherd and shepherd tribes, and their connexion with the Marâthâs of the Deccan and Carnatic, still awaits exhaustive enquiry; and it may be discovered that, as declared by W. H. Tone at the close of the eighteenth century, the Dhangars and Gauls formed an important element in the congeries of tribes, which were welded by Sivâji into a militant race under the general name of Marâthâ.

To revert to the MS., we are next informed that the families of Vijayaranga Naik and Anandakona enjoyed undisputed possession of Chandi (Jinji) for 225 years, i.e., to Faesi 1077, and that the names of Vijayaranga’s successors were as follows:

| " 962 (" 1555) Vijayapâ Naïk. |

In Faesi 1077 (A.D. 1670), according to the MS., Chandi (Jinji) was seized under the orders of Alamgir (Aurangzeb) by Abar Khân (Ambar Khân?) and three other Musalmân generals. Then the Marâthâs came to the rescue under Sivâji and Nilkanth Bâo (?), who killed the four Musalmân Sardars and took possession of Chandi.

There are various lacunae in this account. For example, nothing is said about the capture of the Jinji Fort in 1638 by Bandaullah Khân, the Bijâpur general, which arose out of an attempt by Tirumala Nâïk of Madura to seize it with the assistance of the armies of the Golkonda kingdom. The division of the Bijâpur army, which captured the Fort, was commanded by Shâhji, father of Sivâji; and it is generally understood that from that date (A.D. 1638) Jinji became one of the headquarters of the Marâthâs under Bijâpur. If therefore the MS. account is approximately accurate, the power of the last three Nâïks in the above list must have been merely nominal. Whether the Muhammadans under Aurangzeb’s orders seized Jinji in 1670 or not, it is unquestionable that in 1677 Sivâji contrived to obtain possession of the Fort, which remained in Marâthâ hands for the next two decades or more. The MS. gives the names of the four Muhammadan Sardars as “Abar Khân” (Ambar Khân), “Maphukhân,” “Govî-khân,” and “Muratapahkhân” (perhaps Multaft Kân or Mustafa Khân), and mentions that Shâhji conquered Chandi in Faesi 1100, i.e., A.D. 1661, which is obviously wrong.

It then proceeds to relate that in Faesi 1082 (A.D. 1675?), under Sivâji’s orders, Râjâ Râm, son of Sivâji, became ruler of Chandi. Sivâji himself then returned to Poona. Later Alamgir (Aurangzeb) despatched Zulîkâr (Zulîkâr Khân) against Râjâ Râm, who was defeated and fled to Poona in Faesi 1108 (A.D. 1701). Zulîkâr Khân changed the name of Chandi to Nasratgarh. From that date Chandi remained in the possession of the Muhammadans,
Here again the chronology seems faulty, and the statement that Rājā Rām became ruler of Jinji seems to be at variance with the account in Kistaṯī Anant Sahasāda's bahākhor or life of Sivājī. According to the latter, "Jinji was a metropolitan city like Bijāpur and Bhāga-
nagar (Golconda). The Rājā (i.e., Sivājī) ought to have remained there. But there was a
vast kingdom on this side also. It was necessary to preserve that. Therefore the Brahman
Ragunāth Nārāyān was appointed majumdar of the entire kingdom, and he was posted at
Jinji, with that province under his charge. As he needed an army for the time being, Hambrīr
Rāo was stationed (there) with his army, and the Rājā set out from Jinji with the two generals,
Anand Rāv and Mānajī More." In all probability Ragunāth Nārāyān was in immediate
charge of the Fort, under the general orders of Rājā Rām, who is declared by Grant Duff (vol. I. 291H, Oxford Univ. Press, 1921) to have defeated an attack by Amir-ul-umra Kasam
Khān, some little time prior to Zulfikar Khān’s expedition. As regards the date of Rājā Rām’s
defeat and flight to Poona (Kincard and Parasnis state that he made his way to Vishālgarh,
not to Poona), the writer of the MS. seems to err by about three to five years. According
to the latest edition of the Imperial Gazetteer, it appears that the armies of the Mughal
Emperor under Zulfikar Khān laid siege to Jinji in 1690. The siege lasted for eight years,
and the Fort, which was eventually captured in 1698, thenceforward became the headquarters
of the Muhammadan standing army in the province of Arcot. The MS. states that Zulfikar
Khān was accompanied by Daud Khān on this expedition against Jinji.

Although, according to the MS., the Fort and the surrounding country remained in
Musulman hands after Rājā Rām’s defeat, mention is made of a certain Svarup Singh, Rājput,
in Fastī 1121 (a.d. 1714), and a successor, Tej Singh, who, so far as can be deciphered,
were in charge of Jinji during the early years of the eighteenth century. These Rājputs,
father and son, were successively governors of the town and fort of Jinji. It is worth
remark, that in the article on Jinji in the Imperial Gazetteer, it is stated that the genius
loci is one Desing Rāja, who, according to a local ballad, was an independent ruler of Jinji.
In consideration of his skill in horsemanship, Aurangzeb is stated to have remitted all tribute,
and Desing Rāja continued in practically unfettered control of Jinji, until he was attacked and
slain by the Nawab of the Carnatic. Desing Rāja of the ballad is clearly identical with
Tej Sing Rājput, son of Svarup Singh, and we know from other sources that he broke
allegiance to the Nawab of Arcot and declared his independence. But the dates in the
MS. must be wrong; for Aurangzeb, who died in 1707, cannot have shown favour to a
Hindu chieftain who, according to the MS., did not appear on the scene till after 1714.
The Modi script is far from easy to decipher, and I may possibly be in error on this point
as well as the scribe, who is certainly not over-accurate in the matter of dates.

The MS. ends abruptly with the capture of Jinji by Tipu Sultan; which is stated to have
taken place in Fastī 1199, i.e., a.d. 1792. Prior to that date, as we learn from other sources,
it was seized by the French under Bussy in 1750, who held it for eleven years (i.e., until 1761),
when the English took possession of it. In 1780 it was surrendered to Haidar Ali. The
concluding words of the MS. may be translated as follows:—

"Thereafter again in Fastī 1199 Tipu Sultan came. He broke the guns, burned
the gates and the town also, and utterly destroyed the artillery-parks in the three forts. They
lie in ruin below those forts. A list of the contents of Chandi follows."

The list, which contains nine items, apparently shows the situation of the various guns
in Jinji. Thus abruptly ends the manuscript. It would be interesting to learn whether any
other manuscripts or documents, relating to the history of Jinji, corroborate any of the main
statements in the Mackenzie MS., so far as I have been able to decipher them. The story of
the foundation of Jinji, and of the Nāık dynasty and their Dhangar ministers, seems to me to
deserve a closer and more detailed enquiry.

2 See article on Jinji by the Revd. H. Horas, Anec., pp. 41-43 (March 1925).
MOSLEM EPIGRAPHY IN THE GWALIOR STATE.

BY RAMSINGH SAKSENA.

Introductory Note.

All those interested in the ancient history of India owe a great debt of gratitude to the late Maharaja Sir Madhav Rao Sindia of the Gwalior State for the help and encouragement he gave to archaeology. The state territories, as is well known, extend from the Chambel near Dholpur in the north to the Narbadâ in the south, a territory of great renown in the ancient past, though the history of the country has been largely lost through constant wars. Now, however, thanks to His late Highness, an archaeological department has been for some time at work, unearthing the missing history. There have been two archaeological surveys, which have between them yielded a rich treasure of information, dating as far back as B.C. 200, from architectural remains, such as stûpas, monoliths, rock-cut caves with frescoes, etc.; epigraphical records, the most important being the famous inscription on the Heliodorus pillar at Besnagar; and sites of ancient cities, like Videśa, Tumbāvāna, Ujjayini, Daśapura (Mandaur) and others, where important numismatic finds have taken place, which have chalked out promising fields for further research.

The important Sanskrit Inscriptions, have been properly edited by eminent orientalists, such as Drs. Kielhorn, Fleet and others; but the Persian Inscriptions are of no less value and have unfortunately remained practically untouched so far. In respect to these last, the southern part of the Gwalior State, viz., Ujjain and beyond, better known as Mâlâvâ, on account of its past grandeur and immense riches, has always attracted ambitious rulers from all parts of India. The neighbouring Muhammadan kings of Gujarât and the more distant rulers of Delhi were among those who coveted Mâlâvâ and attacked it, succeeding at times in establishing their sway over the territory. It is for this reason that the earlier Persian Inscriptions are mostly found in Mâlâvâ rather than in Gwalior.

The Persian Inscriptions do not appear to have attracted the attention they deserve. Casual notices here and there are all I have come across, and I now propose to deal with them categorically.

I.—Two inscriptions of Muhammad III Ibn Tughlaq of Delhi.

These two inscriptions were first noticed in the Report of the Archeological Survey of India, vols. VII and X, pp. 68, 69, as early as 1874–76, but to the best of my information have never been properly edited.

As is usual in the case of Muhammadan Inscriptions, they consist of raised letters, and are on slabs of red sandstone over two small archways in front of, but detached from, an old mosque, at the back of the great Udayēsvara Temple at Udaypur—now a decayed town in the Bhilsa District of the Gwalior State, four miles by road from Bareth Railway Station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and possessing important and interesting archaeological monuments.

Each inscription covers a space of 4′-1½ by 1′-2½", and consists of three lines of Naṣkh characters. The first line of each is a quotation from the Mīshkât Sharif, and the remainder, which forms the record proper, is in Persian.

Inscription No. 1 records that a mosque (obviously that in front of which the inscribed archway stands) was built during the reign of Muhammad ibn Tughlaq by Ahmad Wajih. Inscription No. 2 records that the mosque was constructed by Ahmad Wajih, officer of the Jâmdârkhana of the great king, under the supervision of (the architect) Fakhr Muhammad of Lahore. Inscription No. 1 has been read as dated A.H. 737 (A.C. 1337) and No. 2 as A.H. 739 in CASR., Vol. X, p. 68.

The importance of the inscriptions lies in the fact that they assign different dates to one and the same building. According to Brigg's Fârishta, vol. I, pp. 418-19, Muhammad ibn Tughlaq, A.C. 1325—1351, sent an expedition against his nephew, Bahâu’ddin,
Inscriptions
At the Mosque Behind the Udayesvara Temple at Udaipur
in the Gwalior State
Dated A.H. 739 and 737.
better known as Koorshasip, who rebelled and attacked some of the chiefs of Málwá about A.H. 735 (A.C. 1335). And it would seem that Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq passed through Udaypur on his way to Málwá and ordered the construction of the mosque, leaving Ahmad Wajih to see to the execution of the project, and thus Ahmad Wajih set up Inscription No. 1 in A.H. 737 to mark the year of the king's visit, as well as that of laying the foundation of the mosque. Inscription No. 2 would naturally have been set up two years later, in A.H. 739, marking the completion of the building.

The situation of the archways, the almost identical wording of the two inscriptions, and the omission of the king's name in Inscription No. 2, suggest that Inscription No. 2 is only supplementary to Inscription No. 1, and that the composer omitted the king's name in No. 2 simply to make room for the architect's name—without disfiguring the general form of the two inscriptions. He made up the omission by describing Ahmad Wajih as the officer of the Jāmdārkhana of the great king.

Moreover, in the Naksh script, سبع (7) and نع (9) are so very similar that a little carelessness on the part of the stone-mason could have brought about the writing of the one for the other. On the other hand, the preparation of separate inscriptions for the commencement and completion of a building does not appear to be frequent. Thus it is still possible to read the date of Inscription No. 1 as A.H. 739.

Of the persons named in these inscriptions, Muhammad ibn Tughlaq is the well-known Muhammad III ibn Tughlaq, A.C. 1325—1351, the second king of the Tughlaq line of the earlier Sultāns of Delhi. I have not been able to trace Ahmad Wajih in the books at my disposal. According to Inscription No. 2, he may be taken to be the Tan Jāmdārkhana (officer or keeper of the Royal Robes), who used to be an essential member of the king's train.

My reading of the inscriptions is as under:

**Inscription No. 1.**

1. قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من نبي مسجد في أكره بها بنا الله تعالى قصر
2. في الجنة بناء مسجد دار عيد دولت خلفان السلاطين الوالياء
3. مسجد ابن تغلق شاه السلاطين خلافت باني ابن خير بندة اسم رجاء صالح
4. سرنت سبع [سع] وثلاثين سبعماية

**Translation.**

Hath said the Prophet, may God's peace and blessings rest upon him: “He who builds a masjid in this world, God Almighty builds (for him) a palace in Paradise.” (Was built) this mosque during the reign and khilafat (vice royalty) of sovereign of kings, Abūl-Mujāhid (Father of Warriors) Muḥammad son of Tughlaq, may his rule and kingdom be perpetuated. The builder of this pious (work is the) humble Ahmad Wajih, (may) God enhance his dignity. (In the) year 737 (739).

**Inscription No. 2.**

1. قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من اسم مسجد خرج من ديره كثوم وبردها التي—باكر
2. ابن مسجد بناء رجاء برهما برد قرن احمد وجيش مملوكي أعظم ملك كبير معلم من جامدار
3. خان ملكة الله كارم مريما ابن خير بندة فيهم مسجد لأدوار سبع وثلاثين سبعماية

**Translation.**

Hath said the Apostle of God, may God's blessings and peace rest upon him: “Whosoever completes a masjid is redeemed of all his debts, as if his mother had (at the very moment, i.e., of completion) given him birth.” (Caused to) build this mosque, the humble and expectant of God's mercy Ahmad Wajih, connected with the generous king who is exalted and great, officer of Jāmdārkhana: may the Almighty strengthen him (in his station in life). Supervisor (one in immediate charge, as architect of the present day) of this pious (work is) Fakhr Muḥammad of Lāhor. (In the) year 739.

(To be continued.)
SPIRIT WORSHIP IN THE NILGIRIS.

By Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, F.Z.S.

About twenty years ago there existed in a small ravine among the Nilgiri hills a curious family, who were "Pariahs" of an unknown low-class origin, but they claimed that two of the members were spirit-possessed and had as such certain definite spiritual powers:—

1. to foretell the future,
2. to cure diseases,
3. to exorcise devils (demons),
4. to give children to barren women,
5. to regulate the sex of unborn children,
6. to grant desires,
7. to ward off impending calamities.

It was observed that so great was the influence of the family locally, that even educated Brāhmans and their women-kind, who were otherwise too punctilious to touch a Sūdra, or water brought by a Sūdra, freely mixed with this family of Pariahs, who were "untouchables," and accepted from their hands portions of fruits and leavings for their own use.

The family is shown in the accompanying plate. The head of it is wearing a Pārsi’s coat and a turban on his head. He called himself a pujāri (officiating priest at a temple) or worshipper. His eldest son, who is also wearing a turban, was a farmer, and cultivated a piece of land purchased for Rs. 1,500, acquired as fees or cash offerings from the numerous devotees of the family. The younger son and the younger daughter standing beside him in the centre of the Plate, bearing wreaths round their necks, were known as swāmis or gods. The second girl, a grand-daughter of the Pujāri, was being initiated into the mysteries, so as to become possessed.

The Swāmi son represents, i.e., he was possessed by, Mariamma, the Goddess of Cholera, and the Swāmi daughter by Kani-amma, the Virgin Goddess. Mariamma was described as a widow, resenting any control, and guiding Kaniambma (kanya — a virgin). Kaniambma was described as fair, young, good-looking, well-dressed, attractive, i.e., she has a pleasing countenance and a pleasant smiling face. But Mariamma was known as ferocious, wild, dreadful to look at, indeed terrible in appearance and very active.

The family possessed a substantial residence with brick walls and a tiled roof, and also a small hut covered with bamboo matting on supports from branches of trees growing in the vicinity. The hut is shown in the Plate behind the figures. In the middle of this hut stood a low mud wall about 18 inches high and shaped something like a horse-shoe, thus ユ. In the centre of the horse-shoe stood Mariamma—a small stone figure, about nine inches high, wrapped in a skein of country-spun cotton thread, with a little silver trident in her right hand and something unrecognised in her left hand. In front of this figure stood a small table on two legs, about nine inches long and two broad, consisting of a silver plate embossed with seven figures of goddesses. The legs of the table were remarkable, as they were of copper and looked like a pair of long boots with silver anklets. The figures embossed on the table represent Kaniambma and her six companions or playmates. On either side of Mariamma and the Kaniambma group were the offerings of the devotees,—cane sticks with silver mountings, rattles, baskets made of bamboo or palm leaf, and toys. On either side of the horse-shoe enclosure stood a scythe, and there was a sword placed in front of it.

Such was the oracle in form. The process of using it, as I saw it, was as follows. The girl seated herself on a mat and began moving her body with a rotating motion from right to left and vice versa, her hair loose and flowing all round her head and face as she moved. Her father, the Pujāri, meanwhile beat a drum shaped like an hour-glass, and helped her by interpreting her oracular sayings. Incense was burnt in front of her and powdered turmeric
SPIRIT WORSHIP IN THE NILGIRIS
(A Spirit-possessed Family)

1. The father, the Pujari.
2. The mother.
3. The elder son, a farmer.
4. The younger son, possessed by Mariamma, the Goddess of Cholera.
5. The daughter, possessed by Kaniamma, the Maiden Goddess.
6. The grand-daughter, in partial possession.

Behind the figures is the hut of wooden supports covered with a bamboo-mat roof in which the images of Mariamma and Kaniamma are kept.

G. A. Guppe.
was from time to time thrown over her. After making some curious gestures, depicting anger or pleasure as she glanced slyly from out of the veil formed by her hair, she took up a neat silver-mounted cane which had been placed near her, and holding it upright, she began to move it as if she were grinding corn. Then she shut her eyes and gave out in a sing-song tone her name and the object of the visit, i.e., in her case of the possession by the spirit, with a movement of her arms which was half convulsive, half rotating.

Then we listened attentively to the oracle: "I am Kaniamma. I have come to bless my devotees. I am pleased with my visitor—the writer of these notes! He is such a noble soul. He has full faith in me. On his first visit to me I promised to see him at his residence, and you will see that I work the miracle of appearing to him in a dream with my Mariamma. He is a good man and a sincere devotee. I will grant him his requests. Has he any to make?"

The reply through an interpreter was: "No. He has no request to make, but wishes that a dream be properly interpreted to him. In the dream you appeared to him like a young woman of high degree and made an impossible request. What could be the meaning of this?"

Then said the Goddess: "Did I make any other demand?"

The reply was: "No."

Goddess: "I wish a solid temple to be built in this place and beautiful ornaments to be given to me".

Reply: "But this was not what you asked him to grant. Why did you make such an unnatural request? Why did you not ask him direct for such things? What can be the meaning of that request?"

The Goddess was silent. Her representative could not guess what request she was supposed to have made, and the interpreter had been warned not to disclose it to her. She now violently rotated her head in such a way as to be able to throw searching glances at the interpreter and her questioner, but, poor thing, it was beyond her power to read the mind of her pseudo-devotee. At last she burst out with: "I will appear to him again this very night in a dream and tell him what I want." And then she dropped her head to the ground.

But the Goddess was wanted, and the old Pâjâri, the girl's father, requested her not to go, as there was another customer present. This was a native Christian midwife with her daughter, but she came forewarned by me. So the girl resumed her rotating motions and her sing-song oracle. After a while the Goddess told her that she had already helped her once and should do so again. Then she gave the writer a flower, and a pinch of ashes to the Christian devotee. The Pâjâri, the medium's father was, however, not yet satisfied. He whispered a hint to her that my introducer and interpreter, an old Brâhman who accompanied me, had done so much for the family, also deserved recognition from the Goddess. The girl then gave him a lemon and a pinch of ashes, which he accepted with due reverence. Her final words were: "This highest of Hindu mortals, this Bhudev, this God upon the Earth, this educated man who speaks English and is employed in a responsible position—let my Goddess bless him!" After this our request to be allowed to photograph the family was granted and we returned home.

I will now relate the events that led up to the performance above related. They were even more interesting than the oracle as delivered by the poor girl, so easily houcessed when helped by a cunning father. One Friday the old Brâhman abovementioned, whom I may call Subrahmanyam, came to me and asked me to accompany him to an adjoining hill to see a fine tâmdsha (sic),—viz., a demoniacal performance by a Pariah girl, who, he said, was in spite of her birth as beautiful as a Brâhman girl. He said also that his wife and daughters were going, besides many "ladies". As a student of ethnology, I felt of course greatly interested and said I would be ready in five minutes. We proceeded to the hut already mentioned, and there in

1 To be described further on.
front of it I found a motley group of spectators and devotees—half a dozen Brāhmaṇa women, besides others of apparently high caste, and a similar number of men of the same classes, a band of native musicians and about thirty "aboriginal" and low caste men, women and children—all standing in a rough ring. In the centre were three figures under "possession," one man and two girls—the Pūjārī's younger son and the two girls already mentioned. They were dancing. The man was jumping about in a convulsive, furious, ferocious, wild way; the girls in a slow hesitating manner. I pitied the poor girls, who seemed tired out after a few minutes and moved their bodies very slowly. After a time they stopped, and one of them left the place.

She soon returned with five or six other girls, and they began moving round the one girl still "possessed", singing songs and keeping time with the drum by clapping their hands—all bending towards the erected figure. On the other side the possessed man was getting more and more furious. He strained his eyes, distorted his features by making awful grimaces, jumped and limped about, and shouted. The Pūjārī himself then gave a signal to some of the female spectators, who went to a little spring in the vicinity and brought some water in brass pots. This his son, as the male god, poured over his own head, and then he began to dance so violently that those who valued their clothes had to stand back. The ring naturally widened, and the stout gymnastic young fellow got more space for his antics. At last the possessed girl, who was still performing, became quite exhausted and began to lose her balance. The women present supported her, and some of them poured water over her feet, being careful to spare her new sādī, and made her an obeisance. She then moved as an ordinary human being and looked on as a spectator.

The man now had the whole field to himself, and presently he began to speak, and we all listened most attentively:—"There is a man here who thinks I am an impostor and that there is no divinity in such dancing. I will convince him. I will show him a miracle."

At this point the Pūjārī and his friends brought a blunt scythe from the hut and held it up, edge upwards. The young man, i.e., the God, supported himself on the shoulders of these men and stood on the edge of the scythe. This was the miracle. He came off the scythe and began to move round the ring, ejaculating:—"I will show him. I will show my power. I will convince the sceptic." He then stopped in front of a man who had on a European coat and said: "You think I am an impostor. You said so on your way here. You want to test me. All right. I will show you what I am." The poor fellow beat his cheeks with his fingers in token of confession and submission, and was given a flower and blessed. I did not think he was an accomplice. He was merely lacking in moral courage.

The possessed man, as the God, then threw a searching glance at my perfectly blank countenance, moved a little and stopped near the Brāhmaṇis and other high-caste women present and spoke to one of them, who stood forward: "You want a certain thing. I know it. You will soon get what you want." And then he gave a flower. He went through the same performance with one after another of them. To each he made the same statement in different words, always using guarded language in a vague manner. He never refused the requests.

After several journeys round the ring, the 'God' stopped in front of me and had the effrontery to ask me what I wanted. I replied: "Nothing". But the question was repeated in several forms:

"Don't you want something for your property?" "No".
"Don't you think of your family that you have left so far away?" "No".
"Don't you want something you can't get?" "No".
At last I saw some one whisper to him, and he must have told him something about a watch that I had lost, for he suddenly said very loudly: "Have you lost something?"

"Yes," I said, "but I am not worrying about it."

"Oh! you don't care about it," and looking at my watch fixedly: "You have got another and will get more."

"Yes," I said, "the loss does not worry me."

"Will you give me your watch, if I discover the other?"

"Yes. Here it is. Take it."

The 'God' was apparently tired of me, for he passed on and there were more requests, more grants and more blessings. Presently he stopped again in front of me:

"Why did you come here?"

"My friend asked me to come to see the worship, and, you see, here I am."

At this point I had had enough, and so I slipped a four-anna piece into a plate carried behind the 'God' by the Pujari. The 'God' passed on, and the Pujari asked me if I wished to worship the images in the hut. I consented, and slipped another four-anna piece into the plate. Meanwhile the 'God' went on dancing in the ring, and when I came out of the hut, he said: "You are a good devotee. You have full faith in me. If you will give the musicians a rupee, I come and perform at your own house." "All right," I said, "do come." And so we parted.

Next day was a gala-day in front of my residence. Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians were present, and there was a grand tamasha. I was assured by a friend that the 'God' made forty rupees, besides receiving a head-load of offerings in kind that afternoon. I saw women coming with trays full of fruit and sweets, making requests and receiving promises in Delphic language, bowing to a man whom in ordinary circumstances they would not have touched. Not even would they have touched water polluted by his despised fingers. But when 'possessed', he was a 'God', and I saw an old Brahman woman give him half a plantain with her own hands, and retain the other half as prasad (leavings). At the end of the tamasha my old friend Subrahmanyam demanded three rupees for the musicians instead of one rupee as the 'God' had suggested, and I had in the end to pay them two rupees. Such is the morality of the 'possessed'.

Next morning Subrahmanyam came to me again with stories as to the requests which had been granted by the 'possessed man and other incidents.

(1) In the evening an impudent Musalman insulted the 'God', and blood came out of his right eye, and he lost the sight of it.

(2) A woman asked for a son and was promised one at her next conception.

(3) A woman asked for promotion for her husband, and the 'God' definitely promised to influence the Collector to make him a talashdar.

(4) A woman had a child, whose eyes were closed by some disease. The 'God' told her that the child would open its eyes that night, and it did.

(5) The wife of a certain official who was a graduate, said that her husband had become impotent and he was at once relieved of his impotence. "But," said old Subrahmanyam, "that man is a fool. He is a reformer, you know, and a sceptic, and actually quarrelled with his wife for going to the tamasha. There are many educated men who have no sense." Old Subrahmanyam was not an accomplice, but I thought him to be one of the dupes.

(6) the wife of a tailor was possessed by a demon and went to the 'God' for relief. He called to the demon and commanded him to leave the woman. She was at once cured. Here old Subrahmanyam broke out into raptures: "What a miracle!"
And then he began to be expansive: "You are a good man, sir. Your high education has not spoilt you. The 'God' is pleased with you, and you are a happy man. You see, he came to your house. God is God, after all." He next began to expound the Sāstrās thus: "Our Sāstrās tell us the God goes himself to the houses of his real devotees. You know the story of Kabir. I am very glad on your behalf and you have deserved his favour."

After this Subrahmanyam became personal: "The 'God' has been very kind to my nephew-in-law. He is a very clever man and no other graduate can write English like him. He will be very useful to you. Haven't you a vacancy in your office, as he is just the man for your learned profession, and as the 'God' has blessed you both, you will get on very well together." The old man was quite equal on your behalf and you have deserved his favour.

I now thought that I might find a way of learning more details of this style of worship by relating a dream I had had on the previous night. The purport of it was as follows:—A young Brāhman woman of about twenty years of age, well dressed and wearing valuable ornaments, opened the door of the room in which I was sleeping, followed by a widow dressed in white. I asked her who she was and she said that she was a Goddess. So I asked her why she came to my room. She replied that she wanted a son by me. Thereupon I explained to her the impossibility of a marriage between a Goddess and a married mortal like myself. She smiled and said she would appear again in another form. Then she disappeared with her companion.

The dream was clearly the result of my visit to the Pūjārī on the previous day and of the performances I had witnessed, in the course of which the women devotees had constantly asked for a son. But my old friend Subrahmanyam gave it quite a different meaning, and told every body of the "miracle" of the appearance of the Goddess to me in my dream. So at last I asked him to get it interpreted to me.

This brought the Pūjārī, his 'possessed' son and daughter, his wife and the elder farmer son, to me again. At my request the women were not told what my dream had been, and the Pūjārī tried his own hand at explaining and failed. It was then suggested that I should consult Kaniamma, the maiden goddess, but as she would ask the ladies of her devotees in the British Station, I was advised to go to the Pūjārī's hut again. So making up my mind to write an account of this Spirit-possessed family, I went with a few friends and a photographer, and as a result saw the performance with which this paper commences.

Finally, my friend Subrahmanyam attacked me again about his nephew-in-law and told me he would give twenty-five rupees to the goddess Kaniamma, if he got the tahsildārship. Let us hope the supernatural interference of the Goddess of Cholera, for that is what Mariamma was, procured him the appointment. However, I took this statement to be a feeler to a request that I would consider the question of building the stone temple the Pūjārī wanted and giving valuable ornaments to his daughter, the sable maiden of fifteen who represented Kaniamma.

In the sequel Subrahmanyam gave out that the "impudent" Muhammadan had died of the bleeding from his eyes, until I showed him quite healthy and very lively. My stolen watch was never recovered, but nevertheless the 'God's' family of the Pariah caste left me quite pleased with themselves. Fruit, sweets and a little bakhshish in the shape of cash and a copy of the photograph did the trick. But it was the prospect of appearing in print in a book some day, which was the really solid reason for being pleased with me.

2 [A prospect of appearing in a book has great attractions for Orientals in remote situations. During the Afghan War in 1878-1879 I was employed as an "intelligence officer," and I found the simplest way to get at the hearts of the people was to solemnly take down their pedigree. This made them at once friends, as I explained I was writing a book on the country. It also incidentally made my notes quite safe and enabled me to go about openly with a note book and writing materials—R.C.T.]
Hammira was a famous ruler of Mewār and was the first to assume the title of Mahārāṇā. He succeeded to the throne shortly after s. 1382 (A.D. 1325). That is to say, the exact date of his accession is not settled. In the bardic chronicles and Tod's Rājāstān, the date is given as s. 1337 (A.D. 1301). This seems, however, to be questionable, as from an inscription dated s. 1358 (A.D. 1301), found at Chitor, it is clear that the ruler of Chitor in that year was Rāwal Samarasimha. After Samarasimha came Ratnasimha for one year. In s. 1360 (A.D. 1303) 'Alāūddin Khilji took Chitor from Rāwal Ratnasimha, and handed it over to Prince Khīr Khān, who held it for about nine years, from A.D. 1303 to 1312. It was then given by 'Alāūddin to the Sönagarā chief Māladeva, who held it for seven years. Fersīhta does not mention the name of Māladeva, but simply says: "the King ordered Prince Khīr Khān to evacuate it [Chitor] and to make it over to the nephew of the Rājā." It is possible that after the death of Māladeva, Hammira took the fort from the former's son, Jalisā (Jaital), while Delhi was ruled by Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq, who ascended the throne in s. 1382 (A.D. 1325). Hence, it may be fairly asserted that Hammira came to his throne of Chitor shortly after that date. Such an assertion is supported by a Persian inscription in Nakhsh characters, found in the fort at Chitor and described in the Annual Report of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, 1921-22, which praises the Tughlaq Shāh [Ghiyāṣu’d-dīn Tughlaq], who ruled from A.D. 1320 to 1325. It, consequently, belongs to that period, and from its text, it appears that Chitor was, directly or indirectly, under the rule of the Pathān rulers of Delhi till about s. 1382 (A.D. 1325).

Before he came to the throne of Mewār, Mahārāṇā Hammira was Rāṇā of Sesodā, and thus belonged to the Rāṇā (junior) branch of the Sesodā family, the rulers of which were feudatories of the Rāwal (senior) branch of Mewār. In s. 1360 (A.D. 1303) his father Arisimha was killed in the disastrous battle of Chitor, fought between 'Alāūddin Khilji and Rāwal Ratnasimha of Chitor. His grandfather, Lakṣmaṇasimha, was also killed in the same battle, together with seven of his sons. Ajaisimha, the youngest son of Lakṣmaṇasimha, was the only one who survived and returned home, safe though wounded, and succeeded his father as Rāṇā of Sesodā.

After the death of his uncle, Ajaisimha, Hammira became the Rāṇā of the Sesodā estate, and aimed at conquering the fort of Chitor, his ancestral capital, and the surrounding country. He began by desolating the whole province of Mewār. It is said that Māladeva Chauhān, then ruler of Chitor, in the hope of creating friendly relations with him, married his daughter to him, ceding parts of Mewār as dowry—Mewār with Chitor having, since the time of 'Alāūddin Khilji, been in the possession of the Chauhāns (Sönagarās), who ruled as his tributary. But Hammira was not satisfied and continued his efforts, which, at last, were crowned with success, and he made himself independent master of the throne of Chitor with the title of Mahārāṇā. Since then, his descendants have ruled Mewār to the present day.

Shortly after he became Mahārāṇā, Chitor was attacked by Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq of Delhi. Of this affair Tod, Rājāstān, Vol. I, pp. 318-19, writes as follows: "Maldeo himself carried the accounts of his loss to the Khilji king [Tughlaq Muḥammad], who had succeeded 'Alā ['Alāūddin]. He [Hammira] marched to meet Mahmud, who was
advancing to recover his lost possessions. The king had encamped at Singoli, where he was attacked, was defeated and made prisoner by Hammira. The king suffered a confinement of three months in Chitor, nor was liberated till he had surrendered Ajmer, Ranthambhor, Nagor and Sui Sopur, besides paying fifty lakhs of rupees and one hundred elephants."

This version of the tale is, however, doubtful. According to that reliable historian of Râjputâna, Muhnot Nansy, Mâlâdeva Chauhân lived for seven years after he was given Chitor by 'Alau'ddin Khilji, and there he died. 'Alau'ddin Khilji himself died in A.D. 1316 (s. 1373), and Muhammed Tughlaq became Sultan of Delhi nine years afterwards, i.e., in A.D. 1325 (s. 1382). So, it is most unlikely that Mâlâdeva was alive at the period of Col. Tod's story. It is probable, however, that Jaisâ, his eldest son, went to the Sultan Muhammed Tughlaq for aid, and brought about an invasion of Chitor by the Sultan's army. Moreover, the imprisonment of the Sultan by Hammira, besides its inherent impossibility, and the cession of Ajmer and the other towns above mentioned is not authenticated by contemporary historians. This fact throws further doubt on the accuracy of Tod's account, especially as the towns referred to are known to have been annexed by Mahârâna Kumbhâ at a later period. However, from an inscription dated s. 1495 (A.D. 1438), of the time of Mahârâna Kumbhâ (Kunabharappa) in the temple of Mahâviraśâvâmi at Chitor, it appears that Hammira established his fame by killing a large number of Muhammadans. It is quite possible that these Muhammadans belonged to the army of Delhi, which was defeated by Mahârâna Hammira.

Regarding other exploits of Hammira, we learn from another inscription, dated s. 1495 (A.D. 1428) of the time of Mahârâna Mokal at Śrıṅgi Rishi, five miles from Eklingaji in Mewâr, that Hammira took by force a place called Chelâkhypurâ (Jilvârâ), and put to flight his enemy in a battle and burnt a town called Pâlahanapura (Pâlanpur). It is also known from the same inscription that Hammira killed his enemy Jaitreśvara (Râṇâ Jaitrâ): and in the Ekaliṅga Mâhâya, it is recorded that the best of kings (Hammira) conquered Jitakarṇa, the king of Ilâdurga or Idar. By way of proof of the identity of these two names, it will be interesting to note a few passages, in which this place is differently named by different authors.

7 He flourished in the court of Mahârâna Jaswant Singh (1635—73 A.D.) of Jodhpur.
8 Journal of the B.B.R.A.S., vol. XXIII, p. 50:
9 Unpublished inscription at Śrıṅgi Rishi:
10 This village was founded by and named after Prahlâdanadeva, the younger brother of Dhârâvarsha, the Paramara ruler of Ābu.
11 Ekaliṅga Mâhâya, Râjavarman Adhyâya:
12 Accordingly, the word 'ilir' is written for Ilâ and Ilâdurga for the fort of Idar or Idar.
13 As an old writer among the authors of Sanskrit in Rajputâna to substitute 'G' for 'R.' and vice versa.
In an inscription, dated s. 1545 (A.D. 1488), of the time of Mahārāṇā Rāyamalla, it is mentioned that Hammīra, “dried the ocean-like [king] Jāitrakarna, sprung from the mountain [the earth] of Ilā, whose moving forces spread like water which appeared active on account of the numerous horses, like so many alligators in it, with large elephants, like numerous mountains, and having a necklace of jewels of the many brave men.” In the above inscription, while Rāyamalla, the king of Idar, is described as having been imprisoned by Mahārāṇā Kshetrasimha (Khetā) of Mewār, the term Aliaprakāra is used for the fort of Idar.14

Many Jain writers have also given the name of Idar in different ways. Thus, in his work, entitled Somasaubhāgya Kāvyam, Paṇḍit Pratishṭhāsoma, while describing the restoration of a Jain temple called Kumārapālavāhīrāha, and giving accounts of kings Rāyamalla and Pūṇjā, of that place, has written Ilāduraganagara for Idar.15 In the Vījayapratasti Kāvyam of Hemavijaya, Ilādurgapuri is written for Idar.16 In the colophon at the end of a manuscript, dated A.D. 1479, and quoted in a book17 by Lakshmana Swarup, the word “Aliaprakāra” [for Ilāaprakāra] is written for Idar.18

Returning to the main theme, Mahārāṇā Hammīra was a great ruler; and Mahārāṇā Kumbhā says, in his commentary known as Rāsikapriyā on the Gītāgovinda, that Hammīra was called vishamadhādi panchāana, a lion in vigorous attack.19 Indeed, the star of prosperity shone brightly over Mewār during his reign. For, it was Hammīra who redeemed his country from the ruin and insignificance, to which it had dwindled since the time of Rāwāl Ratnasimha, and it enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity for about two centuries after him. The power of Mewār was so consolidated by him that not only were hostile armies repelled, but war was carried abroad, leaving tokens of victory far and wide. Col. Tod writes: “Hammīra was the sole Hindu prince of power now [14th century A.D.] left in India. All the ancient dynasties were crushed, and the ancestors of the present princes of Mārwār and Jaypur brought their levies, paid homage, and obeyed the summons of the prince of Chitor, as did the chiefs of Būndi, Gwalior, Chanderī, Rācesin, Sikri, Kālpī, Abu, etc.”20

Although Colonel Tod and other historians, by the aid of the feeble light of forgotten chronicles and imperfect records, have made a few exaggerations in the story of Mahārāṇā Hammīra, yet there is no denying the fact that he was a great and illustrious ruler.

Hammīra died in s. 1421 (A.D. 1364). This is the date given in the chronicles. Col. Tod and others have accepted it, and though there is no means of verifying its correctness, it may be taken as correct from the fact that, in the chronicles, the dates of accession and death of kings after s. 1400 have mostly been found, where capable of verification, to be correct.

13 Bhāvnagar Inscriptions, p. 119:

14 Ibid., p. 116:

15 Gītāgovinda Kāvyam, p. 2:


18 Bhāvanākara, Mahāratanābhāraṇa, p. 319-20. It has, however, never been ascertained whether any other kings than the rulers of Idar and Būndi outside Mewār really came under the hand of Mewār.
THE SEQUEL TO HIR AND RANJHA.
TOLD BY A PEASANT-PROPRIETOR OF JHANG, TO MR. H. A. ROSE, L.C.S., IN 1884-5.

Prefatory Remarks.

Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Br.

The idea of the Zinda Pir, the everliving Holy Personage, originally attached to the almost universal Al Khidr, Khidr Khân, is common in Northern India and has become part of the Legend of almost every prominent Saint or Holy Man. It has been attached to the memory of the celebrated Panjabí lovers, Hir and Ranjhā, who in life were counterparts of the Romeo and Giulietta of medieaval Italy. They have long been looked on in the Panjab and Baluchistán as saints who are still alive. This story refers to that phase of the legends about them, and comes from their own home, the Jhang district of the Panjab.

In 1884 I published in the Legends of the Panjab (Vol. II, pp. 177-181) a Baloch version of this tale under the title of The Legend of 'Abdu'llah Shâh of Samân from the Dera Ghâzi Khân district across the Indies, which, though taken down by the late Mr. M. Longworth Dames, was also heard there by Mr. H. A. Rose. I also published in the same work (Vol. II, pp. 494 ff.) the story of Isma'il Khan's Grandmother, and (Vol. II, pp. 499 ff.) The Bracelet-maker of Jhang. The first of these two relates practically the same story as that now given, and the latter was originally concocted to glorify the tomb of Hir at Jhang.

The best known recension of the story of Hir and Ranjhâ is the well-known version of Waris Shâh, a translation of which by the late G. S. Usborne was published in this Journal in 1921 as a Supplement. Also in the Legends of the Panjab (Vol. II, pp. 507 ff.) there is a version of the Marriage of Hir and Ranjha, and in this Journal (Vol. LV, pp. 176 ff.) there is yet another popular version of the general tale. The present story will be given first in translation and then in its original text as taken down from the narrator. The Baloch version differs from it only in those matters which arise out of the circumstances and environment of the two peoples among whom the story has become current.

This version, as told by the narrator, gives its date from internal evidence. In the first place, though Mr. Rose has omitted to record the narrator's name, he has told us that he heard the tale in Jhang in 1884-5. His informer's story is that "a Haji came to his great-grandfather Habiz Ahmad, about 40 or 45 years ago (in 1884-5)," when he himself "was about 14 or 15 years of age." So the story is thus dated roughly in 1840-45. Further investigation will be found to date it in 1848. We also thus learn that the narrator was born in 1833-34, and that when he told the tale in 1884-85 he must have been about 50 years old.

The interesting point here is that the narrator relates an obviously impossible folk-tale as his own experience in his youth, told to his great-grandfather, and also to the family of the Chief (Rais) of his tribe, a known historical personage of such recent date as to have been born in 1817 and to be still alive when the story was taken down 68 years afterwards. Thereis, however, nothing unusual in this in India, for folk-tales of this kind are occasionally repeated as personal experiences. One such, among many others, was told to myself of Sir Henry Lawrence at Ferozepore in 1879, and another of myself personally at Ambala in 1882. Many other instances could be quoted.

In the next place, the story, at the end of it, has the following statement:—"By the grace of God, in the days of disturbance [the last Sikh War, 1845-49, and towards the end of it, 1848] the Khân Sâhib Muhammad Isma'il Khân (Rais or Chief of Jhang Sâhil) received a parwâna from Teler Sâhib [General Reynell Taylor] to enlist men and hold possession of the country of Jhang Sâhil, and the Khân Sâhib assembled and trained all his samândârs [land-owners] and fought the Sikhs, the enemies of the English. So the country remained as of old under the rule of the Sâhls, and its administration was entrusted to him." These statements settle the date of the story, as they say that it was told as having happened to a
Haji (pilgrim to Mecca), who told it to the narrator’s great-grandfather, Haiz Ahammad. He was then himself 14 or 15 years of age, and he, Haiz Ahammad and the Haji all went to see Muhammad Isma’il Khán, the Chief of Jhang Siáli, and met his mother, who afterwards became a worshipper at Hir’s tomb outside Jhang.

Attached to the story of Isma’i’l’s Grandmother is an introductory note by myself relating that “the family of the Siáli Chiefs of Jhang is an old and illustrious one, but it first comes into prominence with the 13th Chief Walidád Khán, who consolidated its fortunes. He died in 1747 A.D. and was succeeded by his nephew Ináyatuláh Khán, a man as able as himself, but overshadowed by the then rising Sikh power. He died in 1787 and was succeeded successively by his two sons, Sultán Mahmúd Khán and Sáhib Khán. They both came to an untimely end before 1790, when their relative, Kabir Khán, who had married the widow of Sáhib Khán, and daughter of ’Umar Khán Siáli, succeeded. He came of the line of Jahán Khán, whose children had been ousted by Gházi Khán, grandfather of Walidád Khán, in the 17th century. This Chief was a man of mild character, and in 1801 abdicated in favour of his son Ahammad Khán, who was succeeded successively by his sons Ináyat Khán in 1820 and the present [1884] Muhammad Isma’i’l Khán in 1838. After the days of Ináyatuláh Khán the fortunes of the family sank to a very low point, from which they were partially recovered by the loyalty of Muhammad Isma’i’l Khán to the British Crown.”

To this information may be added some statements from Griffin’s Punjab Chiefs (Vol. II, pp. 77 f.) :—“In 1838 Ináyat Khán was killed near Rasulpur, fighting on the side of Diwan Sáwan Mál against Rája Guláb Singh [of Jammú]. His brother [Muhammad] Isma’i’l Khán went to Lahore to endeavour to obtain the confirmation of the jágir in his favour, but the Mahárájá was paralytic, and Guláb Singh, his enemy, in the ascendant, and he only obtained a pension of Rs. 100 a month. He remained at Lahore four years till his pension was discontinued, and he then returned to Jhang, where he lived upon an allowance of Rs. 41 a month granted to the family by Sáwan Mál. This was raised in 1848 to Rs. 60.

““In October 1848, Major H. [Sir Herbert] Edwards wrote to [Muhammad] Isma’i’l Khán directing him to raise troops in behalf of Government and to collect the revenue of the district. The poor Chief, hoping the time was come when loyalty might retrieve his fortunes, raised a force, and descending the river, attacked and defeated a rebel Chief, ’Atá Muhammad, at Nikokára. Afterwards, when Sardár Sher Singh Atáriwállá had passed through Jhang, and had left Deoráj in command of one thousand men there, Isma’i’l Khán attacked this detachment several times with varying results. His Jamadar [Commander] Pir Kamál, of Isá Sháh, captured at the fort of Táruká another rebel-Chief named Kahan Dás. Thus Isma’i’l Khán, the representative of a long and illustrious line of Chiefs, stood out bravely on the side of the Government. His influence was great in the district and was all used against the rebels. His services were especially valuable at a time when it was inexpedient to detach a force against the petty rebel leaders. After annexation Isma’i’l Khán was made Risáldár of the Jhang Mounted Police; but his services were, through inadvertence, overlooked, and it was not till 1856 that he received a pension of Rs. 600 for life. Three wells were also released to him and his male heirs in perpetuity.

“In 1857 the services of the Chief were conspicuous. He aided in raising a force of cavalry, and served in person against the insurgents. For his loyalty, he received a khílall of Rs. 500 and the title of Khán Bahádúr; and his yearly grant of Rs. 600 was raised to Rs. 900, with the addition of a jágir of Rs. 950 for life. In 1860 his pension was, at his own desire, exchanged for a life jágir.

“In 1879 [Muhammad] Isma’i’l Khán’s case again came under the consideration of Government. Having regard to the position and influence of the Siáli family, and to the steadfast loyalty and good conduct of its Chief, Sir Robert Egerton [Lieut.-Governor of the
Panjáb] recommended that the life jāḏīr be raised to Rs. 2,000 and continued to a selected heir during the pleasure of Government. The jāḏīr allowance was duly increased; but with regard to the second proposition, the Supreme Government deemed it advisable merely to lay down that it should receive consideration on the death of the present incumbent."

To these facts it may be added that Muḥammad ’Isma’il Kháū was the owner of four thousand acres in seventeen villages of the Jhang and Shorkot tahsil, and enjoyed eventually an income of about Rs. 10,000 per annum. He was held in the highest esteem by the many English district officers who knew him. It is clear from the above narrative that the date of the legend is 1848.

General Reynell George Taylor is mentioned in the story more than once, and his life roughly supports the dates evolved from the story itself. He lived from 1822 to 1886, and in 1848 he was at the siege of Multán, being then a Captain. He later on commanded the Corps of Guides on the Panjáb Frontier, and was in charge of Kāṅgrā during the Mutiny.

During its course, this story also relates that the Háji first met the mother of Muḥammad ‘Isma’il Kháū and related the tale to her, with the result that she became a regular worshipper at Hir’s tomb near Jhang. In the tale of Isma’il’s Grandmother her place is taken by his grandmother, according to the Panjábí bards from whom I heard it. But they said that Hákim Jān Muḥammad, the original narrator thereof, who was still alive in 1884, averred that it was the mother, and not the grandmother, who took to looking after Hir’s tomb, though it was against the traditions of her tribe to do so. He also said that she began to do this shortly before the commencement of the British rule in the Panjáb (1849). Like the teller of this tale, he also said that he was then 18 years of age. It is clear, therefore, that the two tales are versions of one original. From all the above information one gathers that, if the lady was ‘Isma’il Kháū’s grandmother she was the wife of Kabir Kháū and daughter of ‘Umar Kháū, but if she was his mother she was the wife of Ahmad Kháū.

From the Bracelet-maker of Jhang no further information is to be extracted, but as the tale of ‘Abdu’llah Shāh of Samin is so closely connected with this one and is not long, I reprint here the translation, together with these introductory notes, after the text of this tale, so that students may compare the two stories for themselves. It is quite possible, indeed, that ‘Abdu’llah Shāh represents the Háji of the present legend.

**True Lovers Never Die.**

I remember that when I was about 14 or 15 years old that a traveller, aged about 40 or 45 years, said to be a Háji, came to my great-grandfather, Ḥāfiz Ahmad (God have mercy on him), and told him this tale:

I am a [Siāl and a] native of the country round Chachh-Hazārā,¹ and left my home to make the pilgrimage to the House of the Ka’aba [at Mecca]. Travelling, travelling, travelling, I embarked on a ship. By the will of God the ship went to pieces at some place by the ocean. By the will of God also I was saved on a plank. It was I don’t remember how many days afterwards that I reached the shore at some spot.

I was hungry, thirsty and weary, and there was no strength left in me to move or travel, and life meant nothing to me. I ate the leaves and berries of trees, and when I had thus recovered some strength, I climbed the highest hills and trees around to look for signs of habitation. When I had been looking for some time, I saw at last some tracks of buffalo cows and I knew them to be signs of habitation.²

¹ That is: Takht-Hazārā in the Gujranwālā District.
² This shows that the narrator could not really have ever left the Panjáb, and thus the whole story must have been only a dream.
Then I bethought me that in a jungle where there are female buffaloes, there I shall meet with kindness. I followed their tracks and arrived at a place where milk had been set to curdle. And all around were thick shady wild trees of which I did not know the names, and had never seen before, all growing in that place. In the midst of them was a tall tamarisk tree, the wood of which was old and hollow like a drum. Into this tree I got in fear, as I had heard people say that in that place there were demons who used to seize and eat men. So hiding myself I sat there in terror.

Then as the time came for the sun to set I heard the sound of a pipe and saw a man wearing a black waist cloth and playing on a pipe. He came out of the jungle, and behind him came the buffaloes. When I saw this, I said to myself: "God knows who this is or what the miracle is."

Coming to the place the man sat down and the buffaloes all sat down around him. After a little while came a woman, wearing fine light-coloured raiment, and a line painted on her forehead. And on her head was some bread fresh baked, and she sat down beside him. They embraced, and she took some bread and gave it to him. When he began to eat the bread the woman said to him: 'Mîân Rânjhâ, a traveller from your country has come to stay with us. Let him eat first and eat yourself afterwards.' "Where is he?" said he.

Said mother Hir: "Shout and he will come."
Mîân Rânjhâ called out: "Come, traveller, come, Don't hide."

Then I guessed, as in my country in Chach [Takht] Hazâra they talk of Hir and Rânjhâ and sing songs of their love, that perhaps these persons were they. So glad at heart I went towards them. They asked me for my news and I told it them. They were pleased and gave me bread and milk, which I ate and drank, and they made me rest awhile.

Afterwards they said: "Will you remain here? or must you go on elsewhere?"
I replied: "I left my home to make a pilgrimage to the House of the Ka'aba; but now as I don't know the road and have no money left, how can I go anywhere?"

They laughed and said: "We too, have to make a pilgrimage to the House of the Ka'aba. If you wish it, we will take you with us and show you the way."

I agreed and was rejoiced and asked them: "How far is the House of the Ka'aba from here?"
They said: "It is a journey of 300 kos from here."
Then I said: "If it is so far from here, how shall I get there?"
To this they replied: "Don't be anxious, Sir."
And by God's will I remained silent.

When the month of the pilgrimage arrived, I said to them: "you told me that the House of the Ka'aba is distant 300 kos, when shall we start?"
Said they: "Why are you anxious? We, too, have to go."
When the actual day of the pilgrimage had come, they said: "Will you come back with us or will you remain there?"
I said: "I will come back with you."
Then they said: "When all your orders for the pilgrimage have been carried out, meet us on a certain hill, and we will bring you back here with us."
And again they said: "Hold our hands and shut your eyes." I held their hands and closed my eyes. After a little while they said: "Open your eyes."
When I had opened my eyes, I saw thousands of men standing, telling their beads and reciting God's name."

3 Sâwâ, Hit., green.
I asked some of them: "What is happening? What place is this?"
They replied: "These men are all Musalmans and this is the place of pilgrimage. You have obeyed your orders and performed the pilgrimage."

At that time the reason of the assembly and crowd of men was hidden from me. There I remained two days and met men from my own country, who had gone on pilgrimage a year before me, and we gave each other the news.

In my heart I knew that my friends were Hir and Rânjhâ and saints of God, and I determined to find them and spend the remainder of my life in their service. I sought the defile in the hills that they had described to me, and saw them both sitting there. I rejoiced and thanked God (the glorious and exalted). They recognised me and called to me, saying:
"Are you now free?"
I replied: "I am now without care."

Then they caught me by the hands and said as before: "Shut your eyes."

After a little while I opened my eyes, and found myself in the same place as before. Thus I passed five or six months pleasantly in their service, sometimes eating bread and sometimes rice and milk.

One day thoughts of my home and children came into my mind and that it was impossible for me to remain on. Involuntarily I began to weep.

They asked me: "Why do you weep?"

At first I was ashamed, but when they asked me again and again, then I said: "I have remembered my home, my children, my friends and my cronies and I have to weep."

Then said they, one to the other: "Every one loves his country, and if you ask us seriously we will take you there."

And I replied: "If you will take me, you will fulfil my desire."

Then said Mother Hir: "We will take you to Jhang Siâl, and there you must take my message of love in my own words to the Chief of that place, and say 'Mother Hir and Miâ Rânjhâ are living and not dead. You must not act against their rights, as they are not wicked. Miâ Rânjhâ grazes buffaloes, as of old, and Mother Hir lives with him. May distress and poverty and misery come upon you unless you go to my shrine and there pray to the Lord, the Merciful and Compassionate. God will accept your prayers and bestow on you joy, ease and wealth."

Then I said: "Should I arrive at the City of Jhang Siâl alive, please God Almighty, I will most certainly tell them and the Chief of Jhang Siâl, the whole story."

Then Mother Hir and Miâ Rânjhâ caught my hands and said: "Shut your eyes."
I closed my eyes and after a little while, they said: "Open your eyes."

Then I opened my eyes and saw that I was under a jand tree to the west of Mâi Hir's tomb. A short while I sat there and set out for Mâi Hir's shrine, and asked the custodians: "Whose tomb is this?"
They answered: "It is the tomb of Mother Hir, the Siâl."

I stayed three or four days in the mosque there, and by asking I learnt your name and that you are a man of great age, a scholar and protector of the Holy Qurân and of the old Laws, a chief of the Siâls of this place. I have a message entrusted to me by Mother Hir in her own words to deliver to the Chief of the Siâls of Jhang. So if you will take me with you, I will repeat the message Mother Hir gave me in her own words.

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4 That is, of Hâfiz Ahmad, the great-grandfather of the narrator.
At that time the Mother of the Khān Sahib Muḥammad ʿIsaʾil Khān Bahādur, Chief of Jhang, was alive. My great grandfather Ḥāfas Ahmad (God’s mercy be upon him) and I (being at that time fourteen or fifteen years of age) went to the Khān Sahib’s house with the Ḥāji, who sat outside his Mother’s pardah and told her all the story that has been above narrated in his own language. The Khān Sahib’s Mother kept him there two days and gave him some money for his journey. The Ḥāji then went away. I recollect that the Māi Sahibā went every Thursday all her days to the shrine known as Māi Hir’s Tomb.6

By the grace of God in those days of disturbance the Khān Sahib Muḥammad Khān received a pardah from Telar Sahib [General Reynell Taylor] to enlist men and hold possession of the country of Jhang Siāl, and the Khān Sahib assembled and trained all his land-owners [zamīndārs] and fought the Sikhs, the enemies of the English. So the country remained as of old under the rule of the Siāls, and its administration was entrusted to him, as our ancestors have said:—

Of old by the Mercy of God
It is our right and our truth. The End.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A VEDANTIC REFERENCE TO CHERAMAN PERUMAL.

With reference to the Article by Mr. A. S. Ramachandra Ayyar published in the Indian Antiquary, vol. LIX, pp. 7 ff., may I draw attention to a possible allusion to Cheraman Perumāl in an old Vedantic work in Sanskrit—the Śrīkaṣeṭa Śrīvarāku. The author of this work, as is well known, was Sarvajñātman, the pupil’s pupil of Saṅkarā, and he may be taken to have been a native of Kerala, as he refers to the god Padmapānēha of Trivandrum in concluding his work (iv, 61)1. He also refers to the king who was ruling at the time in these words—

Oukre sajjana - budhi - Maṇḍanamidam - raṇaṇa Vanisye nṛṣa
Śrīmatyakṣaḷā - kāsaṇe manukulādiya bhoṣam ākṣaṣi || (iv, 62)

This passage has more than once been discussed by scholars, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar being, so far as I know, the first to direct attention to it.2 He understands it to refer to a Cāluṇka king, taking munus, būlādiya as the chief word and construing the other locatives as adjectival to it. There are two notes on the passage in the Indian Antiquary for 1912 (p. 200) and 1914 (p. 233) and their writers also construe it in the same way. There may be much to support this interpretation; but it is against the meaning given in the Commentary—Anuvṛti-prakāṣṭha, the only one of the three published commentaries on the work which explains the passage.3 It takes Śrimāsi as the head-word or Viṣṇu (Śrīmānāmi), which makes Śrīmāsi, the corresponding nominative singular, the name of the king in question. This word, however, is ordinarily prefixed as an honorific epithet to names and it is very unusual to find it used as a proper noun in Sanskrit. May it therefore be the Sanskritised form of ‘Cheraman’? Such transformations of proper names are not unknown even in the West.4 If this conjecture is right, a king by name Cheraman, who, to judge from the epithet akṣaṭa-kāsaṇe, was very powerful, would be a contemporary of Sarvajñātman and would belong to the early part of the ninth century A.D., for Saṅkarā, the guru’s guru of the latter, flourished, as is now commonly believed, from 788 to 830 A.D.

M. Hiriyanna.

5 The story ends here, but the MS. goes on.
1 See Commentary printed in the Anandārama Edn. of the work.
2 See Early History of the Dakkan, p. 58 (Edn. of 1884).
3 See Anandārama Edn.
4 Cf., e.g., Mokṣa-Mālāra used for ‘Max Müller’.
BOOK-NOTICES.

CATALOGUE OF THE BENGALI AND ASSAMESE MANUSCRIPTS AND CATALOGUE OF THE ORIYA MANUSCRIPTS, in the Library of the India Office; by the late JAMES F. BLUMHARDT, M.A. Published by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Oxford University Press, 1824.

Of these two volumes, which contain respectively 30 and 22 pages, the Catalogue of Bengali MSS. is the first of a series relating to the Aryan vernacular languages of India. According to a note by Dr. F. W. Thomas, the Librarian, the Bengali MSS. originally belonged for the most part to Henry T. Colebrooke, Richard Johnson, banker and friend of Warren Hastings, John Leyden, Sir Charles Wilkins, and Horace Hayman Wilson. The source whence the Oriya MSS. were obtained is unknown; but possibly they were purchased from the representatives of John Leyden about the year 1824.

The Bengali and Assamese MSS. are not of first-rate importance, the chief of them being three books of Kārārāma's version of the Mahābhārata, a copy of Mukundarāma's Chauri, and three copies of the Vidyā-Sundara of Bhāratachandra. The Oriya MSS. which belong to the nineteenth century, include copies of Skandhas of Jaganmāthā Dāsa's Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, one Parvan of Sārāla Dāsa's Mahābhārata, the Padma Purāṇa of Nimbārka Dāsa, and several Vaiṣṇava poems. The system of cataloguing followed by the late Professor Blumhardt gives in succinct form all the information necessary for the identification of any MS., including the opening and closing verses and, wherever possible, a brief notice of the author. The printing of the Catalogues, which are priced at 7s. 6d. each, does not fall short of the usual high standard of the Oxford University Press.

S. M. EDWARDS.


This work is described by the author as an attempt to establish the lost original Sanskrit Text of the most famous of Indian Story-collections on the basis of the principal extant versions, and represents the fruits of ten years' continuous study. No one who reads Professor Edgerton's pages, particularly the second volume, can fail to appreciate the immense care and proficiency which he has brought to bear upon his task; and the magnitude of the work becomes more apparent, when one remembers that more than two hundred different versions of the Panchatantra are known to exist in more than fifty languages. All these versions are traceable backwards to a book of fables in five sections, which was supposed to be a sort of Fürsten-spiegel or Mirror for Magistrates, teaching worldly wisdom to princes by examples and precepts. "Most of the stories remain true to the key-note of the book, its Machiavellian character; they are generally immoral, and at times positively immoral in the political lessons they inculcate." In this respect they approximate in type to the earlier Arthaśāstra, attributed to Kautilya, which teaches that any villainy and immorality is permissible, provided that it is performed in the service or for the benefit of the State.

No genuine primitive text of the Panchatantra is in existence, nor is there any text which can be regarded as a reasonably close approximation to the original. But Professor Edgerton's prolonged analytical examination of all the existing versions or recensions enables him to state that similarities or correspondences of sentences or verses are sufficiently numerous to justify the belief that all these versions do in truth originate from a single literary archetypal, and that the original Panchatantra must have been, artistically, a far finer work than any of its descendants. The author claims for his reconstruction of the Sanskrit original that (a) every story in it can be attributed with virtual certainty to the original, and that the original contained no other tales than those which he has included, (b) every stanza contained in his reconstruction, except a few which he has marked, occurred in the original, and (c) in the prose passages, every sentence of his reconstruction represents at least the general sense of a corresponding sentence in the original. As regards the date and home of the original work, the author gives the guarded opinion that it was earlier than the sixth century A.D., in which the Pahlavi translation was made, but later than the beginning of the Christian era; while such little evidence as exists on the second point tends to indicate that the original home of the Panchatantra must be sought in southern, perhaps south-western, India.

I will leave other readers to study for themselves the chapters dealing with the various versions, the methods employed in the reconstruction, and the various points on which the author differs from the views already expressed by Professor J. Hertel. The two volumes together form a solid contribution to Oriental scholarship, and the only criticism which an English reader may feel disposed to make will be in the form of a mild protest against the American method of spelling certain English words. One has a certain natural prejudice against such words as "thru" and "through" for "through" and "throughout," "lookt" for "looked," "huskt" for "husked" (grain), and "notist" for "noticed."

S. M. EDWARDS.
NOTES ON THE REGALIA KEPT AT THE TOSHAKHANA
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

By RAI BHARADWJ B. A. GUPTA, F.Z.S.

The following Regalia are kept always ready by the Government of India in the Toshakhana of the Foreign Office for use on occasion at Darbars; (1) umbrella, (2) peacock-feather fan, (3) chauri, (4) elephant-headed club, (5) mace, (6) gold carpet, (7) state chair, (8) spear, (9) atar-dan, (10) pdn-dan. They have been adopted by the Government out of a wide choice, and I now propose to deal with these articles and their like.

1. Umbrellas.

The umbrella is a very important State appurtenance, especially in Burma. The king of Burma was "Lord of the White Umbrella" and "Lord of all the Umbrella-bearing Chiefs," and up to the annexation of his kingdom by the British Crown (1886) there was a very formidable etiquette in regard to the use of umbrellas. None but the king himself, "the Lord of the White Elephant," might have a white one, and he had eight of them about him, all seven feet and more across and elevated on twelve-foot poles.1 Englishmen in his country, who unwarily expanded sun-shades with white covers, expiated the heinousness of their offence by having to go abroad with nothing to shelter them from the avenging rays of the sun, kindled no doubt to unwonted heat by bad language.

At that period next in estimation were the yellow umbrellas, seldom conferred on any except queens and princesses when in special favour. Gold umbrellas were conferred on princes of the blood royal, eminent statesmen, generals, tributary chieftains and distinguished provincial governors. After these came in gradation red,2 green and brown silk umbrellas, with or without deep fringes, and all of the most portentous width.

Officials attached to the Court were allowed to signalise the distinction of their office by varnishing the umbrellas black inside. The most distinguished could carry them as far as the Palace steps, but there they had to be left. Others and the commonalty could not use a sunshade even near the Palace stockade and certainly not as they passed a Palace gate.3

In India part of the title of H. H. the Maharaja of Kolhapur is Chhatrapati, "Lord of the Umbrella," which was highly valued by the Marathas, as they hold that it belongs only to the descendants of Sivaji. In Badger's Varthema (p. 150) it is said that the standard of the king of Calicut was an umbrella. A white umbrella was held over the king of Ceylon at his coronation.4 In India again the abgadir is a circular flat sunshade, in silk or gold cloth, carried in Hindu processions and is held in high repute as a sign of dignity or veneration. Among the Chandraseni Prabhus of Bombay and the Deccan, if an abgadir is not sent to a bridegroom's mother with every ceremonial invitation during her son's marriage, it is considered a great insult.

In Chambers, Book of Days, p. 241, it is said that the Assyrian umbrella was fringed with tassels and its top adorned with flowers with a long streamer of silk on either side. In China (Gray, China, vol. I, p. 375) the umbrella was a token of rank, and state umbrellas of the first and second order were adorned with a guardian figure. Yule (Cathay, p. 81) tells us that gilt umbrellas formed part of the show of Roman Catholic dignitaries.

In Africa, (Burton, Visit to the King of Dahomey, vol. I, pp. 43 and 315) umbrellas were used only by men of rank. The king of Dahomey was accompanied by four white umbrellas, besides parasols waved like fans. In Europe, Pope Alexander III allowed the Doge of Venice to have an umbrella carried before him.5

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1 See ante, Vol. XXXI, pp. 443,444.
2 The kings of Arakan called themselves "Lords of the White and of the Red Umbrellas."
3 Sir James Campbell, Bombay Gazetteer.
4 Jones, Crowns and Coronations, p. 442.
5 Ibid., p. 42.

The _morehel_ is a sign of Royalty, and a pair of them should be held on each side of a King or Prince of the Royal Blood. _Krṣṇa_, the eighth incarnation of _Viṣṇu_, wore a peacock feather in his crown, as a sign of Divine Power. _Mauḍūva_, _lit._, one with a peacock on his flag, was a royal title of the ancient Maurya Dynasty.

Dennis, _Cities of Etruria_, says that the eye of the feather gave it special virtue against the Evil Eye, and among the Romans the peacock's feather was sacred to _Juno_. In India the Peacock was the vehicle of both _Sarasvatī_, the Goddess of Knowledge, and _Kārttikeya_, the general of the Gods, the son of _Viṣṇu_. The Peacock Throne of Delhi was an emblem of imperial power and the White Peacock was a sign of Royalty in Burma.

But in England the situation is reversed, as I found to my personal cost in 1887. When my grandfather was in England, his landlady was very kind to him; and so, as a mark of my esteem, I sent her a few small presents and crowned them all with peacock fans from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, at which I was then working. To my regret I heard that I could not have committed a more serious blunder, as peacock's feathers are considered most unlucky in England, and the poor old lady, then 80 years of age, was anything but gratified. The guardian peacock-eye of India and Rome had lost its virtue.6

3. Flags and Pennons.

These are symbols of power and veneration. A flag of gold cloth was specially granted to distinguish Generals in the Marātha Army as _Sardārs_. _Jari patiyače nishān Tātyā Hari-pantālā Sardār_ (from a ballad): _Tātyā Haripant Phadke_ was honoured with a golden flag as a badge of _Sardārship_.

4. Glass Mirrors.

As glass scares evil spirits, an elephant's _zul_ in a Rājā's procession is sure to have bits of glass mirrors somewhere about it to protect him. So is a _phulkārī_ studded with bits of silvered glass to protect the wearer or house. In China doors have round looking-glasses in carved frames,7 and in Japan the mirror is a great article of worship.8

5. Shing; a Horn.

The horn for blowing was a symbol of Royalty or power, and it had the advantage also of scaring evil spirits. For the last reason it is blown at the appropriate moment at Hindu marriages.

As a symbol of Royalty or power it was worn by Persians on a tiara and also by the Assyrıans.9 A small horn, called a _corniculum_, was worn on a Roman helmet as a mark of honour,10 and the Roman horn of plenty is still a Freemason's symbol.11

6. The Lion-Faced Club.

The _Siṁha-mukha_ or _Kṛti-mukh_ at the end of a club is a sign of Royalty combined with justice. _Siṁhasan_ on the same principle means a Royal throne in India.

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6 [The situation, however, confirms an old observation of mine: you have only to search far enough and wide enough to find the reverse of every superstition somewhere in the world. E.g., in some parts of England it used to be unlucky to put a pin into the dress in which a bride was married; everything had to be sewn up. In other parts it was unlucky to sew up the dress; everything had to be pinned up. In either case, no doubt, the reasoning was sound, but the premises differed.—R.C.T.]

7 Gray's _China_, Vol. II, p. 44. [In Burma bits of looking glass were very largely used in buildings. One throne room in the Palace at Mandalay, much favoured by the King, was entirely covered with them.—R.C.T.]

8 Hood's _Japan_, Vol. I, p. 60.

9 Jones, _Crows and Coronations_, p. 4.


11 Mackay, _Freemasonry_, p. 16.
7. The Gold Mace.

Gold is a scarer of spirits, and according to Manu, a Hindu male infant should be fed with honey and butter from a golden spoon before the navel-chord is cut. 12 So also a seven-branched golden candlestick in Moses’ Tabernacle, 13 and golden lamps hang in Christian Churches. 14

So also the gold mace, *kanakdanda*, is a symbol of authority and honour. The hereditary Padñi of Dewás in Central India holds *Kanakdanda* as a title of honour among the Chándraseni Prabhus. It was only kings and royal princes that could have with them *chodbârs* (heralds) carrying gold sticks, and Sardârs (nobles) were restricted to silver sticks.

8. The Sankh or Conch-Shell.

Evil spirits are terribly afraid of the Conch-shell (*Buccinum undulatum*), which is held to be the brother of Lakshmi, the Goddess of Wealth. At Junâgañ in Kâthiâwâr armlets of Conch-shell were worn as armlets, 16 and the figure of a *Sankh* is often drawn on the temples of an elephant harnessed for a procession to protect the princely rider from evil spirits. Usually it is blown as a welcome, but in China its blast is used as a signal to indicate the opening of a military review. 18

The *Dârâs*s are the convolutions reversed, that is from right to left, and is considered very lucky in India, and is thus presented to royal guests as a loyal gift.


Bells are a protection from evil spirits, as they fear them. So elephants’ *zuls* have often small bells attached to them. Bells are, however, often also used as a welcome to the gods and so are hung in temples. 17 The Mâdhava Brâhman women of Dhârârâr wear small golden bells. In Ceylon a bell is rung on Adam’s Peak as a security against spirits. 18

The Jewish high-priest’s robe was adorned with a row of golden bells, 19 and they are consecrated in Russia. 20 In Spain at the proclamation of Isabella (1474 A.D.) bells were specially pealed, 21 and the coronation of English kings is announced by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells. 22

10. The Gold Carpet, Kinkhâbî or Karchomi.

A carpet of cloth of gold is spread at Darbâr in front of the throne only, and the most honoured guest alone is received on it. All other visitors to the Darbâr should not step on it, but pass by, either to the right or left, according to rank. And on no account should they turn their backs to the Princely host or the Royal guests.

11. Flowers.

All over India flowers are held to be lucky, and for that reason are thrown over bridges, and on bridegrooms, images and guests of consequence. 23 In South India men wear them in their turbans and women in their hair. 24 The Benâ-Isrâ’il bridegroom is covered from head to foot with flowers and Roman Catholic churches are consecrated under chaplets of flowers. Elsewhere in the world golden flowers are sometimes strewn when a great man passes through a city. 25

18 Românov, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church*, p. 275.

This is a sign of authority, and one with a golden handle indicates Royalty. The original meaning, however, is due to the belief that hair attracts spirits, the chauri being of the tail of the yak (ox). So they are waved with the object of gathering together all evil spirits hovering round a person. The sacredness of the chauri to a Hindu lies in the fact that the female yak is a cow.


Gold and jewels are held to be auspicious, and a nazar to the highest in the land should be of one or the other. A nazar offered by a Prince is not refused, but touched with the hand and handed over to a chobdar or subnâs (a Darbâr official), whose business is to restore it to the Jawâhirkhana of the guest or to send it to the Toshâkhâna of the Imperial Government. Rikta pûrûrnu pasruhu Râján Devatân Gurum; Râjas, Godlings and Religious Preceptors should not be visited with an empty hand.

14. The State Chairs.

The term 'throne' (thronos) means a chair. The Royal chair should be supported on lions, and the chief Imperial guest's state-chair should be placed higher than those intended for others and should be drawn a few inches in front of them. It should be gilt or silvered.

15. Pankhâ or Fan.

The fan is also a sign of royalty. Nripatar—vyajandâdbhistam nunude; a king should be cheered with fans to drive away depression.

16. The Spear.

Long spears are carried by orderlies as a safeguard against elephants in procession, should they become restive, but short spears with long heads (ballam) and adorned with tassels are carried in front of a Râja as symbols of authority.

17. Tambul.

Betel (nut and leaf), with mace, cloves and cardamoms form a tâmbul, which is an auspicious offering. They should be covered with gold leaf when offered to Royalty and with silver when offered to Sardârs. One in a lower grade has to rise in receiving or offering a tâmbul, but when the host rises to distribute tâmbul, every one present must rise until the distribution is over. The host offers it first to the chief guest or visitor, himself sitting or standing according to the guest's rank. To all others a Minister or Court Official (Sabnâs) distributes the tâmbul. The distribution over, it is followed by garlands and 'atar, the signal for departure.

The tâmbul is placed in a tabak, a vessel generally resembling a lotus, or a silver plate covered with repoussé work with the lotus as its design. The chauphula or cardamom-box is shaped either like a lotus or a mango, because both the lotus and the mango are auspicious. Fantastic shapes for these articles, as that of a crane for the gulâbdân, or a European spray-producer are modern innovations and undermine the gravity and sanctity of a Darbâr.
BUDDERMOKAN.


When treating of Arakan, Mr. Geoffrey Harvey in his History of Burma has at the beginning of his account the following passage: "After the 11th Century A.D. the country was professedly Buddhist, notwithstanding the spread of Mahomedanism, which reached Achin in 1206 and dotted the coast from Assam to Malaya with the curious mosques known as Buddermokan, reverenced by Buddhist and Chinamen as well as Mahomedans."

This passage brought to my mind an old research of my own while in Burma, and afterwards, which I never completed. The subject is, however, of much general interest and I now publish what I then unearthed between 1891 and 1908 in the hope that this question of a seaman's spirit may be probed to its source. In the latter year I drew up the following abstract of my researches, which I entitled "The Wanderings of a Cult in India—the God of the Flood." It states the result up to that date. No doubt since then fresh information has become available to those with the opportunity for further delving into the subject.

Along the coast of Burma from Akyab to Mergui are certain shrines known to Europeans as Buddhakamakam, which have no connection with Buddha or Buddhism. They are "universal" shrines, i.e., they are accepted by the Buddhists, Hindus, and Mahomedans, Natives of India, Burmese and Chinese alike, which is a sure sign that they are symbols of the animistic faith which underlies all Indian religions. Their chief votaries are sailors, fishermen, and those who obtain a livelihood on the water.

The name is not Burmese, but Indian, and is Muhammadan in origin. It is properly Badarmaqam—the shrine of Badar. This Badar is no less a personage than Pir Badar of Chittagong, known throughout Indian Muhammadan hagiology as Baddrudin Auliya. Now Badruddin Auliya represents by his attributes Khwaja Khizar in modern Bengal.

Khwaja Khizar is the popular modern Indian form of the Muhammadan Spirit of the Flood, Al-Khidhir, of the Koran, according to the early Arab tradition, and subsequently of all Muhammadan story. His legend is, in the Muhammadan forms of it, mixed up with that of Mehdi Ilyas, the Prophet Elias of the Jewish tradition and belief, who in Jewish and allied superstitions represents the Spirit of the Flood. This form of belief still exists in Russia and finds expression in the water festival of the Prophet Ilia.

Thus is this ancient animistic belief traceable through the ages to the present day from Christian Russia to Buddhist Burma, through all Semitic and Muhammadan nations and across Northern Hindu India. Indeed, many observers claim him as Hindu in origin, an opinion that is confirmed by the stories of a nature similar to those about Khwaja Khizar, which are told in connection with the cult of Siva in his forms of Bhadra and Madra in the Southern and Western portions of India.

I.

Pir Badar in Burma.

I started my enquiries by a communication to the Rangoon Gazette in 1893 entitled "Pir Badar in Burma," which ran as follows:—Dr. Anderson, English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century, 1890, p. 338, makes the following statement:—"On the day following [the 28th June, 1687] the ship James, the consort of the Curtana, arrived in Mergui Harbour, and Armiger Gosline, her commander, was ordered to ride near the Resolution opposite Mr. White's house, to prevent the crew taking the vessel to the other side of Banda-makhon."

In a long footnote Dr. Anderson remarks on this statement thus:—"The Banda-makhon of Davenport is the island that forms the western side of Mergui Harbour . . . In the map of the northern part of the Mergui Archipelago published by James Horsburgh, hydrographer to the Hon. East India Company, Feb. 1, 1830, and corrected at the Admiralty up to June, 1871, this small island is called Madaramaean. But I could find no native of Mergui who knew it by this name, as it is invariably called Pataw."
Towards the northern part of the eastern shore of the island there is, however, a locality, which the inhabitants of the town of Mergui called Buddhakahim, and I am disposed to think that Madramakan is a corruption of this word. It is said to have derived its name from the circumstance that a Mahomedan saint called Buddhakahim resided there. The legend about him is that he came from the North by sea, and being attracted to the northern part of Pataw by its natural beauty, he built a hut on the banks of a small stream, where it enters the sea, and where lies a huge boulder, on which he meditated for forty days receiving from God whatever he asked for in his prayers. The Mahomedans, in consequence, called the place Buddhakahim's Makhan.

It is a curious circumstance, however, that the place is reverenced alike by Buddhists and Mahomedans, and by the Chinese of Mergui. The Buddhists, after the custom of their religion, affix gold leaf to the boulder, whereas the Chinese leave small squares of brown paper ornamented with a representation in gold leaf of their deity, who patronises seafaring-men.

Colonel Sir Edward Sladen informs me that the promontory at Akyab, known as the Point, is called by the Arakanese Buddha Makan after a Mahomedan saint, Buddha Anoili, who chose it as a place of residence, and passed the greater part of his hermit life there. The place and its surroundings are regarded as sacred by all creeds and classes of natives residing in Arakan, Buddhists, Mahomedans and Hindus all come, and either worship, or solicit intercession with the unseen powers as a means of deliverance from evil, or success in any proposed worldly undertaking. 'One of the large boulders has been hewn out, so as to represent a natural cave, which is said to have been the residence of Buddha Sahib'; and Sir Edward mentions that on an immediately adjoining boulder there is a small Mahomedan mosque.

On still another boulder more sacred than the rest a dome has been built, 'because it contains the footprint of Buddha [† the Anoili above mentioned], as well as an impression or indenture made by him when he knelt in prayer or went through other devotional exercises.' 'Hindus' according to Sir Edward Sladen, 'are said to have been the first who discovered the saint's supernatural power. He is by them supposed to exercise an influence over marine affairs and navigation; and in verification of this I have the authority of the accomplished Babu Pratap Chandra Gosha, that Hindus, especially women of the Lower Bengal, on going on a pilgrimage by river or sea generally drop a few copper coins into the waters as an offering to Buddha Udin, saying, Darya ka panch payse Buddhakahim !'

Dr. Anderson then asks:—'Is it likely that the Mahomedans have appropriated some legend about Buddha Gautama?' The answer of the present writer would be; 'most assuredly not.'

In an old map, dated c. 1760, entitled Archipel des Mergui dans le Golphe de Bengale, there occurs opposite Mergui, the name "Isle] Padranan." And in a plan of the same date, entitled Port et Bourg de Mergui, there occurs opposite the town of Mergui "Isle Bader Moncan." In a modern map, on the West bank of the Naaf River on" Shahpuri Id " occurs " Budarmakam Beach."

In Dunn's Directory of the East Indies, 1780, p. 332, I read as follows: "Directions for sailing to and from Mergui; if you would keep mid-channel toward the Island of Madramakan (which you will see to S.S.E.) . . . At Mergui are many Mahomedans, who are the principal traders of it." And at p. 198, I find: "as far as the mouth of the Arakan river. The edge of that which projects the farthest, is 6 leagues from the land Westward of Maw hill, situate on the North side of the river of that name. That to the Southward is formed by the Island of Badremakan, which makes the North point of Arakan river . . . In order to avoid the banks to the Southward of Point Badremakan . . .

I next looked up Butler's Gazetteer of the Mergui District, 1874, and found it silent on this and all other antiquarian subjects, but on 13th October 1893 I appealed to Mr. C. S. Bayne, then in the Burma Secretariat, and through him I secured from Col. Parrott, Commissioner of Arakan, in the same month, the following useful statement from papers in his office :-
“That part of Akyab Town, known as the Point or Scandal Point, is in reality a narrow headland or promontory, which projects into the sea beyond the coast line, and defines on its western side the mouth or entrance of the Kaladan River. It is called by the Arakanese Buddhiamaw, *maw* being the Burmese for a promontory and Buddha signifying Budder. This is in reality a Burmese corruption of the Urdu original, Buddermaw, or Buddermakam. The promontory itself of Buddermaw forms the apparent termination to a range of hills, which skirt the whole length of the Arakan coast line, and are traced South of Akyab in the highlands which form the Western Borono Island. The same range is continued at Ramree and comes to an abrupt termination in the Island of Cheduba.

“At the base of this headland, immediately south of the town of Akyab, there is a defined line of almost perpendicular tilted rock, the bare surface of which is exposed and weather-worn, so as to present the appearance of several huge boulders piled up into a compressed mass and raised some fifty feet above the level of the surrounding country. This is the spot known as Buddermakam, and takes its name from the Mahomedan saint Budder Aulia, who chose it as a place of residence and passed the greater part of his hermit life there.

“The place and its surroundings are regarded as sacred by all creeds and classes of natives residing in Arakan. Buddhists, Mahomedans and Hindus all come, and either worship or solicit intercession with the unseen powers, as a means of deliverance from evil or success in any proposed worldly undertaking. One of the large boulders on the ridge has been hewn out, so as to represent a natural cave, which is said to have been the actual residence of Budder Sahib. On another immediately adjoining is a small Mahomedan mosque. A dome has been built over a third, more sacred than the rest, because it contains the footprint of Buddha, as well as an impression or indenture made by him when he knelt in prayer, or went through other devotional exercises.

“It seems at first difficult to account for the fact that three such opposing creeds as Hinduism, Mahomedanism and Buddhism should unite to worship at the same shrine and believe in the efficacy of offerings to an unseen power, common to all three, under slightly varying designations and conditions.

“The explanation I have arrived at is as follows:—Budder Aulià, or, as he is more familiarly styled, Budder Sahib, was a Mahomedan *fakir*, who possessed great supernatural powers, which led to his being regarded almost in the light of a prophet. It is only natural that Mahomedans should reverence the spot where he lived and died, and offer their prayers under a surer hope of their being heard, than if offered up elsewhere. Buddhists, in deference to the divine character of the saint Budder, mix him up in their minds with the guardian *nat*, or minor deity, of the place. They, therefore, worship him regularly and are profuse in their reverence and religious offerings.

“The Hindus are said to have been the first who discovered Budder's supernatural powers. He is by them supposed to exercise an influence over marine affairs and navigation, so that those who make offerings and invoke his aid, perform successful sea voyages, and return in safety with wealth acquired on the journey to their native homes.

“The legend states, that, on one occasion, two Hindus, by name Manich [? Manik] and Chand, were returning by sea from Bassein to Chittagong, and put into Akyab to take in water. They anchored off the rock known as Buddermakam, and proceeded to a small tank near the sacred rocks. Here they met the *fakir*, and were asked by him to hollow out the cave, which was to form his future habitation. They pleaded poverty and the losses they had sustained in their trading adventure. The *fakir* said, 'never mind, do as I bid you. If you are poor and without merchandize, load the soil from this sacred spot, and before your journey's end, you will be rewarded.' The brothers did as they were bid. The cave was constructed, a well dug and they proceeded on their journey towards Chittagong. The *fakir*'s words came true. On proceeding to unload their goods, they found in their place nothing but gold and the most valuable of gems.
"Miracles are performed to this day, it is believed, by virtue of the powers still exercised by the fakir. Sick people are cured by coming and bathing in the water of the sacred well. Others who cannot come themselves, obtain relief as soon as the votive offering has been made on their account at the shrine, and the saint or fakir, or minor deity, has appeared, or has made intercession, or exercised supernatural agency, as the case may be.

"Amongst Burmese and Arakanese, the most common form of offerings made to the nats or minor deities consists of food or strong drinks. Here at Buddermakam, it has been found that the sacrifice of a goat on the spot is the most efficacious of offerings, and it is the one which is most prominently made by those who have any great favour to ask, or any impending calamity from which they would seek deliverance.

"There is, I am told, at Sandoway a singular group of large boulders, similar in appearance to those at Buddermakam, and similarly named and held in reverence. It is, no doubt, due to Budder Sahib's connection with navigation and sea journeys that his fame has extended along the whole coast line as far south as the Malayan peninsula, and probably further. This will account for the shrine near Mergui called Maddramakam. Maddra is undoubtedly a corruption of Buddra or Budder.

"From the description given of each, I conclude that the two shrines are in all respects identical, both as regards nature of site, general appearance and universality of worship."

It will have been noticed by the reader that the description given by Sir Edward Sladen and the official note just quoted are identical in many respects. They are stated to have in fact a common origin, in notes left in the Commissioner's Office, which I suspect must have been Sir Arthur Phayre's, if only they can be unearthed.

In the List of objects of Antiquarian and Archaeological interest in British Burma, 1892, p. 3f, we find—" No. 8 ; District Akyab : Locality ; Southern side of the island of Akyab and near the Eastern shore of the Bay; Name of object : Buddha-makam Cave. Any local history of tradition regarding it ; a cave and mosque constructed in memory of one Buddha Auliya, whom the Mussulmans regard as an eminent saint. The tradition regarding it is that, some 120 years ago [c. 1771 A.D.], two brothers Manik and Chand traders from Chittagong, while on their homeward voyage in a vessel laden with turmeric, touched at Akyab for water and anchored off the rocks, now known as the Buddha-makam rock. During the night, Manik had a vision, in which he was requested by the saint to construct him an abode near the locality, being told that in order to enable him to do so all the turmeric in his vessel would be transformed into gold. Next morning the brothers, observing the miraculous transformation of their cargo, dug a well and constructed the present cave. Custody and present use :—Worship by Buddhists, Hindus and Mussulmans. Present state of preservation; it is in good condition and is kept in repair by a respectable Mussulman."

In the entries regarding Sandoway and Mergui in this very perfunctory compilation there is no reference to any cave as a place sacred to Badar Auliya.

In Forchammer's Report on the Antiquities of Arakan, 1892, p. 60 f, we find the following information, together with a photograph, No. 88, Plate xlii.

"There are a few modern temples in Akyab which are interesting, inasmuch as their architectural style is a mixture of the Burmese turreted pagoda and the Mahomedan four cornered minaret structure surmounted by a hemispherical cupola. The worship, too, is mixed. Both temples are visited by Mahomedans and Buddhists, and the Buddermokan has also its votaries.

"The Buddermokan is said to have been founded in A.D. 1756 by the Mussulmans in memory of one Budder Auliya, whom they regard as an eminent saint. Colonel Nelson Davies in 1876, Deputy Commissioner of Akyab, gives the following account in a record preserved in the office of the Commissioner of Arakan, and kindly lent to me :—' On the Southern side of the island of Akyab, near the eastern end of the Bay, there is a group of masonry buildings, one of which in its style of construction, resembles an Indian mosque; the other is
a cave constructed of stone on the bare rock, which superstructure once served as a hermit's cell. The spot where these buildings are situated is called Buddermokan, Budder being the name of a saint of Islam, and mokan, a place of abode. It is said that 140 years ago [i.e., in 1736 A.D., be it noted] or thereabouts, two brothers named Manick and Chan [? Chand], traders from Chittagong, while returning from Cape Negrais in a vessel loaded with turmeric, called at Akyab for water, and the vessel anchored off the Buddermokan Rocks. On the following night, after Chan and Manick had procured water near these rocks, Manick had a dream that the saint Budder Auliah desired him to construct a cave or a place of abode at the locality near where they procured the water. Manick replied that he had no means wherewith he could comply with the request. Budder then said that all his (Manick's) turmeric would turn into gold, and that he should therefore endeavour to erect the building from the proceeds thereof. When morning came Manick, observing that all the turmeric had been transformed into gold, consulted his brother Chan on the subject of the dream and they conjointly constructed a cave and also dug a well at the locality now known as Buddermokan.

"There are orders in Persian [? i.e., in the Persian or Urdu character] in the Deputy Commissioner's Court of Akyab, dated 1834, from William Dampier, Esquire, Commissioner of Chittagong, and also from T. Dickenson, Esquire, Commissioner of Arakan, to the effect that one Hussain Ally (then the thuqyi of Bhudamaw Circle) was to have charge of the Buddermokan in token of his good services rendered to the British force in 1825, and to enjoy any sums that he might collect on account of alms and offerings.

"In 1849 Mr. R. C. Raikes, the officiating Magistrate at Akyab, ordered that Hussain Ally was to have charge of the Buddermokan buildings, and granted permission to one Mah Ming Oung, a female fakir; to erect a building. Accordingly in 1849 the present masonry buildings were constructed by her. She also re-dug the tank.

"The expenditure for the whole work came to about Rs. 2,000. After Hussain Ally's death his son Abdoolah had charge, and after the death his sister Me Moorazamat, the present wife of Abdool Marein, pleader, took charge. Abdool Marein is now in charge on behalf of this wife."

Burmese corruptions of Musulman names are always difficult, and those just given are, as stated, impossible. All I can suggest for Marein is that it is a mistake for Karen (K = Karim) and that the pleader's name was 'Abdu'l-Karim, "the servant of the Generous"; or possibly, by metathesis, for Rahim, which would make his name 'Abdu'r-Rahim, "the servant of the Compassionate," Ar-Rahim is the second and Al-Karim is the forty-second of the 'Ninety-nine Names' of God. See Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, p. 141, Herklot's Qaanoon-e-Islam, p. 240ff., and the present writer's Proper Names of Punjabis, p. 43 ff. There is no "Most Comely Name of God" at all like Marein. Moorazamat may be merely a misprint of Murazamat, a possible designation for a woman.

Dr. Forchhammer next goes on to describe the "Buddermokan" thus:—"The interior is very simple,—a square or quadrangular room. There are really two caves, one on the top of the rocks. This has an entrance in the north and south sides: the arch is vaulted and so is the inner chamber. The exterior of the cave is 9 feet 3 inches wide, 11 feet 6 inches long, and 8 feet 6 inches high; the inner chamber measures 7 feet by 5 feet 8 inches, height 6 feet 5 inches. The material is partly stone, partly brick plastered over; the whole is absolutely devoid of decorative designs. The other cave is similarly constructed, only the floor is the bare rock, slightly slanting towards the south entrance: it is smaller than the preceding cave. The principal mosque stands on a platform: a flight of brick and stone stairs leads up to it. The east front of the temple measures 28 feet 6 inches; the south side 20 feet 6 inches; the chamber is 16 feet 9 inches long and 13 feet wide: the ceiling is a cupola; on the west side is a niche, let 1 foot into the wall with a pointed arch and a pilaster each side. [This must be the mihrab that is obligatory in every mosque.] Over it hangs a copy in Persian [character not language], of the grant mentioned above. A small prayer-hall [if meant for Muhammads
this is (?) an 'Idgāh, also quadrangular, with a low cupola, is pressed in between the rocks close by. All the buildings are in good order. The curiously shaped rocks capped by these buildings form a very picturesque group. The principal mosque has become the prototype for many Buddhist temples. This pagoda is the most perfect type of the blending of the Indian mosque and the Burmese turret spire."

I cannot quite follow Dr. Forchhammer in mixing up the terms "temple," "mosque," and "pagoda" in one and the same building. But I am quite of one mind with him as to the extreme architectural value of the old mosque at Akyab and have long pitched on its dome and central spire as being the connecting link between ancient chaitya architecture and the modern Burmese spired pagoda. From this point of view this building is certainly one of the most important old structures in Burma, and one of the most worth preserving.

On the 13th December 1893, Mr. A. L. Hough wrote to me from Akyab, as Deputy Commissioner, forwarding me the following letter from the Deputy Inspector of Schools, who was, I suspect, a Bengali from his spelling of place names. The presentation of the information is so quaint that it is given here just as it was received:

"Bodor Mukam, correct word is Bodor Mukhan, the residence of Bodor, Pir Bodor or Bodor Sahib or Bodor Auliya. There are different names by which he is known. His name is Shaik Boderuddin, i.e., he does not belong to the direct descendant of the Prophet, but he belongs to the common class of people. He was well versed in Arabic and Persian. He is said to be Mulvix. He is an Indian, most probably nearest to Punjab. He began his career of religious life from Jama Musjid of Delhi. He had three other, his intimate friends, with whom he used to attend many a religious lecture.

"Tradition: there lived in ancient time a very rich man in India, who had a beautiful daughter. There lived in the same town a Fakir, or Devotee, whose name was Shaik Firit (the well known Sheik Farid). One day when this Devotee was passing by that rich man's house, his daughter saw the Devotee in dirty and filthy rags. Seeing this, she drew his nose saying: 'What a loathsome man the mad man is.' The very night she had very severe pain in her stomach. No one can cure. The cause was attributed to her insulting the Devotee. So the Devotee was invited and begged pardon. But he said: Unless she drinks some water wrung out of his filthy rags, she will never be cured. But at last owing to very severe pains she drank. From that day she showed signs of pregnancy, and after 10 (lunar) months the Badoruddin is said to have been born."

From this statement it is clear that Badar of Badarmaqâm is Badaru'ddin Auliâ (of Chittagong): Badaru'ddin being the same name as the familiar Bedreddin of the Arabian Nights of childhood.

I have now allowed such witnesses as I can procure from the Burmese side to tell their story, each in his own way, and the evidence amounts to this. There is a supernatural being, worshipped along the Burmese coast by seafarers from Akyab to Mergui at certain spots specially dedicated to him. These spots, so far as yet known, are at Akyab, Sandoway and Mergui. To the Buddhists he is a nat; to the Hindus a deva or inferior god; to the Muhammadans a saint; and to the Chinese a spirit. His worship is precisely that which is common all over the East to spirits or supernatural beings, believed in by the folk irrespective of their particular form of professed belief, and it points, in just the same way as do all other instances, to the survival of an old local animistic worship in "pre-religious" days. As in all other similar cases, one of the contending local professed religions has chiefly annexed this particular being to itself, and he is pre-eminently a Muhammadan saint, legendarily that saint best known to the bulk of the Muhammadan seafaring population, namely, Pir Badar of their own chief town Chittagong.

(To be continued.)

1 This is a common Hindu superstition.
EXTERNAL EVIDENCE ABOUT THE TEACHERS OF THE UPAÑIŚADS.
BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.

The theory that Adhyātma-vidyā or brahma-vidyā or the Upaniṣadic cult arose originally among a sect of the Kṣatriyas and that it was not of Brāhmaṇical origin, is based on a few anecdotes of the Upaniṣads themselves. In a paper published elsewhere ¹, we have attempted to show that an examination of the Upaniṣadic texts as a whole does not bear out this contention. In this paper we propose to deal with the external evidence on this point.

In the subsequent literature of the country, such as the Mahābhārata and the like, there are indications as to the origin of the Upaniṣadic cult; and an examination of these will show that after all, though there were Kṣatriya kings who were great and powerful patrons of this vidyā, and without whose support it would perhaps never have spread, yet, in reality, the actual teachers of this cult were a class of Brāhmaṇs:—not necessarily the same class who busied themselves with the performances of Vedic sacrifices and the enunciation and elaboration of the rules about these performances; but still Brāhmaṇs. Some of these Brāhmaṇ teachers, e.g., Yājñavalkya, were also past masters in the details of ceremonial performances; others, like Śankarācārya of later times, were rather disinclined to believe in their efficacy, e.g., the author of the Kena Upaniṣad. But we have no conclusive evidence to show that the Upaniṣadic brahma-vidyā was of non-Brāhmaṇ origin and that the Brāhmaṇs only adopted it and Brāhmaṇised it in later times. Tradition is definitely against any such hypothesis; and we have no reason to discard the evidence of tradition in this matter.

Kṣatriyas like Kekaya (Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 5. 11), and Janaka (Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 5. 14) could certainly put Brāhmaṇs of the type of Būdila to shame on account of their ignorance of brahma-vidyā: such Kṣatriyas were no doubt highly proficient in it; but even they were taught by Brāhmaṇs, though, of course, of a superior type to that of Būdila. The Kṣatriyas, therefore, only exercised the function of patrons; the actual teachers of the vidyā were, almost without exception, Brāhmaṇs. Of course, all Brāhmaṇs were not Brahma-vidāins, just as all Kṣatriyas were not patrons of this cult.

Janaka’s is a famous name in this connection. His court—the court of Videsha—was an important seat of the culture of brahma-vidyā. We find in the Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad plenty of people, versed in brahma-vidyā, congregating there and holding discourses on brahma-vidyā. Janaka patronised them by gifts and encouraged them by his powerful moral support. He took an intelligent interest in the subject, but was hardly a teacher of the subject in the proper sense of the term. On the contrary, we have clear statements to the effect that he was instructed by the celebrated Brāhmaṇ Yājñavalkya. Bhavabhūti, the dramatist, repeats this assertion in his Uttararcharita, Act IV:

Yājñavalkya-munir-yasmāi brahma-pārīyaṇam jagau.

Here Janaka is being introduced as one to whom "Yājñavalkya sang the highest truths about Brahma."

The statement of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (iv. 5. 14) that the kings of Mithila were very much devoted to ātma-vidyā, only indicates that Mithila was an important seat of Upaniṣadic culture; but it does not indicate that the kings were themselves actual teachers.

In the Mumukṣu-vyavahāra-prakaraṇam of the Yoga-viśistha Rāmāyaṇam, Sarga 10, 11, we have an interesting account of the descent of brahma-vidyā (therein called mokṣa-vidyā) to the earth. Viśistha says that he was sent down by his father, the Creator Brahmā, to preach mokṣa-vidyā among the people (śloka 40, etc.) ². He was not alone in this mission; other Risis like Sanatkumāra and Nārada were also commissioned to carry out the same work.

¹ "The Teachers of the Upaniṣads", published in the proceedings of the Madras Session of the Oriental Conference, 1924.
² The references are to the Calcutta edition of the Yogavāśistha, published by the proprietors of the Vangavāśi.
These great teachers gave the world many Smritis and rules about the performance of Yajñas (yajña-sāstraṁ). But in the course of time, quarrels arose among the rulers of men; they became selfish and began to fight each other. And they could no longer hold sway over their subjects without the use of force. For their benefit, to give them an insight into the nature of things, adhyātma-vidyā was communicated to them. Adhyātma-vidyā was thus first communicated to the kings, and from them (and perhaps, through them) was communicated to the people at large (slokas 16-17). For this reason it is called rāja-vidyā and is a secret to be kept by the kings (rāja-vidyā).

This term rāja-vidyā is of interest. Here it evidently implies connection with the princely caste. But Saṅkara, in his comment on the same word in the Bhagavadgītā (ix. 2.), says that the term only means "prince of knowledge" (vidyānām rājā), i.e., the highest knowledge. Nilakantha, in commenting on the same word in the Mahābhārata, agrees with Saṅkara’s interpretation. Other commentators on the Gītā, e.g., Śrīdhara, Madhusūdana, and Abhinavagupta, generally accept this meaning. Some of them, however, suggest the alternative meaning of the Yogavāsiśtha as well and even affirm that it involves a reference to particular kings like Janaka and others. But Saṅkara’s interpretation is not only not challenged, but readily accepted.

It is curious to note that the passage in the Yogavāsiśtha is almost the same as in the Gītā. Thus:

Yogavāsiśtha: Rāja-vidyā rāja-vidyā-pābīram-adhyātma-jñānam-uttamam (ii. 11. 18).

Gītā: Rāja-vidyā rāja-vidyā-pābīram-idam-uttamam (ix. 2).

That the Yogavāsiśtha was quoting from the Gītā, may perhaps be assumed. For, elsewhere, (Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa, Purvabhāga, Sarga 53, etc.), it refers to the incidents of the Gītā and gives almost a verbatim summary of the instruction imparted to Arjuna.

But it is rather striking that, while the commentators of the Mahābhārata and the Gītā do not take the term rāja-vidyā to mean a knowledge that belonged to the princely caste, the Yogavāsiśtha has the courage to differ and suggests that this name was given to the vidyā, because it was a secret possession of the kings and became public property for the people only through them.

In a case like this, one might be inclined to think that the subsequent process of Brāhmanising is responsible for the partial suppression of the fact that the vidyā was originally of Kṣatriya origin; and that the Yogavāsiśtha has somewhat escaped this process, and, though itself a Brāhmanic work, it has made an unconscious admission of the truth which was but imperfectly suppressed. But as against this position, it may be maintained that the omission of any reference to the Kṣatriyas in Saṅkara and others is not a case of suppressio veri. The reference is omitted, simply because the Kṣatriyas were after all only patrons and supporters and not teachers; and the vidyā was not called rāja-vidyā because of its Kṣatriya connection, but for other reasons. The author of the Yogavāsiśtha was perhaps only flattering a royal patron by emphasising the support extended to this vidyā by his kith and kin; and that is why a new meaning is given to the term. Some support for this contention is found in the context of the passage in the Yogavāsiśtha. There Rāma is being persuaded to cultivate mokṣa-vidyā; in that connection, it is not amiss to refer to the fact that Kṣatriyas have always been close students of it. This reference, therefore, need not mean that the Kṣatriyas were the originators of the vidyā.

Thus, even if the interpretation of the term rāja-vidyā as given by Saṅkara and others, be open to question, yet that in itself is no bar to our accepting literally the version of the Yogavāsiśtha as to the genesis of adhyātma-vidyā. It says that the Rishi obtained the vidyā straight from Brahma, or, might we not say, God; and that the Kṣatriyas were only the first disciples. That is to say, it is still open to us to assert that the vidyā arose among a section
of the priestly caste or Brāhmans and was cultivated by them, presumably as an esoteric doctrine, under the patronage of certain royal personages and families; and it was only through these Kṣatriyas that it gradually percolated to wider circles of men.

Considerable support to this position is lent by the character of the warrior classes in general in the history of the world. We know what sort of man a feudal lord or baron was in medieval Europe; and we also know how he was gradually humanised and reclaimed from barbarity under the influence of the church and the clergy. With him the use of the muscle was more dignified than the use of the brain, and the pen was considered a contemptible instrument by the side of the sword. Surely he would not adopt speculation as an occupation in life.

That an Indian Kṣatriya was also a warrior, is beyond doubt. That he too, like his brother in Europe, valued war more than speculation, cannot be disputed; and it can also be proved that the process of humanising him was no easy task for the Brāhman. He was not a speculator ab initio. Some of his class were made so, only under Brāhmanical influences.

The profession of arms would hardly ever go together with the profession of teaching. A Kṣatriya would even disdain to be a teacher. Though many Kṣatriya names have been deified, and at least one great Kṣatriya, viz., Gautama Buddha, was the founder of a popular religion, still, as a general rule, teaching seems to have remained in the hands of the Brāhmans. And the account of the Yogavāsiṣṭha, therefore, may easily be taken to refer to this process of humanising the Kṣatriyas. At any rate, the Yogavāsiṣṭha does not say that the vidyā was started by the Kṣatriyas; at best, it can be understood to mean that for some time it was in the keeping of the Kṣatriya princes.

The same seems to be the meaning of the Gītā in IV. 1-3:

Imam vīvaśveta yogam proktavān-aham abhyagam (1)
Evan paramparā-prāptam-imam rājaṁgaya-viduh (7)
Sa evyam mayā te 'dyā yogah proktah purātanah (3)

It is interesting to note again that the term rājaṁgaya here is not free from ambiguity. Nilakantha, for instance, is not quite certain whether it means ‘kingly sages’ (i.e., Kṣatriya Rishis), or whether it means ‘kings and sages’ (i.e., princes and Rishis). The second meaning would imply co-operation between the Kṣatriya and the Brāhmana, and would perhaps be the truer meaning. But even if the term is taken in its more usual meaning of Kṣatriya sages, our position is not altogether destroyed.

This account of the origin and transmission of Karma yoga i.e., the yoga spoken of in the preceding chapter (chap. III.), is more or less in tune with the account of the Yogavāsiṣṭha. And the true position of facts can best be gauged by taking the two accounts together. It will then be seen that the possibility of the original teachers being Brāhmans is not ruled out. On the contrary, in XIII. 5, the Gītā itself says that the doctines spoken of there have been variously expounded by the Rishis. The teachings of chapters III–IV are not opposed to those of chapter XIII; and we have no reason to imagine that they originated with different groups of teachers. The Gītā too, therefore, does not say that adhyātma-vidyā was a Kṣatriya vidyā.

In the Mahābhārata, XIII. 325-26, Śuka, son of Vyāsa, is said to have been sent by his father to Janaka, king of Videha, for receiving instruction in brahma-vidyā. But this need not mean more than a reference to the fact that the court of Janaka was a well-known seat of brahma-vidyā. For it is pointed out more than once that Janaka was Vyāsa’s disciple and that Śuka was his guruputra or teacher’s son. So, if Janaka was teaching at all, he was teaching not what was a secret Kṣatriya doctrine, but what he had learnt from a Brāhman.

3 The references are to the Vyagvāsī edition of the Mahābhārata.
Besides, the description given in this chapter of Janaka's household and mode of life clearly indicates that he was not a rebel against Brāhmaical culture. On the contrary, his court and household were crowded with Brāhmans. And if he was the repository of a profound knowledge, the edifice of that knowledge had been built in close co-operation with the Brāhmans. In fact, it was a part and parcel of Brāhmaical culture.

This story of Śuka going to Janaka, with an almost identical description of Janaka's country and court, occurs in the Yogavāśīśtha also (II. 1). And the two accounts taken together lead to the same conclusion.

In chapter 275 of the same Sāntiparva, we are told that a king Janaka initiated one Māndavya into the religion of renunciation or Mokṣa-dharma. It does not appear to have been a case of formal instruction; and at best it was only a stray instance, and indicates that the Janaka family was exceedingly well posted in brahma-vidyā. It does not prove that the teaching of the vidyā did not belong to the Brāhmans.

On the contrary, in a large number of other places we have instances of princes, who had assumed the name of Janaka and who had received instruction from some Brāhman or other.

In XII. 290–98, Janaka listens to a discourse on karma and also jñāna from Parāśara and is highly pleased with it.

In XII, 302, Karāla Janaka, another Kṣatriya prince, receives instruction on brahma-vidyā from Vaiśistha.

In XII. 310–18, Yājñavalkya gives several discourses on various topics, including brahma-vidyā, to Janaka Daivarāti.

In these anecdotes the name of Janaka is rather perplexing. It is not the name of one king. (See Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 96.) And it is not clear if it is always the name of kings of the same dynasty even. But we are pretty certain of one thing, viz., that the Janaka dynasty of Videha were powerful and devoted patrons of brahma-vidyā: and their court continued for a long time to be an important seat of this culture.

The Janakas, however, were never inimical to the Brāhmans. On the contrary, they were as famous for their sacrifices as for their knowledge of brahma-vidyā: so much so, that the place where they performed their sacrifices had almost assumed sanctity and become a sacred place or ārtha (cf. Brahma Purāṇa, chapter 88). And Brāhmans continued to hold important positions in the royal household and in the kingdom, and exercised immense influence upon the lives of the princes.

Even in brahma-vidyā, the teachers engaged were Brāhmans. Mahābhārata, XII. 218, says that the court of Janaka Janadeva was the seat of many teachers or āchārya of different schools of religious practices, who thronged there and held discourses on diverse religious topics. A Rishi of the name of Pancaśikha went there once and gave discourses. The king was evidently a patron only and an enquirer: he was not the teacher himself, but only maintained the teachers.

In chapter 277 of the same purva, we are told of one Hārita who propounded brahma-vidyā. Hārita is decidedly a Brāhman name.

Mahābhārata, III. 132–34, contains an interesting account of the nature and consequences of the debates that were held in the court of Janaka. Brāhmans from different parts of the country congregated there and had debates on brahma-vidyā. But those who were routed in the disputations were kept immersed in water. One Kahoḍa, disciple and son-in-law of Uddālaka, was defeated in a debate and was so kept in water, according to the conditions of the debates. His son, Astāvakra, came to know of this and challenged the disputants in the court of Janaka, defeated them, and finally brought about the release of his father.
Whatever the other implications of this story may be, it shows that, though the Kṣatriya king took part in these discussions and put questions to the parties, still he was not a party himself in the strict sense of the term. The debates were really carried on by Brāhmans versed in the lore. The position of the king was half that of a patron and half that of a judge, who witnessed the wrangle and encouraged the parties by rewards and punishments. One may recall in this connection how in mediæval Europe, a Martin Luther would hold a public disputation in the court of a baron and would take the consequences. With some reservations, these debates might well be compared with the Diet at Worms or similar other Diets in the Middle Ages in Europe.

We are thus led to the conclusion that brahma-vidyā was not a Kṣatriya or non-Brāhmaṇa vidyā. As the second highest caste among the twice-born, the Kṣatriyas were entitled to read it and did read it. Not only so, but some of them, holding important positions in society, gave their powerful support to it. And in this and similar connections, some Kṣatriya kings and chieftains, like Śrī-Kriṣṇa, have been deified. But these were only exceptions which confirm the rule rather than disprove it. The original teachers of the vidyā, just like the subsequent elaborators and commentators, were almost exclusively Brāhmans. It is a mistake to think, therefore, that brahma-vidyā was set up by certain Kṣatriya chiefs and clans, as a sort of revolt against the Brāhmans.

Our mistake in this connection is perhaps due to the fact that we are often inclined to regard the Brāhmans as one homogeneous group, all of whom were devoted to the practice and cultivation of the Vedic liturgy. But neither the Kṣatriyas nor the Brāhmans were all of one and the same clan. And as in modern society we find the Brāhman occupying different positions and following diverse callings in life, so, in ancient times also, the hereditary Brāhman was not always and necessarily a Vedic priest. In post-Upanisadic times we find him as a king’s minister, as a kuṇcuki in the royal household, as a vidūpaka or jester in the king’s court, and even as a thief of the Śarvilaka type (see Mricchakatika); and besides, he was of course a priest and a teacher. In Upanisadic times also, we find among the Brāhmans those who knew only about the Vedic ceremonies and practices, like Śvetaketu at the assembly of the Pañcālas and Aśvāla at the court of Janaka; and also those who were experts in brahma-vidyā, like Yājñavalkya. It was Brāhmans of the type of Yājñavalkya who were the fathers of brahma-vidyā. And if there was any conflict between karma and jñāna, it was not manifested in society in a struggle between the Brāhman and the Kṣatriya; but it was rather a conflict between Brāhmans and Brāhmans—between Brāhmans of the Yājñavalkya type and Brāhmans of the Aśvāla and Śākalya type. And so, like the Brāhmanical literature, the Upanisadic literature also was produced and developed by the Brāhmans.
THE SEQUEL TO HIR AND RANJHA.
TOLD BY A PEASANT, PROPRIETOR OF JHANG, TO H. A. ROSE, I.C.S., IN 1884-5.
(Continued from page 19.)

Text.

'Ashiq saheh nahin marde.

Maui yad rakhata hain, jo meri 'umar us-vele chaudah pandrah varhiyaa-dii huin, jo hik admi musafir chattii paiyati varhiyaa-dii, haij akhrida-hain, mere dadah buzurg Hasif Ahmad (Ghafurallahi inahii) de kol aiyaa-ai.

Us eh qissa kar-sunaiya, jo:—


Nahin ma'aalam kitne dinhau nu picheh taqdiran kinarah ute kise jagah vauj-pahuncha.


Tadaa bhi usdi khuri di nihshin-maa veshh, jah jah te vunj-pohuthaa jo dudh kharah-ha.

Ate chauphar chauphar darekh jhatte chhain-wali jagalal jinhun de mainun-naa bhi nihshin-anda.

Ate kadaa jiththe bhi nahin. Utte jamhe hoins.

Jah darakht vaqaa pahyaa yaa ukhain da usdi jo usdi madh-wale lakhrayoo purane hondi khor (ya'aa wangoi dhol-dii) khali hai. Maui us-vele vahrk, is de kolo jo lokkai dii zabani suna hoya hai ki rishak o ja vich honde han ate admiyo-nun phad-phadke khande han.

Luk-chhipke quandar quandar baitha.

Taan jo dinh lahan de vela hoyaa, us-vele awaz vahaj (ya'aa bainsri) de main sunyaa, aur ditaah ki hik shahsh sahari kaili idhar kitte hoit, bainsri vagindaa. Hain jangal valoo anda-path.

Usdi picheh majhihi ajnihyaa han. Eh tamashah jadaih maun aijitha, dilvich apne ap akyaa ki "Khuda jine ek hon he ate kea tamashaa hee."

Us jagah te oh admi ake bah-raha, majhihi bhi usdi chauphar bah-rahyan. Thori char pichehoo hik main sawaa, sarhoo kapaa kujh hain, ate math te kaalh kaalhati hain. Kuchh khanat rothi nayvi paklaya hoiyaa, sar-ten chhainyai hoiyaa, us-de-kol a-baithi.


Jis-vele rothi khawan lagha us-vele us main akhyaa ki "Maun Ranjah, hik musafir tusadi mulk de aasa thi pahraar han. Pahle rothi khivaa, pichhe ap haaa.

Oh bolaa ki, "Kithe hee?"

Main Hik akhyaa ki "Tuul bulaa," oh a -veshii."

Maun Ranjah awaz ditta ki 'Ao musafir a, chhip nahi!"

"Maun jaata ki jo asaji mulk Chachh-Hazare-vich Hik-Ranjah akhirdi-hain, ate unhaidi 'ishqi di gawan gundii hain, shayad eh admi hosan. Main dilooh khus hoxi unhai-di taraf aiyaa.

Unhain meraa kal-alvval puchhaya, main kar-sunaiya. Oh khus hoi, roti ate dudh mainun ditta, main khardha pitaa, ate uthain rah kitenaj.

Pichhe unhain akhyaa ki "Taa ithe rahsii yaa ki kadhaoi vanjanan hai?

"Maun akhyaa ki "Gharooh taa maun nijah hajj Khana-Kaaaba de washe aiyaa-hain; hun jo maun rih kisi de soahn seh hon ate na ko kharah bahkay mere kol he, main kithe vanjanaa?"

Oh has haske, akhan lage ki "Ass ahi hai hajj Khana Kaaba di karni-he. Je taa chahe taimun bhi apne apn le-dasinho."

Maun rahi ate khus hina, ate ite gan puchh ik "Itvo Khana-Kaaba kitnaa dur padhe he?"

Unhain akhyaa ki "Tuul 300 kitne koh padhe he.

"Maun puchhnaa ki: "Padh yhun he, kadaa pohunchee bah?"

Pher anhain akhyaa ki, "Taa fikr na kar-vanji, sabii, 'Hukm Rabb-de maih chup kar-raha."
Jadān chan Hajj dā chāryā us dīharē manā akhyā ki: “Tusāh ākhde ho ithori Khāna-Ka’aba traig-sau kitne koh he, kadaī turashān?”

Pher unhān akhyā: “Tainān khāh fikr he. Assānā bhi nuv vanjīnā he.

Jadān oh dīn khāj Hajj dē sīyā unhān mainūn puchhā kē ki: “Tūn pher asāde nāl ithe ashīn yā uthe rahān.”

Main akhyā ki: “Uthe tusāde koe ashān.”

Unhān akhyā ki: “Jiswakht ākhām Hajj dē jo han, jadān sabb pūre pūre karahehā, tadaī ussīnuñul fūlan pahāī uti miltum, ki apne nāl tainān ashān ithe le ashān.”


Jadān maīn ah khōli, tadaī āṭhā kē ki hazarān ādmīn us jāh te khalote, tasbīhīn pher-rahān, zik Khūds karende han.

Main unhān-thōnu puchhā kē ki: “Eh keś ho-rahā he? Ate kon jā he?”

“Unhān akhyā,” Eh āḍīmī bhi Musalmanān han aur eh Hajj dē manān heh. Tān ākhām Hajj de jo han bahā liyā.


“Main akhyā; “Phellā ho rahā hū.”


Main phahle to sharmāyā; pher jadān unhānu wat wat puchhāyā, tadaī main akhyā ki: “Mainnūn ghar-bārī, bāl-bāchāh, dost bele yād ai hāin, rondhī hū.”

“Unhāh hik dāī nuvī akhyā ki: “Watan di muḥabbat har hik nuvī hondī he, toī sachhīnī je tūn akhītī tainūn pohonche de.”

Us-vele main akhyā: “Je tusāh mainnūn phunchāiyo, to meri chāh he.”


Main’ aṁa kitā, ki: “Jothā main us shahr Jhang Syāl vich jīndā-jīndā pohuttā-hāīnī, inshā ‘lāḥ ta’alā, sarār sarār unhān de kol, yāne Raś Jhang Syāl de kol, sīrā bāl akh-desān.”

Tadāā Māī Hīr Māī Hīr Māī Hīr Māī Hīr Māśī āirī hath pakaṛē akhyā ki, ki: “Akhiān but.”


“Unhān akhyā ki: “Eh Roza Māī Hīr Syāl dē he.”

Trai-chār dīharē hoe han ki main us mahān ute māṣjid de vich tahārī hūnī. Puchhāde puchhāde tusāhā nūw mahām hōyā, ki tusāhā būzurg, vādī ‘umar de ‘ālam fāzil, ḍāfiz Qurān
majid o Asnād-qādimi, Syālān, ra's is jā de howen. Akhi Māi Hir di zabānī rūbarū ra's Jhang Syālī sanāsī dewanā-hā. Jekar tusāf mainū apne nāl levanjo, tān mai' apne zabānī unhandī sanāsī jethā mainū Māi Hir apne zabānī akhāyā mai' unghā nū akh-dewānā.'

Us-waqt Māi Sāhiba Khāā Sāhib Muhammad Isma'il Khāā Rā'īs Bāhādur Jhang de jindā hāi. Oh ādām Hāji hamrāh mere dādā Sāhib Hāfīż Ahmad (ghafuru'llāhī aliha) ate main bhi (jo us-waqt meri 'umur chaubāh pandrah varhīo dī hosīn) ghar Khān-Sāhib de giyā, ate khidmat Māi Sāhiba de bāhar pardah de, oh Hāji Shakhīsh bāthā, ate sab ḥaqiqat jo bāyan kītī-gai-he, zabānī apne akh-sunāī. Us-nū unique do dihāre Māi Sāhiba tahrāyā aur kujh khārī rāh bhi dittā. Pher oh Hājī tūr-giyyā. Mai' yād rakhtā-hāi ki Māi Sāhiba unghā diharūyān-vich makin jis-ute Rošā nam-zad Māi Hir di he ki juma'rat hamesha āwān vanja kītā.


Buzurg Khudā di karāmat
Bar haqq he aur sachi he, Faqat.

The Legend of 'Abdullāh Shāh of Samīn.5

Introductory Remarks.

"Abdullāh Shāh belonged to a Sayyid family living at Samīn, a village some miles south of Derāghāzī Khāān. He enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity, which is maintained by his family, now [1884] represented by a grandson of the original 'Abdullāh Shāh. The story is chiefly remarkable for the introduction of the heroes of the very favourite Panjābī tale of Hir and Rānjhā in the after-world. Rānjhā is represented as still following his original occupation of a buffalo-herdsman, and as supplying milk to the Prophet.

"The story of Hir and Rānjhā is of world-wide celebrity in the Panjāb. Hir was the daughter of Chuḥchak, a Siyāl of Rangpūr, in the Muzaaffargarh District. Rānjhā's true name was Didhī. He was by caste a Rānjhā Jāntī, and is known almost exclusively by his caste name, which also takes the diminutive forms Ranţhū, Ranţhejā, and Ranţhejīrā. His father Manjū was a Chaudri or Revenue Collector, and local magnate at Takht Hazāra, in the Gujrānāwāla District."

Translation.7

'Abdullāh Shāh Sayyid lived at Samīn. He started on a pilgrimage [to Mecca], and went on board a ship. Going on, he proceeded, when the ship stopped. The crew exerted themselves, but the ship did not move.

A flock of birds was sitting on the seashore. The ship's master said: "Is there any such man here, who, for the sake of God, will risk his life [lit., give his head] and alight from the ship, and go and make those birds fly away? If the birds fly away the wind will reach the ship, and the ship will go on." 'Abdullāh Shāh said, "I will risk my life for God's sake." He alighted from the ship, and went and made the birds fly away; the wind reached the ship and the ship went on.

'Abdullāh Shāh (left alone) on the edge of the sea started off along the land. He came to a certain place, and there he saw tracks of buffaloes. He took up these tracks, and following and following them, he went on and saw a smoke rising [lit., a smoke smoking]. There was a buffaloes' grazing station (jāok) there. A redheaded woman was seated there. When 'Abdullāh Shāh approached, the woman rose and said, "In the name of God, 'Abdullāh Shāh of Samīn, you are welcome!" He asked her, saying, "Mother, who art thou?" The woman said, "I am Hir; Mā'ār Rānjhā is with his buffaloes. For the present sit down and rest. In the evening Mā'ār Rānjhā also will come." In the evening the buffaloes returned

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6 As taken down in the Balochi Language from the Narrative of Ghulām Muhammad Balachānī Mazār and translated by M. Longworth Dames.
7 The Baloch text is not given here.
to the station, and a red-bearded man came with them. 'Abdu'l-Lah Shāh asked (of Hīr) "Who is this man that is coming in the track of the buffaloes?" Hīr replied, "This is Miān Rānjhā." When he came, 'Abdu'llah rose. The man said, "In the name of God, 'Abdu'llah Shāh, you are welcome!" 'Abdu'llah Shāh said, "All is well, Miān Rānjhā." Rānjhā asked him for his news. 'Abdu'llah Shāh told him all that had happened to him. Rānjhā said, "Thy pilgrimage is accepted at the (divine) threshold. In the evening I shall take some milk, and bring you into the presence of (the Prophet.)"

Then having filled an earthen pot with milk and lifted it on to his head, he took 'Abdu'llah Shāh by the hand, and said "Shut your eyes." He shut his eyes. Then Rānjhā said, "Now, open your eyes." When he opened his eyes he saw the Apostle of God sitting on his throne. The Prophet saluted him, and his pilgrimage was accepted.

There he saw a certain Kūmhār (potter), an inhabitant of Sāmn, on whom (the Prophet’s court) imposed a fine of eighty rupees. After this the Prophet gave his command: "Miān Rānjhā thou art ordered to conduct 'Abdu'llah Shāh back to his own town." They went out and returned to the Station. Miān Rānjhā said, "Stay here for two days, and drink my buffaloes' milk. Then I will take thee to thy own place." For two days he stayed there: the third day Rānjhā said, "Now give me your hand and then shut your eyes." He gave him his hand and shut his eyes. Then Rānjhā said, "Now let go my hand, and open your eyes." He opened his eyes and found himself standing in the town of Sāmn. The whole world saw how 'Abdu'llah Shāh came. The Kūmhār came weeping to 'Abdu'llah Shāh saying, "At such and such a place thieves have broken into the house of a certain carpenter. They brought the track and made it pass by the side of my house, and now the Government says, 'Pay up a fine of eighty rupees.' I am innocent, for God’s sake get me off." 'Abdu'llah Shāh said, "It is not for me to get this fine remitted, for it was imposed upon thee in the court of the Prophet’s Majesty. Go and pay it."

**BOOK NOTICES.**

**THE ARMY OF RANJIT SINGH, by SITA RAM KOHLI.**


In the issue of this *Journal* for August 1924, I had occasion to review Mr. Sita Ram Kohli’s first two papers on the army of the Maharāja Ranjit Singh. The third paper of the series now lies before me and deals chiefly with the irregular cavalry, *Ghorcharah Fauj,* of the Sikh army, which, in the author’s words, "represented the old Khalsa Military order at the close of the eighteenth century and served as a connecting link between the old system and the one introduced in the Punjab by Ranjit Singh." They were quite distinct and much stronger numerically than the regular cavalry, trained and organized on European lines by General Jean Francois Allard, who joined the service of Ranjit Singh in 1822 with his comrade, Ventura. Mr. Kohli quotes contemporary evidence to show what a high state of smartness and discipline the latter attained under Allard’s command. The *Ghorcharah Fauj* represented that portion of the irregular cavalry which was paid directly from the State treasury, as distinguished from the *Jagirdari Fauj* or feudal mounted forces, and was divided into two classes, the *Ghorcharah Khals,* recruited exclusively from the provincial nobility, and the *Misdalari Soudars,* who originally belonged to various independent Sikh Chiefs and were transferred gradually to the Maharaja’s service, as their respective owners were forced to submit. The *Ghorcharah Fauj* originated in the wish of Ranjit Singh to bind the provincial nobility and their trained forces more closely to himself and his throne, and by 1845 had increased to a large force of about 16,000 men, divided into a multitude of *derahs* or camps, each under its own Sardar.

The author gives full and interesting details of the composition and organization, the pay and the strength at different periods, of this force, and mentions the curious fact that its ranks were not filled indiscriminately by members of all or any caste or nationality, but that each group (misdal) was composed of men of one caste or clan. In cases of vacancies, this rule was rigidly observed. The *Jagirdari Fauj* is similarly discussed in detail. This force was raised on the principle well-known in other parts of India, viz., that each holder of a *jagir* or fief should furnish a certain number of efficient troops in return for the enjoyment of his fief or holding. This was the principle followed by the Maratha Government; it was also followed by the Portuguese in the early days of their rule in Western India, though the obligation to furnish military service was subsequently commuted for a quit-rent. The last section of the author’s paper is
concerned with the garrisons or fauj-i-qilajat, which manned the forts of the Panjab. The system of administering them seems in some respects to have approximated to the arrangements made by Śivājī in the seventeenth century for the Deccan hill-forts.

Mr. Sita Ram Kohi's third paper is well up to the standard set by the previous two, and will repay perusal by students of Sikh history.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.


The temple described in this Bulletin belongs to the Gupta period and is situated in the village of Bhumara or Bhumara, twelve miles west of Unchehra in the State of Nagod. Cunningham appears to have visited the spot in 1873-74 and there discovered an insulated boundary pillar, of which the inscription was edited by Fleet some years afterwards. Cunningham missed the temple, however, and it was not discovered till the beginning of 1929 by two officials of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle. According to Sir John Marshall, the temple belongs to the sixth century A.D., though Mr. Banerjee is inclined to attribute it to the middle of the fifth century. The description of the shrine prepared by Mr. Banerjee is detailed and exhaustive, and the character of the building and its carvings and ornamentation are well portrayed in the seventeen photographic plates, which succeed the text. Some of the carvings are remarkable, and the Archæological department is to be congratulated on rescuing them from the jungle which has so long hidden them from view.

S. M. EDWARDES.


This well-printed work opens with an Introduction by Mr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, in which he briefly describes the character of the Jaina religion, the legends connected with Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha, and other protagonists of Jaina tradition, like Kālakāchārya and Sālibhadra, and the Jaina cosmology, literature, and painting. Many of the miniatures included in the catalogue are reproduced from MS. copies of the Kalpa Sutra, which Mr. Coomaraswamy believes to have been handed down in practically unaltered form from the fifth century A.D., though the oldest available MS. dates only from A.D. 1237. He argues from the identity of composition of the pictures in the Jaina MSS. that the art of Jaina painting, as we meet it, clearly represents the survival of an old hieratic tradition, in which stories of the lives of the Jinas had long been presented in accordance with familiar forms.

It is an art of pure draughtsmanship, or, as he puts it, "the drawing has the perfect equilibration of a mathematical equation, or a page of a composer's score. Theme and formula compose an inseparable unity, text and pictures form a continuous relation of the same dogma in the same key." The book contains 39 plates of illustrations, very well reproduced, but the average reader will find it difficult to understand its significance without the excellent explanatory Introduction which precedes them.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, 1924.


3. The Boats of the Ganges.


The first of these papers is that of Dr. N. Annandale and is a most useful production, as it illustrates a rustic art which is now fast disappearing. A valuable plan is also given of a composite house on the shores of the Chilka Lake. There is, however, no attempt to give anything beyond a mere account of the designs on the walls of the village houses, and it is not possible to say anything at present. There are excellent photographs attached to the paper by Babu D. N. Bagchi, a Brahman.

The next paper is also by Dr. N. Annandale with the assistance of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, and Mr. Percy Brown. The object of the paper is to describe a "little group of sculptures" in the village Karlikote near the Chilka Lake, relating to myths about the Ganges as a body of water. The sculptures are at the Temple of the Clear Springs (Nirmal Jahara), where advantage has been taken of a clear hill stream, in a country where such things are rare, to create a tank, ornament it, and surround it with legend in this case as to the origin of the Ganges. The legend is given in full and explained by Haraprasad Shastri. The sculptures do not appear to be old and are beautifully illustrated.

The third paper by Mr. James Hornell is a valuable one and gives an account of the various kinds of boats used on the Ganges, written with the peculiar knowledge possessed by the author. He begins with rats and dug-out canoes, and then passes on to plank-built boats, including all the familiar varieties—passenger and fishing boats, large and small, rowing and racing skiffs, travelling houseboats, ceremonial barges and cargo carriers. In fact the whole of the Ganges system of water-carriage passes before us in these fascinating pages of the greatest interest.

In the last paper Mr. Hornell is equally fascinating in his thoroughly well-informed account of the various methods of fishing in the Gangetic area, whether in the many estuaries, lakes or in the river itself. It is well worth studying.

R. C. TEMPLE.
NOTES ON INDIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

By Rai Bahadur B. A. GupTE, F.Z.S.

The following notes on certain musical instruments met with in India may be useful to students:—

The Bag-pipe Drone.

The instrument called sruti-upânga or bhajana-sruti in the Madras Presidency is a bag-pipe, used merely as a drone. It consists of a bag of kid skin, two pipes, a drone and a reed. The larger of the two pipes has holes in it, partially stopped with wax, to tune the instrument to the desired pitch. The bag is inflated from the mouth through the smaller pipe. The drone is made of cane and is mounted in a stack of the same material, which also contains the reed. The reed is in one piece, made of cane or of the large marsh reed.¹ The vibrations are controlled by a little piece of wire or fine string tied roughly round the tongue. Black wax is used to make the instrument air tight.

It is played in the Tamil country by Melakkârans, musicians who accompany Devadâsis, i.e., girls offered to the gods as brides, who are really dancing-girls. In the Telugu country it is played by barbers or by men (Bogams) who accompany the songs of the Bogam-singers, and also by the orchestra of Hindu theatrical performances. There is also a class of Telugu wandering beggars found in, but not indigenous to, the Mysore State, who carry with them a bag-pipe made of the entire skin of a kid, with a hollow reed attached to one end, through which they blow until the bag is fully inflated. The air is then let through the reed, closed by the thumb, by partially opening. This gives a continuous drone, known as sruti, to the accompaniment of which they sing songs.

In Northern India there is a bag-pipe called moshak which does not differ much from the above in outward appearance,² but it contains a chanter and sometimes also a drone. It is, however, going out of use under the influence of the Brâhmans, as they bring the jungle population under tenets which hold it to be an abomination to handle skins, or to touch them so as to bring them near the mouth.³

Day, Music and Musical Instruments, seems to think it probable that the bag-pipe had an Eastern origin, as he heard it played in India, Panjâb, and Afgânistân with a skill that would have done credit to a Highland-piper.⁴ Day says also that “Indian Music has been compared to that of Scotland, but the resemblance can be traced principally to the frequent employment by both nations of a somewhat similar scale of five intervals, the fourth and seventh being omitted.” He adds: “many of the graces and embellishments employed in the gipsy music in Hungary are to be found in Indian melodies . . . . M. Bongaia-Ducondray shows the striking resemblance of the Indian songs and the examples of melodies from the Levant, so much so that it is difficult to believe that their origin is not identical.”

In Burma instruments of the bag-pipe class are made out of gourds. See Plate II, fig. 3.⁵

¹ See Plate XV, p. 150, of Day’s Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India, 1891.
² See Plate XII of Balf. Solvyns De, Calcutta. London, 1804.
³ Enthoven, Monographs on the Phudgis, Bhojanias and Vaidus, shows that primitive tribes have already adopted many Brahman customs, slightly modified to suit their position in the social scale.
⁴ [It was, however, claimed by Col. Campbell that he introduced the bag-pipe into the Punjab Frontier Force. —R.C.T.]
⁵ [The Burmese scale is the same as the Indian, and a Burman once told me that that was the reason why all European music sounded out of tune to him. On the other hand, so far as my own ear is concerned, all Oriental music seems to be out of tune. The reason is not far to seek—a scale of 8 and a scale of 5 are incompatible, and a ear accustomed from birth to the one cannot easily appreciate the other. At the same time I recollect a Jemadar of the old 25th Bengal N.I., who was a natural musician and acted as bandmaster of the Regiment, coming to my house many years ago and borrowing an English song set for the piano and in a couple of days setting it to his own band which soon played it admirably. —R.C.T.]
Drums.

The *damru* or hour-glass drum (see Plate I, fig. 4) is a great favourite with the Pinglās or fortune-tellers of the Marāthā country.

Another drum made in the form of an hour-glass out of two skulls, cut across and set crown to crown, is used in Tibet. (See Plate I, fig. 5).  

The *khauajăr* is used by the Kānhpāṭīās (see Plate I, fig. 6), a religious order, who sing and beg from door to door.

The *sambhēl* (see Plate I, fig. 7) consists of two conical drums of earthenware beaten side by side, so as to make a double drum. It is used by the Gondhālls, when singing ballads.

The *daph* (see Plate I, fig. 8), a large cylinder with a narrow rim, and the *dhol* (see Plate I, fig. 8) are used by the Doms.

Stringed Instruments.

The *tūtūn* or *ek-tār*, so-called because it has only one string and no frets. It consists of a bamboo fastened to a hollow wooden cylinder (see Plate II, fig. 9). The lower end of the cylinder is closed by a piece of parchment with a hole in the centre, through which a string is passed and tied to a peg through the upper end to prevent it from slipping and to keep it in place. It is used by the Gondhālls, who in Bombay are wandering minstrels, and twanged from time to time as an accompaniment to heroic ballads. It is very popular in the Deccan and the Central Provinces.

The *kīndār* (see Plate II, fig. 10) is an instrument with two strings and a varying number of gourds, much used by wandering Kānhpāṭīās, Wāghiās and other minstrels.

The *chikārā* is a variety of the *kīndār* with five strings.

The *rāvandāstra* is a kind of fiddle (see Plate I, fig. 15) and is not of Indian origin. It is rarely met with, except in the hands of strolling musicians who support themselves by it. The original comes from Ceylon, as its Indian title *rāvandāstra* tells us, signifying that it belongs to the land of Rāvana.

In Ceylon it is called a *vinavah*, and there it has but two strings, one made out of a species of flax, and one out of horse-hair. The string of the bow, which has bells attached to it, is also made of horse-hair. The hollow part of the *vinavah* is made out of half a cocoanut-shell, polished and covered with a dried and perforated lizard skin (see Plate II, fig. 15a).

Bells.

The *ghanā* or small bell is used in every Hindu temple. Its antiquity in India is beyond doubt, as specimens have been discovered in cromlechs and cairns in different parts of India.

A wooden bell is used by the nomad Banjārās and by the Tōdās for tying round the necks of cattle (see Plate I, fig. 11a.)

Flutes.

The Indian flute, *murali*, is still held in India to be peculiarly sacred, as the companion of Kṛṣṇa in all his wanderings. In Indian mythology it is looked on with as much reverence as the lyre in ancient Greece. It is also still on occasions blown through the nostrils. In every sculpture and picture, where Kṛṣṇa is represented as sitting, he is shown playing the *Murali*.

Many years ago, when going through the Vatican, I was so struck with the resemblance of the figure of Kṛṣṇa to that of Pan that I took away a sketch of the statuette of Pan. I found that the *tibia*, or flute, the commonest ancient musical instrument of the Greeks and Romans, consisted of a hollow reed perforated with holes at fixed places (see Plate II, fig. 12), and that it had been used all over India at a very ancient date. It is in India sometimes made of red sandal-wood bored with a gimlet. See Plate II, fig. 13b.

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6 [I once possessed a specimen, of which the sutures had never properly closed and were clearly marked right down the forehead.—R.C.T.]
INDIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
Pan was the reputed inventor of his flute, the monaulos, and so Krishna in India has always been accepted as the inventor of his flute, the tēsāri.

The καλύτα (Plate II, fig. 13a) is a bamboo flute of the same tone and compass as the basari, and Day (Music and Musical Instruments, p. 49) says it is played in pairs in a somewhat similar manner as the tēsāri of the Romans, as pictured on a vase in the British Museum.

A flute made of a thigh-bone is also used in India (see Plate I, fig. 13d) 9.

Horns.

Pan is also drawn blowing a horn, and in India, too, the ḍrīṅga, or horn (see Plate II, fig. 13c) is held to be of divine origin, and is mentioned in the earliest writings.10

Reed-pipes.

The punjī or jina gorī is a reed-pipe used exclusively by jugglers or snake-charmers. The body and mouth-piece are formed out of a bottle-shaped gourd, into which are inserted two bamboo pipes, one of which is pierced with finger-holes, so that it can be played, while the other is being sounded with the key-note as a drone. It is supposed to be specially pleasing to snakes. Meadow Taylor, Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy, vol. IX, pt. 1, relates a striking instance of its use: "One very large cobra, which frequented my garden at Elliharpur and of which every one was in dread, was caught by some professional snake-charmers in my own presence by means of the punjī. It was played at first very softly before the aloe bush under which the snake lived in a hole, and gradually the performer increased the tone and tune of his playing, and, as the snake showed his head, he retreated gently till it was fairly outside and erected itself in a defiant manner. At that moment another man stepped dexterously behind, and while the snake's attention was absorbed by the player, threw a heavy blanket upon it, seizing it by the head under the jaws. The head was then pinned down by a forked stick and the fangs and teeth extracted by strong pincers. The snake was then turned loose, completely cowed and exhausted. There was no doubt about the identity of the reptile, for a portion of its tail had been shot off in an attempt to destroy it" (see Plate II, fig. 14).

Castanets.

The kartal (Plate II, fig. 16) consists of a pair of castanets made of wood. They have special symbols on them.

Bird-Calls.

All the wild wandering tribes of India are good singers in their own way. They have acquired the art of modulating the voice by a now hereditary habit of imitating the calls of birds and wild animals. Some of them are bird catchers of repute. Among Jains and Buddhists there is always a great demand for birds, as their religion teaches them to be kind to animals. The wandering tribes turn this feeling to good account by catching birds and exposing them for sale before Jain and Buddhist Temples or in market-places frequented by these kindly people. When they see the captive wild things, they buy them and set them at liberty, to be caught again by the bird-taming and bird-catching wild man. A regular trade is thus kept going from year to year.

The wandering gypsy will amuse children by imitating the calls of wild animals, and while unwary children are taken up with the performance, a colleague of the performer will pilfer a few ornaments and even pick the pockets of grown-up spectators. The signal for the opportune moment is given in a jargon which no civilised man understands.

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9 [However, the specimen that used to be in my possession came from Darjeeling and I understood that it was of Tibetan origin.—R.C.T.]

10 Day, Music and Musical Instruments, p. 104.
GURUR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF VAGHARAJA.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.

GURUR is a small village in the Drug district of the Central Provinces, nine miles from Dhamtari, the terminus of the Raipur-Dhamtari branch line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, and about 37 miles from Kanker, the head-quarters of the feudatory state of that name. Near an old temple, without any god enshrined in it, is a stone pillar in a field which bears a small inscription. While on tour in the Drug district I had occasion to see it personally and to take a copy from the original. The inscription is on two sides of the pillar, but the second side is so much rubbed that hardly any letters are visible. The intelligible portion is on the first side, which contains twelve lines in bold letters, covering a space two feet six inches by one foot. The average size of the letters is two inches. The second side contains about seven lines with imprecatory figures of a pig followed by an ass, insinuating that the transgressor of the gift will be an issue of these animals in the next life.

The record is Sanskrit prose in Nāgarī characters of about the eleventh century A.D., declaring a gift of land to the gods Umaṇātha (Śiva) and Kāla Bhaicava by Nāyaka Āditya, during the reign of the illustrious Rāṣṭaka Vagharaṭa of the Somavāṁśa (Lunar race) of Kākaraṭa. Apparently a temple was erected in honour of these two gods and land was granted to support them.

We know Vagharaṭa from the Kānker inscription of Bhānudeva and the Śhāva inscription of Karnarāṣṭa as one of the ancestors of the Somavāṁśa kings of Kānker, a name which was known as Kākāra or Kākaraṭa in ancient times. The Kānker inscription shows that the Nāyakas were an influential family, and some of them were ministers of the Kānker kings, though originally they were elephant catchers. In that inscription four generations of the Nāyakas are given, but these cannot carry us to the times of Vagharaṭa, in whose reign Nāyaka Āditya was apparently the minister. It is noteworthy, too, that the early kings of Kānker were known as Rāṇaka; now they are known as Mahārājādhirāja, a title given by the British Government.

The inscription gives no new information, beyond confirming the tradition that the Dhamtari tahāl was included in the Kānker chiefship as early as the eleventh century A.D., by the fact that Gurur, only recently transferred from Dhamtari tahāl to the Drug district, was certainly under the rule of the Kānker kings.

Text.

First Side.

1. Svasti Kākap[r]aya
2. parama-māhēśva-
3. ra soma-ku-
4. la-tilaka rāṇa
5. ka Śri Vagharaṭa[ja]
6. [r]ājāṇāyaka Śri

Second Side.

7. Ādityeva deva Śri
8. [U]mā nātha Śri Kāla[Bhai]
9. [rava]yoh bhumi pra[da]
10. [ttā] yo[atra] rājā bhavī [shya]
11. [tt]asy-āhaṁ kṛita talena.
12. bhūmi talopayata
13. deva bhūmi yah
14. lopayati tasyā
15. puru
16. . . . . . . . . . . .

1 See Epigraphia Indica, vol. IX, p. 123.
2 Ibid., p. 182.
3 Read māhēśvar.
4 Read rājya.
SOME ASPECTS OF THE CAREER OF GURU HARGOVIND.

BY INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.

I. The Chronology of Hargovind.

Guru Arjan's death occurred in the month of Jeth, Samvat 1663 (June 1606) 1, and he was immediately succeeded by Hargovind, who was eleven years of age at that time, having been born in 1595 A.D. 2 Mohsun Fani says that Arjan was followed by his brother Baratha. But Arjan's son, Hargovind, also made pretentions to the Khalifat (deputyship) and obtained the place of his father. 3 Baratha is evidently a corruption of Prithia, the eldest brother of Guru Arjan, and this is clearly proved by Mohsun Fani's identification of the followers of Prithia with the Mainas, i.e., the Minas. 4 Ever since his supersession Prithia had been the most unrelenting enemy of Guru Arjan and it is not at all improbable that he would raise troubles after his brother's death. But the Sikh accounts unanimously state that Guru Hargovind immediately succeeded his father, and we have it in Macauliffe that Prithia had died just at the critical moment when his plots against Guru Arjan were about to bear fruit. 5 Captain Troyer, the translator of the Dabistan, states, "there appears a hiatus or some confusion in our text; so much however is indicated clearly enough, that there was a contest about the succession between the son and brother of Arjanmal. 6 It seems that Prithia or his "worthy" son Mihrban raised some troubles about the succession, but Hargovind proved too strong for them.

Difficulties arise when we come to the details of Guru Hargovind's career. It becomes almost impossible to reconcile the Sikh accounts with contemporary Muhammadan history. Hargovind's career may conveniently be divided into three distinct periods. The first period is synchronous with the reign of Jahangir and ends with the latter's death in October 1627. The second period witnesses Hargovind's quarrels with the Moghul authorities and embraces, perhaps, the first six or seven years of the reign of Shah Jahan. The last is the period of Hargovind's retirement in the hills, which ended in 1645 when he died. This broad outline may easily be accepted, but, when we enter into details, we find to our disappointment that the accepted chronology is by no means so satisfactory.

Now, the most important thing that happened during the first period of Hargovind's life was his imprisonment by the orders of the emperor Jahangir. In the Dabistan we read that the emperor Jahangir imprisoned Guru Hargovind in the fort of Gwalior, where he had to remain a prisoner on scanty food 7 for twelve years. Mohsun Fani and the Sikh chroniclers are, however, unanimous on the point that both the imprisonment and release of Hargovind took place during the reign of Jahangir, the difference being only with regard to the period of imprisonment. The Sikhs try to make it only forty days, 8 whereas Mohsun Fani explicitly states that the Guru was imprisoned for twelve years. In the face of the clear testimony of Mohsun Fani who was a contemporary and a personal friend of Hargovind, the Sikh chroniclers, who are all much later, may perhaps be safely dismissed. But still we would give them a close attention.

1 Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, vol. III, p. 100; Itihas Guru Khalsa, p. 118; Panth Prakash; Sikhan de rai di Bikha, p. 23. As will presently appear, it is often absolutely unsafe to follow the Sikh chroniclers with regard to dates. But in this particular instance they seem to be right. Khusru fled from his semi-confinement at Agra on April 6, 1606 and his rebellion was finally quelled by the 1st of May. As the "barbarous" punishment of the adherents of Khusru, among whom Guru Arjan must be counted, commenced immediately afterwards, it does not seem improbable that Arjan died in June, 1606. (See Beni Prasad's Johangir, pp. 138-150.)


4 Dabistan.

5 Ibid.

6 Dabistan.

7 The Sikh accounts also seem to admit this indirectly. "The Guru took hardly any food—his rations he distributed among the needy prisoners."—Macauliffe, Ibid., vol. IV, p. 23.

8 The Itihas Guru Khalsa (p. 125, fourth edition, published by Labh Singh and Sons) and the Panth Prakash (p. 103, Punjab Commercial Press edition) state that it lasted more than two months.
Let us take Macauliffe's account, which is based on Bhāi Santokh Singh's Suraj Prakash, the Gur Bilas, and the Itihas Guru Khalsa. It is stated that Hargovind's first important act was to gather the nucleus of an army. In the very beginning of his pontificate he is reported to have told Bhāi Budha, "my endeavour shall be to fulfil thy prophecy. My sēlī shall be a sword-belt, and I shall wear my turban with a royal aigrette." The Guru soon acquired an army about 600 strong, and he is said to have systematically turned his attention to the chase and other warlike occupations. In this manner the Guru continued for six years when, in 1612, the emperor summoned him to Delhi. Chandu Shah, the Dewan of Lahore, who had been mainly instrumental in bringing about the arrest and execution of Guru Arjan, had again come forward with the proposal of marrying his daughter to Hargovind soon after the latter's accession to the gaddī of his father. Hargovind bluntly refused the offer. This enraged Chandu beyond measure and he began his plots again. He poisoned the ears of the emperor against Hargovind, who represented, was fast collecting an army in order to take revenge upon the emperor for the execution of his father. Thereupon the Emperor called Hargovind to Delhi. Various stories are narrated as to how the Guru lived with the emperor for some time, apparently on friendly terms, and how the emperor ever remained unconvinced of the Guru's innocence. About this time the emperor had a very severe illness at Agra, and sought the advice of an astrologer to decide what would be the auspicious time for him to sit on his throne after his recovery. Chandu bribed the astrologer, who informed the emperor that a severe calamity was hanging over him, and that he could escape it only if some holy man were sent to the Fort of Gwalior to do penance there. Again, at the instigation of Chandu, the emperor's advisers all unanimously agreed that Hargovind was just the holy man wanted, and as a result the Guru was sent to the Fort of Gwalior. Macauliffe does not state how long the Guru remained in Gwalior, but it appears that after some time the emperor ordered his release, chiefly through the intercession of Wazir Khan. The Guru returned to Delhi and soon succeeded in convincing the emperor of Chandu's perfidy. Jahangir handed over Chandu to Hargovind, telling him to punish him as he pleased. The emperor was at this time extremely unwell and his physicians advised a change of air. He decided to spend the summer in Kashmir and asked the Guru to accompany him. The Guru complied and they started for Kashmir together. On their way they halted at Goindwal, Tarn Taran, and Amritsar. The Guru remained at Amritsar for a few days and ultimately joined the emperor at Lahore.

This is the Sikh account of the imprisonment and release of Hargovind. It will appear that much of it is fable rather than history, and that, obviously, the Sikhs try to hide the real causes of Guru Hargovind's imprisonment. The period of Hargovind's confinement is nowhere clearly mentioned. Macauliffe merely states that when the Guru's mother saw that he did not return in time, she became very anxious, and Bhāi Jetha went on a mission to Delhi to secure the Guru's release. "He succeeded in soothing the emperor, who had been troubled with fearful visions," and as a reward, Jahangir, who had already been favourably inclined towards the Guru through the pleadings of Wazir Khan, ordered Hargovind's release. However, the Guru could not have remained imprisoned very long, for he married Nanaki after his return from Delhi, and Nanaki's first child was born in 1618. The Guru could not marry Nanaki immediately after his release, as his tour with the emperor took some time. Even if we suppose that Nanaki conceived immediately after her marriage, about two years must have elapsed between the Guru's release and the birth of Anī Rāj. This would place the Guru's release about 1616. As he had been called to Delhi in 1612, he could not have remained in prison for more than four years.

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10 Ibid., p. 2.  
11 Ibid., p. 5.  
12 Ibid., p. 24.  
13 Ibid., p. 67.  
14 P. 101.
however, state that the Guru was called to Delhi in 1616, and as they suggest that the Guru's confinement lasted for only two months, perhaps the Guru was also released in the very same year. But it is impossible to reconcile these accounts with contemporary Muhammadan history. Jahangir left Agra in the autumn of 1613 and established his court and camp at Ajmer, in order to be in closer touch with the military operations that were then going on against Mewar. He left Ajmer on the 10th of November, 1616, and entered Mandu on March 6th, 1617. Then Jahangir started on a tour in Gujarat and returned to Agra in the middle of April, 1619, after an absence of five years and a half. It was about this time that Jahangir's health broke down. His physicians advised a change of air, and his annual visits to Kashmir began, his first sojourn of seven months taking place in 1620 (March to October). The Sikh records unanimously say that immediately after his release, Guru Hargovind accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir. A very severe illness of the emperor is also referred to. All these tend to place the Guru's release in 1619 or the beginning of 1620. A careful study of the Sikh records makes it clear, in more ways than one, that the Guru accompanied the emperor to Kashmir about this time. The Sikhs state that, being ill-treated by his father, Kaulan, the daughter of the Kazi of Lahore, besought the protection of the Guru. Kaulan's preceptor, the celebrated saint Mian Mir, also interceded with the Guru in her behalf. Hargovind accordingly gave her asylum and removed her to Amritsar, where, after some days, the famous tank, Kaulasar, was excavated in her memory. The date of the excavation of the tank is given as 1621. As Kaulan came under the protection of the Guru at the time when he came to Lahore in the emperor's camp, it seems that he accompanied the emperor at the time of his first sojourn, and as the Guru set out with the emperor immediately after his release, his release could not have taken place earlier than 1619.

This would make Hargovind's period of imprisonment extend to about seven years, as, according to Macauliffe, he had been summoned to Delhi in 1612. Mohsun Fani, however, clearly states that the Guru was kept in prison for twelve years. Leaving aside, for the present, the incontestable nature of the evidence of Mohsun Fani, let us see whether the Sikh records themselves lend any support to his statement. We have already said that Hargovind's marriage with Nanaki took place after his return to Amritsar. It is said, however, that this Nanaki had been betrothed to Hargovind, when his father, Guru Arjan, was still living. The reasons given for the postponement of the marriage are the extreme youth of Nanaki and the Guru's absence in Delhi, Agra, Lahore and other places. But if Hargovind had been imprisoned in 1612, he had been there six years during which he might have celebrated his marriage with Nanaki. The question of youth may safely be disregarded, as the Sikh records abound in instances of very early girl marriages. The inevitable conclusion must be that after his accession Hargovind had very little time to think of his marriage. He was put into prison about 1607, perhaps a year after his accession to the gaddi of his father, his release taking place in 1619, and the period of his imprisonment being twelve years.

Now, let us consider the causes of Guru Hargovind's imprisonment and see whether they throw any light on the question at issue. Both Cunningham and Narang say that the reasons for Guru Hargovind's incarceration were his over-independent character, his breaking of forest-laws owing to his great passion for hunting, and his appropriating to his own use the money he should have disbursed to the troops. The fine imposed on Arjan, moreover, had never been paid; and all these causes combined to induce the emperor to send Hargovind as a prisoner to the Fort of Gwalior. The main authority for this view is Capt.
Troyer's translation of the Dabistan. There we read "He (Hargovind) became involved in many difficulties; one of them was that he appropriated to himself the pay due to the soldiers in advance; he carried also the sword against his father; he kept besides many servants and was addicted to hunting. Jahangir, on account of the money due to the army, and of the mulct imposed upon Arjan Mal, sent Hargovind to the fort of Gwalior, where he remained imprisoned for twelve years."25 This passage seems to show conclusively that the conclusion we arrived at cannot be correct, because Hargovind could not have misappropriated the money due to the soldiers, unless he had already been in the service of the emperor. Macauliffe, however, says that Troyer's translation is thoroughly wrong and that the passage in question should be rendered thus:—"He had many difficulties to contend with; one of them was that he adopted the style of a soldier, wore a sword contrary to the custom of his father, maintained a retinue, and began to follow the chase. The emperor in order to extort from him the balance of the fine which had been imposed on Arjan Mal, sent him to Gwalior." The learned author adds, "we might suppose that Troyer had translated from a different text, and that the Dabistan has since its time been altered at somebody's instigation, if some of the blunders of Troyer's translation were not so very palpable."26 The statement that Hargovind carried the sword against his father is "not only opposed to the verbal and grammatical interpretation of the (Persian) passage, but it is also opposed to the whole tenor of the accounts of both Arjan and Hargovind given in the Dabistan itself." It does not seem, therefore, that Troyer had translated from a different text. However, Dr. Narang, who, as he informs us,27 consults the Bombay edition of the Dabistan, repeats Troyer's statement that Hargovind misappropriated the money granted by the emperor for his troops and appends a note that "the emperor could not understand the nature of the Guru's following. His troops were mostly volunteers and fought not for pay, but out of devotion and obedience."28 We have not been able to consult the original, but it is significant to note that Prof. Sarkar, who also uses the Bombay text,29 makes no mention of Hargovind's misappropriation of the money due to soldiers, though he states that the Guru was sent to Gwalior to make him pay the balance of the fine imposed upon his father.30 We are inclined to think that Narang committed the same mistake as Troyer, or had been misled by him. Moreover, if we accept Troyer's statement, chronological difficulties at once arise. In fact, Dr. Narang has involved himself in inconsistencies. He accepts Mohsun Fani's statement that Hargovind remained in prison for twelve years.31 We have seen that the Guru's journey to Kashmir with the Emperor could not have taken place earlier than 1620. This date also Dr. Narang accepts.32 But he, at the same time, says that the Guru was imprisoned after 1620. This is, however, clearly impossible. Mohsun Fani and the various Sikh records are all unanimous that both the imprisonment and release of Hargovind took place during the reign of Jahangir. Therefore, the Guru could not have been imprisoned after 1620; for Jahangir died in 1627 and the Guru remained in prison for twelve years. Again, Mohsun Fani states that Hargovind was "always attached to the stirrup of the victorious Jahangir", and on the latter's death in 1627 he entered the service of his son and successor, Shah Jahan.33 The latter statement makes it clear that Hargovind had been in the employ of the emperor Jahangir and on his death automatically entered the service of his successor, Cunningham, we think, is therefore right when he says, "On the death of Jahangir in 1628, Hargovind continued in the employ of the

27 Ibid., p. 111.
28 Ibid., p. 509. We do not however understand why Prof. Sarkar allows the calumny to stand in
30 Ibid., p. 509. We do not however understand why Prof. Sarkar allows the calumny to stand in
31 Narang, Ibid., p. 42, f.n. 3.
32 Ibid., p. 41.
Mahomedan Government. Hargovind, necessarily, was not a prisoner in 1627. Further, Dr. Narang apparently accepts 1628 as the date of Hargovind’s first battle against the Moghul Government; though according to his own statement he must have been in prison at that time. Evidently, we must place Hargovind’s imprisonment prior to 1620.

Nevertheless, the question remains as to whether the circumstances alluded to in the statement of Mohsun Fani existed in the year 1607, for otherwise we shall have to find a different date. A little discussion will, however, satisfy us that the conditions, alluded to by Mohsun Fani, were existent from the very beginning of Hargovind’s pontificate. We have already seen that immediately after his accession Hargovind adopted the style of a soldier and systematically turned his attention to the chase. He soon collected the nucleus of an army around himself, and his proclamation to the masands solved the difficulty about procuring ammunitions and horses. We know that the fine imposed on Arjan had never been paid; and thus all the reasons given by Mohsun Fani for Hargovind’s incarceration were there in 1607. If we read the Dabistan on this particular point together with the details given in the Sikh records, we may perhaps guess the truth. As we have seen, the Sikh chroniclers point out that Chandu’s enmity and Mihrban’s resentment were the main causes that led to Hargovind’s incarceration. Hargovind’s war-like habits and preparations gave the desired opportunity to his enemies, and the fine imposed upon Arjan gave the emperor the pretext for imprisoning his son. It appears clearly that the emperor was acted upon by others. The emperor’s own remarks in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri make it clear that even in the more serious matter of Guru Arjan’s execution he had been goaded into action by others, and it is not at all improbable that these very same men now procured Hargovind’s imprisonment.

This would also seem to suggest, as the Sikh chroniclers almost unanimously state, that the plots against Hargovind commenced immediately after his accession. On his way to Kabul and back Jahangir had twice halted at Lahore for some days in 1607 and the beginning of 1608, and it may well be that it was at this time that Hargovind’s enemies procured the emperor’s audience and made their representations against the young Guru. The fact that the fine imposed upon Arjan was made the main pretext for sending Hargovind to Gwailor also points to the same conclusion. All available facts thus tend to suggest that Hargovind was imprisoned about 1607 and released in 1619. It was then that he entered the service of the emperor, and after his death continued in the employ of his successor Shah Jahan.

This brings us to the second period of Guru Hargovind’s career. A study of the Sikh records make it clear that hostilities with the Muhammadan Government broke out almost immediately after the accession of Shah Jahan. It is apparent that, slender as his resources undoubtedly were, the Guru’s struggles with the Government of the great Shah Jahan could not last long. The evidence of Mohsun Fani also shows that the Guru was gradually driven from pillar to post, till at last he found safety in the hills. The details will appear more clearly in the next section, but it seems that there is not much difficulty in accepting Macauliffe’s statement that Hargovind’s last battle with the Mughals was fought in 1634.

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34 Cunningham, ibid., p. 57; Cunningham gives 1628 as the year of Jahangir’s death, but this is clearly a mistake. Jahangir died on October 28th, 1627; see Beni Prasad’s Jahangir, p. 43.
35 Narang, ibid., p. 57, f.n. 3.
36 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, p. 3.
37 Beni Prasad’s Jahangir, p. 150, f. n.
38 Chandu is unanimously regarded as a common factor.
39 It may possibly be urged against this view that in 1607 the Guru was too young to be taken seriously and imprisoned. But instances of the kind are not rare in Mughal history. Moreover, it appears that the personal issue was unimportant. The object of the emperor seems to have been to keep the young Guru as a hostage to ensure the orderliness of his followers and possibly also to realize the fine imposed on his father. We are also not unaware that under the present view certain difficulties arise about the dates of Hargovind’s children and grandchildren. But if we accept the statement of the Dabistan that the Guru was imprisoned for twelve years, the above conclusion, I think, fits in very well with the facts in hand.
40 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, p. 212.
We have not much to say about the last period when Hargovind lived in peace at Kiratpur, a mountain retreat "dependent upon the Raja Tarachand, who had never paid homage to the Badshah Shah Jahan."

But one point demands brief notice. Some Sikh records state that Hargovind died in 1638. Cunningham says "the manuscript accounts consulted place the Guru's death variously in A.D. 1637, 1638 and 1639; but they lean to the middle term." And on the authority of these records Dr. Trumpp gives 1638 as the year of Hargovind's death and suggests that there must be some mistake in the Arabic ciphers of the Dabistan, which places the Guru's death in February 1645. We are unable to accept Trumpp's suggestion, because Mohsun Fani is not alone in stating that Hargovind died in 1645. He is corroborated by the Panth Prakash, the Itihas Guru Khalsa and Macauliffe. One of the manuscripts discovered at Dacca by Mr. Gurbaksh Singh also clearly proves that Dr. Trumpp's surmise cannot be correct. Mohsun Fani further states that he had himself seen the Guru in 1643. Verily, therefore, we must accept 1645 as the date of Guru Hargovind's death.

(To be continued.)

BUDDERMOKAN.

By Sir Richard C. Temple, Bc.

(Continued from page 30.)

II.

Badaruddin Auliā of Chittagong.

Let us now examine the evidence as to Badaruddin Auliā. I found nothing about the great Chittagong saint in Vol. VI, Chittagong, of the Statistical Account of Bengal, nor could I get any information in correspondence with the local authorities. The official List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal, 1895, pp. 223–231, relates to the antiquities of the Chittagong Division, but there is not a word about Badaruddin's tomb in it. We can, however, guess at its locality, from a brief entry as to the Mosque of Muhammad Yāsīn, which is referred to in Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, 1881. The entry runs as follows: District, Chittagong; locality; Rahmatganj; Thānā; Town Station; Name of Monument; Kadam Mobārak Mosque; History or Tradition regarding the Monument; the Kadam Mobārak Mosque was built by Nawāb Muhammad Eyāsīn Khān at Ras捆nagar in Chittagong town in the year 1136 Hijrī, corresponding to 1719 A.D. [1136 A.H., however, commenced on 20th Sept. 1723]: Custody or present use; in use and looked after by Maulāvī 'Abdūn-Sobḥān, the present muṭawalli; Present state of preservation and suggestion for conservation; good."

In reference to the above remarks, Beale, in the Oriental Biographical Dictionary, 1881, has an entry "Pir Badar" at p. 216, which explains the above quotation. Pir Badar, or simply Badar, is the great saint of the Chittagonic, Badaruddin Auliā or Badar Sāhib, known under the various corruptions already given, which are merely variants of his title of the ordinary sort.

Beale says of this saint: "Pir Badar, a celebrated Musalmān saint, whose tomb is at Chitagan in Bengal and is evidently of great antiquity. There is a stone scraped into furrows, on which, it is said, Pir Badar used to sit. There is also another bearing an inscription, which from exposure to the weather, and having on it numerous coats of whitewash, is illegible. There is a mosque near the tomb with a slab of granite, bearing an illegible inscription, apparently from the Kurān. At a short distance is the masjid of Muhammad Yāsīn, with an inscription conveying the year of the Hijri 1136 (1724 A.D.)."

41 Sikhām de raj dī Bhikha for instance. See Court's Translation, p. 27.
42 Cunningham, ibid., p. 69, n. 2.
43 Trumpp's Adī Granth, p. lxxxv, n. 3.
44 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, p. 239. The author, however, quoted the Dabistan as his authority.
47 Both Malcolm and Forster give 1644 as the date of Hargovind's death but "obviously from regarding 1701 Sambat (which Malcolm also quotes) as identical throughout, instead of for about the first nine months only, with A.D. 1644."
In 1894, Beamens wrote in J.R.A.S., p. 833 ff., as follows: "Pir Badar . . . . This saint is well known all over Bengal and Upper India. His full name is Badru’ddin [i.e., ‘full moon of the Faith’]. He is also called Badar-i-Alam [or ‘full moon of the world’]. Born at Meerut in the North-West Provinces, he led the wandering life of a faqir and was probably attracted to Bengal by the outburst of Muslim propagation under the renegade Hindu king Jalâlu’ddin [1414-1430]. He lived for a long time at Châtgaâw [Chittagong], where a dargah or shrine is still one of the most conspicuous and venerated places of pilgrimage in the district. With the usual tolerance or superstition, or whatever the sentiment may be called, so prevalent in Bengal, Hindus and Musalmans alike worship at his shrine. Even Maghs, who are, if anything, Buddhists, pay their vows to him. He is said to have left Chittagong shortly before his death, and settled in Bihâr, where he died in A.H. 544, or A.D. 1440.

"How the idea of his dominion over rivers and the sea arose it is difficult to determine.

The primitive nature worship of the Non-Aryan aborigines of India, with its local daimonia and tutelary spirits, has survived the introduction, first of Hinduism and subsequently of Islam, and the numerous pîrs or saints, whom Hindu and Musalmân alike reverence, are in all probability only the old animistic spirits transformed. One great step in this process of transformation was to appropriate the name of some Musalmân saint of great local celebrity, around whose name there would soon grow up a mass of wild legends, varying in different districts. A spirit who ruled the waters and controlled the storms was a natural and inevitable member of the animistic Pantheon of a land of seas and rivers. In Eastern Bengal we have not only Pir Badar, but Zindhâ Ghâzi, Gâzi Miyan, and the Panch Pîr [the Five Saints], and many others wielding similar powers."

In view of these last remarks it is just possible that the Northern Hindus assimilated Pir Badar with the Flood from the likeness of his name to their term for the Clouds, Badal. See Crooke, s.v., in his Rural and Agricultural Glossary for the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, 1883.

Later on it will be seen that the Syrians of Al-Bîrûnî’s time (973-1048 A.D.) had a festival called the Feast of Mount Tabor, in reference to a legend of the disappearance of Moses and Elias, with which last Khwâja Khizâr, identified with Badaru’ddin, is also identified with two of three clouds: see Sachau’s Translation of Al-Bîrûnî’s Chronology of the Ancient Nations, p. 269.

Next, Gait, in the Census Report, Bengal, 1901, pt. I, page 178, gives the following information:

"Pir Badar of Chittagong is the guardian saint of sailors. He is invoked by the beating classes, Hindu as well as Muhammadan, when they start on a journey by sea or river as follows:

Amara ñcekhl polâpân
Gâzi ñcekhê nhikhâmân,
Shirh Gangâ dariyâ Pânce Pîr,
Badar, Badar, Badar,

Which may be translated thus: ‘We are but children, the Ghâzi is our Protector, the Ganges river is on our head. Oh Five Saints, Oh Badar, Badar, Badar’.

"This Pir, who is said to have arrived at Chittagong, floating upon a stone slab, is mentioned by Dr. Wise, according to whom he is no other than one Badru’ddin, who was for many years a resident of Chittagong, died in 1440, and was buried in the Chhotâ Dargâh of Bihâr. The local story of his arrival is that Chittagong was at the time the abode of fairies and hobbgoblins, and that no one could live there. The saint begged a space for his lamp. This was granted and when he lit it, its magic power was so great that the spirits were frightened away. An old Portuguese resident of Chittagong who died recently [in 1901], used to aver that the
saint was a Portuguese sailor, the only survivor from a shipwreck, who floated ashore on a raft and became a Muhammadan. There is a hillock in front of the Commissioner's house, which is reputed to be the place where Pir Badar lit his lamp and here candles are burnt nightly, the cost being met by contributions from Hindus, and even Feringis [Europeans or Native Christians], as well as from Muhammadans." To this information is added a footnote: "Mr. R. C. Hamilton is disposed to identify Pir Badar with Khwaja Khizir. 'Badar' in Chittagong is a religious exclamation used to invoke a blessing. This identification, he says, explains why the name of Khwaja Khizir is not locally known."

From *JASB.* (1873) pt. I, p. 302-3, I gather the following information:

"The Firuz Shāh Inscription in the Chhotā Dargāh, A.H. 961 [1544 A.D.]."

"The Chhotā Dargāh of Bihār is the shrine of Badru'ddin Badr-i-‘Alam. This faqir came from Mīrāth, is said to have spent a long time at Chāṭgāon, and settled at last in Bihār, where he died in 844 A.H., or 1440 A.D., the tarīkh of his death being, 'he joined the glory of the Lord.' It is said that the famous Sharafu'ddin Muniyār had invited him, but Badr delayed in Chāṭgāon, and only arrived in Bihār forty days after Sharafu'ddin's death.

"The slab stands in the northern enclosure, and contains the name of the Bengali Firuz Shāh on one side and that of the Dībī Firuz Shāh on the other . . . . The slab is now considered an infallible cure for evil spirits of all sorts."

In support of the above statement Dr. James Wise in his rare book *Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of Eastern Bengal,* makes the following remark:

"Besides Khwājah Khizir, Bengal supplies other animistic ideas regarding water, and Pir Badr shares with him the dominion of the rivers. This spirit is invoked by every sailor and fisherman, when starting on a cruise, or when overtaken by a squall or a storm. All Muhammadans agree that he resided at Chittagong, but his history does not disclose the reason why the attributes of a water-demon were conferred on him. According to one account he was a ship-wrecked Portuguese sailor, named "Pas Gual Peeris Bothello," who reached the shore by clinging to a piece of wreck. The guardians of his shrine, however, say that about a hundred and fifty years ago [1670 A.D.], Pir Badr arrived at Chittagong 'floating on a rock' and informed the terror-stricken inhabitants that he had come all the way from Akyab on this novel craft. The neighbourhood of Chittagong being then infested by Jins or evil spirits, he exterminated them, and took possession of the whole country. The modern Dargāh, or cenotaph, of Pir Badr stands in the centre of Chittagong, and is regarded as the palladium of the city. *Faqirs* are the custodians, and the mosque with its rooms for pilgrims is kept scrupulously clean. On the walls of the cenotaph are ten niches for ten oil-lamps, which are lighted every evening and burn all night. Pilgrims from all parts of Bengal visit the Dargāh in fulfilment of vows or to obtain the favour and intercession of the saint, while Hindu fishermen regard him with as much awe as Muhammadans. His Ura or festival is celebrated annually on the twenty-ninth of Ramzan, the anniversary of his death. There can, however, be little doubt that Pir Badr is no other than Badru'ddin Badr-i-‘Alam, for many years a resident of Chittagong, who died A.H. 844 (1440), and was buried in the Chhotā Dargāh of Bihār, but about whom we possess no further particulars (*JASB.*, pt. I, No. 3, 1873)."

Further, Risley, *s.v.* Tiyar, in *Tribes and Castes of Bengal,* 1892, vol. II, p. 330 has the following entry:

"As was natural, the Tiyars have peopled the waters and streams with beneficent and wicked spirits, whose friendship is to be secured, and enmity averted, by various religious rites. Along the banks of the river Lakhya they worship Pir Badr, Khwājah Khizir, and, in fulfilment of vows, offer through any Musalmān a goat to Madār, whom they regard as a water god, but who may be identified with Shāh Madār Bād-u'ddin, who is not, of course, Badru'ddin Auliā, but another famous saint."
In 1894 Mr. Beveridge also communicated a note (JRAS., p. 480) saying that "under the heading Panch Pir, Dr. Wise quotes [Notes on the Races of Eastern Bengal, 1873, p. 17.] the song which the Muhammadan boatmen sing on the Ganges, and which ends with the words: Sar-i-Gangâ, Pâñcch Pîr, Badr, Badr, Badr." Here we seem to have the origin of the women's custom, quoted by Dr. Anderson of dropping coppers into the water on a river journey with the words: "Darya ke pâñcch paisâ, Badhar, Badhar," where the Five Saints (Pâñcch Pîr), have become "five pence" (pâñcch paisâ), the Musalmân's Pâñcch Pîr being no doubt due to the old and famous Pancha Dêva, the Five Gods, of the Hindu domestic ritual of purely Indian descent. 2

The next quotation from Crooke, Popular Religion of Northern India, 1894, pp. 20 f., definitely connects Pîr Badar with Khuwâja Khizr, as God of the Flood. "The Hindus have a special God of Water, Khuwâja Khizr, whose Muhammadan title has been Hinduised into Râjâ Kidâr, or as he is called in Bengal, Kâwâj or Pîr Bhadhr. This is a good instance of the fact that Hindus are always ready to annex deities and beliefs of other races. According to the Sikandarâhma [c. 1200 A.D.] Khuwâja Khizr was a saint of Islam, who presided over the Well of Immortality, and directed Alexander of Macedon in his search for the Blessed Waters. The fish is his vehicle and hence its image is painted over the doors of both Hindus and Muhammadans, while it became the family crest of the late Royal house of Oudh. Among the Muhammadans a prayer is said to Khuwâja Khizr at the first shaving of a boy. At marriage a little boat is launched on a river or tank in his honour. . . . The patron deity of boatmen, who is invoked by them to prevent their boats from being broken or submerged, or to show them the way when they have lost it. All through the Eastern Panjab he is entrusted with the safety of travellers. He is worshipped by burning lamps, feeding Brahmins, and by setting afloat on a village pond a little raft of grass with a lighted lamp placed on it."

We have thus arrived at the point that the cult of the Indian Fifteenth-century saint, Badru'ddin Auliâ, is connected closely with the worship of Khuwâja Khizr, as the God of the Flood.

There is also a definite cult of Khuwâja Khizr in Bengal. Gait, Census Report, Bengal, 1901, tells us about it as follows, vol. I, p. 179: "Closely allied to the adoration of Pîrs is the homage paid to certain mythical persons, amongst whom Khuwâja Khizr stands pre-eminent. This personage appears to have been a pre-Islamic hero of the Arabs and some say he was a prophet of paighambar born a thousand years before Muhammad. He is said by many to be the 'servant of God' mentioned in the Korân, whom Moses found by following in the track of a fried fish which miraculously came to life, and rebuked Moses on several occasions for his undue curiosity. However this may be, Khuwâja Khizr is believed at the present day to reside in the seas and rivers of India, and to protect mariners from shipwreck. His special connection with water is due to his having wandered all over the waters of the world in search of the secrets of everlasting life. He is invoked by mariners, and is also propitiated by the more ignorant Muhammadans, at marriages and during the rainy season, by the launching in rivers and tanks of berds or small paper boats, decorated with flowers and lit up with candles. Food is also distributed to the destitute in his name, or left on the bank to be picked up by the first beggar who passes."

The Census Report then goes on to state:--"The Hindus of Upper India call Khuwâja Khizr, Râjâ Kidâr, which clearly connects him with Al-Khidr, who, according to Sale Surâ Kalif, chapter XVIII., is also identified with the same 'servant of God.' He is often confounded with Phineas, Elias and St. George, and his soul is supposed to have passed through them all by metampsychosis. He is supposed to have become immortal by finding out, and drinking of, the Water of Life. The name Khizr or 'Ever-green' was given him because every spot he sat on became covered with green grass. Part of these fictions were taken from

2 See Temple, Word of Laila, the Prophetess, p. 70.
the Jews who fancy Phineas was Elias. (Sale's Koran, vol. II, page 121.) According to Dr. Wise, Al Khidr is no other than Alexander the Great, but this seems incorrect. There is a legend that Alexander the Great wanted to drink the water of Everlasting Life and was conducted to the spring by Khwāja Khīzr, but finding it surrounded by a crowd of decrepit old men, who, though still alive, could not stir, he was disgusted at the sight and returned to the upper world without tasting the water.

Finally Wise, in his Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal, pp. 12 f. (1883), makes the following illuminating observations:

**Khwāja Khīzr.**

"Who this person was is still a subject of dispute among Muhammadans. The eighteenth chapter of the Korān describes the expedition of Moses and Joshua in search of Al Khadr, called Zu’lqarnain, a title by which Alexander is known all over the East. Hence it is inferred that Khwājah Khīzr is no other than Alexander. Most commentators, however, identify him with Elias or Elijah, who having drunk of the water of life (āb-i-hayāt), never tasted of death, and Mr. Deutsch informs us (Quarterly Review, Oct. 1869) that in the Talmud Elijah appears as a kind of immortal tutelary genius, who goes about in the garb of an Arab. Others affirm that he was the companion, counsellor and commander-in-chief of the armies of Zu'lqarnain, or Kaikobad; but in Asia Minor Khīzr is a name of Saint George of Cappadocia.

"The legends about Khīzr are not unknown to Western literature. To them we owe the beautiful poem of The Hermit, by Parnell and the tale of L'Ermité in Voltaire's Zaïg. It is supposed that the story of Khīzr in the Korān was brought to Europe by the Crusaders, and was embalmed in the folklore of the West until quickened by the pen of genius and graced with the charms of an apologue or moral tale.

"Whoever he was, Khwājah Khīzr is believed at the present day to reside in the sea and rivers of India, protecting mariners from shipwreck and to be only visible to those who accomplish a forty days watch on the banks of a river. (The person who is favoured in this way usually adopts the trade of a water-carrier, bhīṣṭ.) Muhammadans of all ranks make vows to him in seasons of sickness or trouble, and present offerings in acknowledgment of any blessing, such as the birth of a son, attributed to his intercession.

"The festival of the Berā, or raft, is properly observed on the last Thursday of the Muhammadan year; in Bengal it is held on the last Thursday of the Hindu month Bhādōn (August-September), which corresponds with the breaking up of the rains. The festival is kept by Hindus, especially by boatmen and fishermen, as well as by Muhammadans. The Berā, usually made of paper, ornamented with tinsel, has a prow resembling a female face, with the crest and breast of a peacock, in imitation of the figurehead on the bow of the mor-pañkhi shoreboat. The effigy placed on a raft of plantain stems is set afloat at sunset and with its flickering lights gives a picturesque aspect to the dark and flooded stream. At Murshidābād, where the festival was first kept by Sirāj-ud-daulah, the Bāgarathī is illuminated by hundreds of rafts floating with the stream while the banks are crowded by the inhabitants. It is the custom for the person launching the Berā to deposit on the bank a few slices of ginger, a little rice and two or three plantains, which are usually snatched up by some wretched beggar.

"Whether or not the modern idea of peopling the waters with deathless spirits was derived from the ancient Persians or Hindus, it harmonized so well with the prepossessions of the Muhammadans as to be adopted without hesitation as a religious conception. It is, however, impossible with our present knowledge to explain why Khwājah Khīzr, who is not regarded by other Oriental people as the guardian spirit of the waters, should have been"

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3. Kaikobad was a legendary Persian king or hero of the Shāhnameh in the very early Peshdadian times, identified with the Mediae Dei Core, conquered by the Assyrian king Sargon in 715 B.C.
selected as such in the Gangetic valley, more especially as in various parts of the Muhamma-
dan world other fabulous persons are adopted by seafaring races. 'Abdul-Qadir Gilani and
Abu-Zulaimah control portions of the Eastern seas, while a family spirit, Mama Salmah, pre-
sides over the beating against the cliffs of Rau Mosandim at the entrance of the Persian Gulf;
and Indian marines sailing past propitiate her by offerings of cocoanuts, fruits and flowers.

"On the Coromandel Coast again Qadir Wali Sahib is a patron saint of sailors, as Shaikh
'Ali Haidari was at Cambay in the fourteenth century, and Abu Ishaq al Kazmuni at Shiraz."

III.

**Khwaja Khizr or Al-Rahib.**

To get, however, at the Legend of Al-Khizr, who is mixed up with both Biblical and
Koranic story and with the Asiatic legend of Alexander the Great, I will commence with a
quotation from Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam,* 1885, s.v. Al-Khizr. But I will first quote
from Wherry, *Quran,* 1885, vol. III, p. 76, where he identifies "Khidhar" with Jethro: "A
remarkable feature in this Chapter [Surat-al-Kahaf] is that three of them are derived from
apocryphal sources, viz., the story of Khidhar (Jethro)."

Hughes writes as follows: "Al-Khizr, lit., 'the Green One.' The Maulawi Muhammad
Tahir [ob. 1147 A.D.] says the learned are not agreed as to whether he is a prophet or not.
His real name is, according to Al-Baijawi [ob. c. 1286 A.D.], Balya ibn Malkan. Some say
that he lived in the time of Abraham and that he is still alive in the flesh, and most of the
religious and Sufi mystics are agreed upon this point, and some have declared that they
have seen him. And they say that he is still to be seen in sacred places, such as Makka [Mecca] and Jerusalem. Some few traditionists deny his existence: others say he is of the family of Noah and the son of a King (MAJmu'al Bihar, p. 250). His name
does not occur in the *Qur'an*, but Hussain Jalaluddin [ob. 1605], Al-Baijawi [ob. 1286], and
nearly all the commentators believe that Al-Khizr is the mysterious individual referred to
in the narrative in the *Qur'an*, surah, xviii, 59-81.

"In some Muslim books he seems to be confounded with Elias and in others with St.
George, the patron saint of England. In the above quotation [from the *Qur'an*] he is repre-
sented as the companion of Moses and the commentator Hussain says he was a General in the
army of Zu'l-Qarnain (Alexander the Great). But as Al-Khizr is supposed to have discovered
and drunk of the Fountain of Life, he may be contemporary with any age."

Here we see the connection of Al-Khizr with the Zindar, the Ever-living Saint, and the
general surroundings of the Legend and its antiquity. Let us now see what the *Qur'an*, c. 620
A.D., says about him. In the *Surat-al-Kahaf*, Sipara, xv, xvi, *Ruq'a* 10, Sale's *Translation*,
1734, occur the following words: "And remember Moses said unto his servant Joshua, the
son of Nun: 'I will not cease to go forward until I come to the place where the two seas meet,
or I will travel for a long space of time.' But when they arrived at the meeting of the two
seas they forgot their fish, which they had taken with them and they both went back, returning
the way they came. And coming to the rock they found one of the servants [Al-Khizr ac-


bourg to receive opinion] unto whom we had granted mercy from us, and whom we taught
wisdom before us. And Moses said unto him: 'Shall I follow thee that thou mayest teach
me part of that which thou hast been taught for a direction unto me?' He answered:
"Verily thou canst not bear with me, for how canst thou patiently suffer those things, the
knowledge whereof thou dost not comprehend?' Moses replied: 'Thou shalt find me patient
if God please: neither will I be disobedient unto thee in anything.' He said: 'If thou follow
me, therefore ask me not concerning anything until I shall declare the meaning thereof
unto thee.' So they both went on by the sea-shore until they went up into a ship; and he
made a hole therein. And Moses said unto him: 'Hast thou made a hole therein that thou
mightest drown those who are on board! Now thou hast done a strange thing.' He
answered: 'Did I not tell thee that thou couldst not bear with me? This shall be a
separation between me and thee: but I will first declare unto thee the signification of that which thou couldst not bear with patience. The vessel belonged to certain poor men, who did their business in the sea: and I was minded to render it unserviceable because there was a king behind them who took every sound ship by force.”

Following this Legend on to Surah, xviii, Sale has three notes pertinent to the present enquiry in the Chandos Edition of his great work. (1) At p. 222, he notes: “To explain this long passage the commentators tell the following story. They say that Moses, once preaching to the people, they admired his knowledge and eloquence so much that they asked him whether he knew any man in the world wiser than himself; to which he answered in the negative. Whereupon God in a revelation, having reprehended him for his vanity (though some pretend that Moses asked God the question of his own accord), acquainted him that his servant Al-Khâdîr was more knowing than he, and at Moses’ request told him he might find the person at a certain rock where two seas met; directing him to take a fish with him in a basket, and that where he missed the fish that was the place. Accordingly Moses set out with his servant, Joshua, in search of Al-Khâdîr; which expedition is here described. Al-Beïdâwi [ob. c. 1286], Al-Zamakhshari [ob. c. 1142], Al-Bokhârî [ob. 870], in Sonna [c. 7th cent. A.D.], etc.” (2) Sale goes on (p. 222): “It is said that when they came to the rock, Moses falling asleep, the fish which was wasted, leaped out of the basket into the sea. Some add that Joshua, making the ablution at the Fountain of Life, some of the water happened to be sprinkled on the fish, which immediately restored it to life. Al-Beïdâwi [ob. c. 1286].” And (3) on p. 222 Sale notes: “This person according to the general opinion was the Prophet Al-Khâdîr, whom the Mohammedans usually confound with Phineas, Elias and St. George, saying that his soul passed by a metempsychosis successfully into all three. Some, however, say that his true name was Balya ebn Malekân, and that he lived in the time of Afrîdûn, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and that he preceded Dhû’l-karnâin [Alexander of the Two Horns, the Great] and lived to the time of Moses. They suppose that Al-Khâdîr, having found out the Fountain of Life and drank thereof, became immortal and that he had therefore this name [the Green One] from his flourishing continually. Part of these fictions they took from the Jews, some of whom fancy that Phineas was Elias.”

Part of the Legend is no doubt Semitic in origin, but the connection of Al-Khîriz with the Fountain of Life would seem to go to Persian sources. We have just seen him connected with Afrîdûn, one of the very early semi-mythical Peshidadian kings of Persia known to the Muhammadan writers through Firdûsî’s Shâh-nâmâ (941−1020 A.D.). We shall now see him connected with another, Kaikubâd. In Shen and Troyer’s Dâbistân, 1843, (vol. I, p. 57n.) occurs the following passage: “Khîriz is confounded by many with the Prophet Elias, who is supposed to dwell in the Terrestrial Paradise in the enjoyment of immortality. According to the Târîkh Muntakhab [c. 1610 A.D.] this Prophet was Abraham’s nephew and served as a guide to Moses and the children of Israel in their passage of the Red Sea and the desert. The same author tells us that Khîriz lived in the time of Kai-Kobûd, at which he discovered the Fountain of Life (Herbelot).” The text, dated c. 1650, to which the above is a note, runs as follows: “They [the Sipâsîn, a Persian pre-Muhammadan sect] also assert that whatever modern writers have declared relative to Khîriz and Iskander [Alexander] having penetrated into the regions of darkness, where the former discovered the Fountain of Life Immortal, means that the Iskander or the intelligent soul, through the energy of the Khîriz or reason, discovered, whilst in a state of human darkness, the Water of Life. In some passages they interpret the tradition after this manner: by Khîriz is meant the intellectual soul or rational faculty, and by Iskander the animal soul or natural instinct. The Khîriz of the intellectual soul, associated with the Iskander of the animal soul and the host (of perceptions) arrived at the fountain-head of understanding and obtained immortality, whilst the Iskander of the animal soul returned back empty-handed.”
Here we have a philosophical explanation of a common people's tale by men, who did not believe in the plain story, told us, more Asiatico, after a fashion dear to the Sufi's heart. However, Rehatsek in his Alexander Myth of the Persians, 1880, p. 66 f. tells the tale as follows: "Having arrived in a country, all the people of which were of strong build with red faces and yellow hair, Alexander asked them about the remarkable things of those regions. One of them replied that at some distance there existed a water about which no one could give any information, the spring called the Water of Life, . . . by drinking of which a human being becomes immortal . . . . An account, exceeding sixty distiches of Alexander's visit to this spring is given in the Shâhnâmâh [of Firdusi, 941-1020 A.D.]. His guide, the prophet Khidr, reached the water, drank of it and attained immortality . . . . The subject is treated at much greater length in the Sikandernâmâh of Nizami [1140-1203 A.D.]. . . . Also here the Prophet Khidr was the guide . . . . Khidr is successful in his errand, drinks the miraculous water and becomes immortal."

The late Dr. William Crooke gave me some of the references to which I have alluded, and he also gave me another to Rawlinson's History of Herodotus (1858), vol. I, p. 585, which unfortunately I have been unable to verify, to my great regret. If verifiable it would have been of much importance to the present argument, as Dr. Crooke stated it showed the cult of Al Khîr extending to the Caspian Sea, known as Daryâ-Khîr or the Sea of Khîr.

However, going across the Caspian into Southern Russia I find a quotation which gives one to think in this connection. Ralston, Songs of the Russian People, 1872, 2nd ed., p. 151 ff., says: "Especially dangerous is it to bathe during the week in which falls the feast of the Prophet Ilyâ [Elijah but ? Elias], formerly Perun, the Thunderer], for then Vodyany [a malignant water sprite] is on the look out for the victims." Here we have clearly a character created for a Semitic Prophet, assimilated by the Russian peasantry, through the adoption of Christianity, out of a pre-Christian god and sprite. The importance of this fact arises out of the consideration that if modern research is right in attributing to Southern Russia the original home of the Aryan migrant to Western Asia, Persia, and India, then the cult of Al-Khîr and his connection with the Water of Life may be ancient indeed.

It is, however, by no means clear from the older writers that the tradition of Al-Khîr and the Fountain of Life is of Persian and not of Semitic origin. Al-Birûnî, the historical philosopher (973-1048) at the Court of Mahmûd of Ghaznî (997-1030) with Firdûsî the historical poet, whom he must have known personally, in his Chronology of the Ancient Nations, Sachau's Translation, 1879, writes (p. 269) of the Festivals of the Jews as follows: [Month of Tishir] 7. Fasting of Punishment . . . . The Jew Ja'îb. b. Mûsâ Al-nîkrîsî (i.e., the physician) told me in Jurjân the following: 'Moses wanted to leave together with the Israelites, but Joseph the Prophet had ordered that they should take his coffin along with them. As he, however, was buried in the bottom of the Nile and the water flowed over him, he could not get him away. Now, Moses took a piece of paper and cut it into the figure of a fish: over this he recited some sentences, breathed upon it, wrote something upon it, and threw it into the Nile . . . . the coffin appeared.' " Again at p. 29, he writes of the Festivals of the Syrian Calendar: [Month of Ab] 5. Moses, the son of Amram. 6. Feast of Mount Tabor, regarding which the Gospel relates that once the Prophets, Moses the son of Amram and Elias, appeared to Christ on Mount Tabor, when three of his disciples, Simeon, Jacob and John were with him, but slept. When they awoke and saw this, they were frightened and spoke 'May our Lord i.e., Messiah, permit us to build three tents; one for thee and the other two for Moses and Elias.' They had not yet finished speaking, when three clouds standing high above them, covered them with their shadow. Then Moses and Elias entered the cloud and disappeared. Moses was dead already a long time before that, whilst Elias was alive and
is still living, as they say: but he does not show himself to mankind, hiding himself from their eyes. 7. Elias, the Everliving, whom we mentioned just now. 8. Elisha the Prophet, disciple of Elias."

So far Al-Biruni, and in Sprenger's Translation, 1841, of Al-Mas'udi (c. 950) vol. I, p. 89 f. we read: "Those who believe in the Pentateuch and other ancient books maintain that Mūsā [Moses] b. Misha, b. Yūsuf [Joseph], b. Ya'kūb [Jacob], was a prophet before Mūsā b. Amrān [the Moses of the Bible], and that it was he who sought El-Khidr b. Mekkān, b. Fālgha, b. 'Aber, b. Shālēh, b. Asfakhshād, b. Sām [Shem], b. Nūh [Noah]. Some of those who believe in the Old Testament say El-Khidr was the same person as Hadhrūn b. 'Ismāyil [Ishmael], b. Elifāz, b. El-'Aisū, b. Ishāk [Isaac], b. Ībrāhīm [Abraham]. He was sent as prophet to his nation, who were converted by him." Again at p. 121, he writes: "There were several prophets, and they were distinguished by godliness, between Solomon [Solomon], Son of Dawūd [David], and the Masih [Messiah] as Aramayā [Jeremiah], Dāniyāl [Daniel], 'Ozair [Ezra], Shayā [Isaiah], Hizkiyāl [Ezekiel]. Iyās [Elias], El-Yasa' [Elisha], Yūnos [Jonas], Dāl-kif [Obadiah] and El-Khidr."

One more quotation from Al-Biruni (p. 269) and I have done with the old Muhammadan writers: "[The month of Isfaridārmadh-Mah] the 19th or Farwardin-Roz is called Nauroz [New Year's Day] of the rivers of all running waters, when people throw perfumes, rose-water, etc., into them." Here we are reverting to a Persian custom and nomenclature.

However, whether we are to look to the Semiitic peoples or to the ancient Persian Aryans for the inception of the God of the Flood and the Fountain of Eternal Life as represented by Al-Khidr, the Khwāja Khizr of India—khwāja by the way being an essentially Persian title—we find it pretty clear that he is an importation from the West into India. We find also the origin of the widely spread Fish Symbol in India and the identification of Khwāja Khizr with the Zindā Pir, the Living Saint, before the cult spread to India.

*(To be continued.)*

BOOK-NOTICES.


The modest volumes in which the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission are issued contain more and more valuable information as time goes on, and this one is specially full of important papers. It opens with one of Sir Evan Cotton's well annotated papers on old times under British rule, wherein he deals with Clive and the Strachey family in the days when Henry Strachey was Magistrate of the frontier district of Midnapur. It is a discursive paper, but it contains a new and most important account of the death of Clive from Mr. St. Loe Strachey writing with old family papers before him. Let me quote: "shortly before his death Clive addressed the following letter to Henry Strachey: 'how miserable is my condition. I have a disease which makes life insupportable but which my doctors tell me won't shorten it one hour.' The disease was 'a very painful form of dyspepsia accompanied by vertigo,' and so the great warrior and statesman cuts his throat.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar gives us further information about Shivaji in his own inimitable manner from unpublished French Records in Paris. This time it is about his doings in the Madras Karnatak where Jinni was his capital. This paper is of peculiar value because it is so important to learn all one can about Jinni. In the course of his pregnant remarks on this subject, as it appears in the French Records, Prof. Sarkar very properly points to the 'unique value' of the Memoires of Francois Martin, the founder of Pondicherry (MS. T. 1169 in the Archives Nationales of Paris). Of him the Prof. writes: "the diplomatic talent and administrative genius of M. Martin must lend a high value to whatever he wrote." Let us hope they will one day be printed for the use of students.

The next article is, however, perhaps the most arresting in this most interesting collection. Miss Clara E. J. Collet of University College, London, writes of "the private letter books of Joseph Collet, some time Governor of Fort St. George, Madras (1717-1720)." Joseph Collet was "chosen" Governor of York Fort at Bencooleen in 1710 and then Governor of Madras till 1720 and his "letter books cover that period and are contained in four large and firmly bound volumes." They are obviously full of notes of high value at a time when detailed information is largely lacking. He had an exciting time at Rio de Janeiro on the way out and the few extracts that Miss Collet has given us
of his observations there in Sumatra only serve to whet the appetite for more. Collet was evidently a man of independence of character and close observation, and also full of desire to learn what he could of the natives of the countries in which his lot was cast. Indeed one quotation from his letters of a conversation with an educated Hindu in 1712 is so good that I am extracting it separately as a note for this journal, as it is too long to quote in a book-notice. In fact it seems to be more than a pity that letters that promise so highly should be allowed to remain indefinitely in MS., and I sincerely hope that Miss Collet may find an opportunity of printing them in extenso.

Then follows Mr. J. J. Cotton with an entertaining notice of George Chinmery the artist, in which is collected a quantity of information well worth digesting. Here again I have found two matters which I separately extracting for the journal; firstly an account of a massoolah boat and secondly of a catamaran in the first years of the nineteenth century. After George Chinmery we return to the Marathas again and have to follow a well-known writer on the affairs of that people—Rao Bahadur D. B. Paramis, who makes out a strong case indeed for further research into contemporary documents, as found in the Maratha Records, relating to the History of South India. Inter alia he writes: "On previous occasion I have made a reference to Janardhan Shivaram, the Peshwa’s Vakil at Pondicherry. Some of his letters have now been published in the volumes of the Itilhas Sangrah, and they testify to the ability and statesmanship of the writer. Unless these letters are translated into English, they will not be of much use to students of history not knowing Marathi. I would therefore suggest that the Commission arrange for the translation of these valuable documents. They are equally important as, if not more important than, the diary of Anand Ranga Pillay, the interpreter of Dupleix, which the Madras Government have recently published in English." The fact is that there is so great a mass of MS. matter relating to Maratha history in existence which ought to be unearthed and properly edited, that many suggestions have been made as to how it might be done. Here is another.

I have had occasion on other matters to draw attention to the Biblical saying: "Where the carcass is there shall the eagles be gathered together." I propose to use it again here. Create the Library and the Professor, and pupils will gather round them. It has always been thus. So I suggest, as a preposition attractive to the wealthy donor interested in the history of his country and people as well as to the official similarly interested, that the documents of Maratha history be collected, so far as is possible, by the Bombay University and by other suitable centres with arrangements for their proper care, and that at each such centre a professor, and if possible readers also, of Historical Research, be appointed, and I feel sure that soon students will collect around them and the documents of Maratha History be made available for all the world to study. At any rate those who are inclined to tack the study with funds will in this way find a definite object on which to spend money practically as well as usefully.

Mr. J. C. Sinha has some useful information on the attempts of Warren Hastings to reform the currency in his day; followed by Mr. S. V. Chari on famine relief in the Carnatic between 1770 and 1800, in the course of which he arrives at the opinion that the relief of a starving population is really a matter for the Government and not for private individuals.

Next comes a fine paper by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachariar upon Robert Orme and Colin Mackenzie. The former is, of course, now chiefly known by his great work on the military transactions of the 18th century and his enormous collection of MSS., but here we have his life and all its human experiences of ups and downs. Colin Mackenzie was a man of a different type, steadily rising in his profession till he became Surveyor-General of India and always collecting. He intended to make a catalogue raisoné of his immense collection, but died before it was possible to make one. It is still largely unexplored.

Mr. B. N. Banerjee, in an important paper on "Some Original Sources for a Biography of Begam Sombre," he describes the sources, in English, Marathi and Persian documents of the story of this great lady, whom he rightly describes as "a wonderful woman who played no inconspicuous part in the later history of India." In the course of his remarks he hints that probably somewhere in England may still exist her own manuscript diary. At any rate, her adopted son Dyce Sombre wrote: "Some notes I had made of Her Highness the Begam’s memoirs with some intention of publishing them hereafter, and which I had collected with great care, but unfortunately they were taken away from me with some other papers."

In a short article on "the Bargi invasion of Bengal," in which an account is given of the Maharashtra Purana, a poem which describes that terrible Maratha raid. Only the first canto however, of a remarkable poem has so far come to light, and Prof. J. N. Samaddar looks for help in discovering the rest of it. Then follows Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar with "An Account of the temple at Madura," which incidentally contains a good deal of history. And after him comes Mr. R. Sathyangal Athiyar with a paper of great general interest on "Some Jesuit Records and their Historical Value," and it is good to see the author speaking highly of the early Jesuits in South India as to their possession "of the essential requisites for producing good historical documents"; and one is grateful to an Indian who is able to write:
"The conclusion is drawn [by the Jesuits] that the want of concerted political action [on the part of the controllers of the Vijayanagar Empire] in the face of the imminent danger to South India from the southern expansion of the Muhammadan powers and the uncompromising spirit of provincialism, rendered a Hindu empire impossible. Such a refreshing analysis of the political situation is a good commentary on the profound historic sense of [the Jesuit] missionaries."

The work under review is an olla podrida and there is no attempt made as to order in the mixture. So the next paper goes back to the Mackenzie collection of MSS, and that after it goes back again to a Christian subject. Mr. R. Gopalan writes on the historical value of the Mackenzie MSS. with special reference to the Pallava documents in the collection. Any fresh information regarding the Pallavas is always welcome, and it is most interesting to know that some of the Mackenzie MSS. can throw light on the subject. Then Mr. P. J. Thoma has an important article, on a Hindu Tradition on St. Thomas, in which we find his views on the true attribution of the name of the king who was the patron of St. Thomas in India. The Syriac version calls him Gudaphar: the Greek form is Gondaphares. The question then—is who was he? The usual identification is Gudaphara or Gudaphara of the Kathi region. But Mr. Thoma sets up Kandappa or Kanda Baja of South India as the person represented in the Syriac and Greek stories. It is worth investigation.

Mr. R. P. Tribath talks about the Will of the great Oudh administrator of Mehdi Ali Khan Bahadur, better known as Hakim Mehdi. The Will shows that this fine old man died in 1837 aged 94, leaving an enormous property. After this we are treated to "a few extracts" from the autobiography of Mir Nuruddin Khan Bahadur, Shuja Jung, aide-de-camp to various Commanders-in-Chief of Madras. This gallant old soldier served 60 years (1790-1840) in the old Sepoy Army without a break, was cognizable of many important things and lived to an honoured old age, highly appreciated and greatly rewarded by the European military officers for whom he worked so well. His great grandson, Mir Zynuddin, a Barrister, gives us some extracts from the autobiography, and one cannot but wish that we had the whole of it. Any contemporary work by an Indian serving in the critical days before the Mutiny in the Indian Armies is of value as a means of ascertaining the true causes of that important event. I cannot but hope that Mr. M. Zynuddin will find means to publish a translation of his ancestor's papers in full.

The last paper in the book is Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali's account of the Last Will and Testament of Bahu Begum, wife of Shuja ud'daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh. This grand old lady lived to be 88, dying in 1813, and in her long life saw the decline of the Mughal Dynasty of Delhi from Bahadur Shah to Shah Alam—truly an epic period for the Muhammadan rulers of India. She saw immense changes in her environment and finally having quarrelled with her step-son, Sa'adat Ali of Oudh, she left all her property to the British Government. Such is the general historical story, but Mr. Abdul Ali's account gives many an interesting detail.

The above brief summary will show how the Indian Historical Records Commission is doing its work and how great the value of that work is.

R. C. Temple.

The Date of Zoroaster, by Jarn Charpentier, 1925.

In this valuable little pamphlet Prof. Charpentier controverts Prof. Hertel's views, as stated in his Die Zeit Zoroasters, on the subject of Zoroaster's date. Prof. Hertel's contention is that Zoroaster must have been alive in B.C. 522. This view Prof. Charpentier sharply criticizes and finally fixes the great religious reformer's date—so far as it can be said to be fixable—"somewhere in the neighbourhood of B.C. 1000-900, or perhaps even earlier." In this opinion the present writer heartily concur.

R. C. Temple.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

General Letter to the Company, dated 21 August 1699 (O.C. 6711).
1703. "Hearing the Savages were come to Suratt and burning ab all before them they sent up a Small Vessell and the Country boat to attend the Generalls Commands."—Bombay General Letter to the Company dated 13 February 1702-3 (F. R. Misc. vol. 5).
1703. Para 5. "10000 Savages a month since plundered the towns about Surat and burnt them."—Bombay General Letter to the Company, dated 3 March 1702-3 (F. R. Misc. vol. 5).

R. C. Temple.
Further References to Khwājā Khizar in Northern India.

The cult of Khwājā Khizar has been widely followed in the Panjāb from the days of Guru Nānak (A.D. 1469-1539), founder of the Sikh Religion. In the Janam Sākhī ('Life,' dated c. 1600 A.D.) in Trumpp's Adī Granth, 1877, pp. xxiv f., occurs this story. "Then the Bābā [Nānak] started from his house and passed the second time a retired life in the Dakhān [South] . . . With him were Sāidō and Sīhhō of the Ghelio Jat Tribe. The Bābā went to the country of Dhanāsar and remained some days there. At night-time Sāidō and Sīhhō of the Ghelio Tribe went to the river to perform worship. They went when yet one watch of the night was remaining and thought in their hearts that what the Guru [Nānak] had got from the Khvājah [Khidir] he had got in that very place. One night they went and saw a man coming towards them, in whose hand was a fish. That man asked: 'Who are you?' Sāidō and Sīhhō said: 'We are the disciples of Guru Nānak.' That man asked (further): 'What for are you come here?' Sāidō replied: 'We are always coming here in the last watch of the night to worship the Khvājah because our Guru has obtained (something) from the Khvājah.' Then Sāidō asked: 'Sir, who are you and where will you go?' That man answered: 'I am the Khvājah and am continually going to the Guru. I go at this time to pay worship to him. To-day I bring him a fish as an offering. Then Sāidō and Sīhhō came and fell down at his feet and said: 'We are saying that the Guru has got it from you, and you are saying that you are always going to perform services (to the Guru), and that you bring to-day an offering to the Guru.' Then Khvājah Khidir said: 'O ye men of the Lord, I am the Water and that Guru is the Mind. I have been many times from him, and many times I have been absorbed in him.' Both disciples, Sāidō and Sīhhō of the Ghelio Tribe went then and fell at the feet of the Guru. The Guru asked: 'Why have you come to-day at this (early) time? You have come before the day is risen.' Sāidō the Ghelio, told him how they had met with the Khvājah. Then the Bābā [Nānak] uttered the stōk in the Jap [the last stōka in the Japī]: 'Mind is the Guru, Water the father, the Great Earth the mother. Day and Night the two are male and female. Muse: the whole world sports.]

To this story Dr. Trumpp, Adī Granth, (p. xxxiv n.) added a note: "Khwājā or Khvājā Khidir (Khwājā Khizar) according to Muslim tradition, the Prophet Elias. In Sindh and the Lower Panjāb Khvājā Khidir is worshipped also by the Hindus as the river god of the Indus under the more common name of Jindā Pir [the Living Saint]."

Once a legend or story is to be found in or connected with the Adī Granth, the Bible of the Sikhs, the personages concerned with it become common property in the Panjāb, and accordingly I find a note of my own on Khwājā Khizar in Panjab Notes and Queries, vol. I, 1884, No. 836: "the common names for this God of the Flood are Khwājā Khizar, identified with Ilyās (Eliα); Khvājā Khās; Durmindr; Dumindo; Jindā Pir." Again Nesfield in the same Journal, vol. II, 1885, No. 3, writes: "[Khwājā Khizar] has been naturalised, however, in the Hindi language as Rāja Kidar, and as such he has become the patron deity of the Hindu boating and fishing castes . . . . At the time of danger, he is invoked by these castes to protect the boat from being broken and submerged, or to show them the way when they have lost it."

Ibbetson, Panjab Ethnography, 1883, para. 217, writes also: Khwājā Khizar, or the God of the Waters, is an extraordinary instance of a Musalmān name being given to a Hindu deity. Khwājā Khizar is properly that one of the great Muhammadan saints to whom the care of travellers is confided. But throughout the Eastern Panjāb, at any rate, he is the Hindu God
of the Water and is worshipped by burning lamps and feeding Brāhmans at the well, or by setting afloat on the village pond a little raft of sacred grass with a lighted lamp on it.” Again he writes (para. 240): “The Hindus of the Indus also very generally worship the river itself under the name of Khwāja Khizir or Zinda Pir, the Living Saint; the worship taking much the same form as that of Khwāja Khizir already described. They further revere, under the name of Vadērā Lāl, Dūlan Lāl, Daryā Sahib or Ulail Pārak, a hero, who is said to have risen from the Indus and to have rescued them from Muhammadan oppression. This hero would appear to be a sort of incarnation of the Indus, being sometimes called Khwāja Khizir and his story is related in the ‘Umrāgīt.’

In my own Legends of the Panjāb, vol. I, 1884, there is a good deal about Khwāja Khizar. E.g., in the Legend of Safidōn (vol. I, pp. 415 f.) I remark in a prefatory note: "The town was founded by the Pāṇḍavas and its modern name is Safidan, or more popularly Safidōn [in the Jind State]. In it there were at that time three large closed up wells. In one was amrīta [the Water of Life or Immortality], in another snakes, in the third, locusts. Niwāl Dāi [= ? Jaratkārū], the daughter of Rāja Bēsak [Vāsuki], once opened the Amrita Well, in order to draw off some of the Water of Immortality to cure her father who was suffering from leprosy . . . By her magic strength she removed the stones from the well mouth, and tried to draw the water, so as not to show herself to the God of the Water. But the water went downwards into the well and the rope could not reach it. At last, being weary, she was ready to curse Khwāja Khizir, the God of the Water. But Khwāja Khizir said that she should have no water unless she showed herself to him. Now, Niwāl Dāi had never shown herself to anyone except her own parents, and she felt very uneasy, but, being helpless, and out of affection for her father, she showed herself to the water, which rose up at once to the brim of the well." The actual words of this Legend, translated at pp. 448 ff. are as follows:

"She pushed away the stone with her great toe,
She did not look at the water out of modesty,
And the water went down in the bottom (of the well).
She prayed to the holy Khwāja (Khizar).

Niwāl Dāi took the kerchief from her head
And fastened it on to the rope.
Khwāja (Khizar), to get a sight of the Princess,
Sent the water up bubbling.

The first bucketful Niwāl Dāi offered to the saintly Khwāja (Khizar)."

In the Ballad of Īsā Bāpārī, op. cit., vol. I, (1884), pp. 216 f., 220 f., occurs the following words:

"The boatmen consented and took their dues
And took the boat across.
Feeling the waves of the River (Indus) the boats
Began to toss up and down.
The boat began to sink in the River,
Īsā began to worship the saints.

Khwāja Khizir had no news (of him)
And the boat got across."

In the famous Legend of Rājā Rasālu, vol. I, (1884), p. 41, I find the following remark: "My hedge-hog wife wanted water, and I became ashamed: taking my lōṭā I went to the bank of a large river (khwāja daryā, i.e., to Khwāja Khizir)." And again in the Legend of
Guru Guggâ, after Mother Earth has persuaded Guru Guggâ, a famous hero, to accept Islam, occur the words (vol. I, 1884, p. 206):

"He is as full of honour as Khwâja Khizar: go to him.

Repeat the Creed (Kalîma) and come.

I will go onward to Ajmer and my hope will be fulfilled.

When he saw Rattan Hâji and Khwâja Khizar he stood before them."

And then in the well-known story of the Marriage of Hir and Rânjhâ (vol. II, 1885, p. 519) is this passage:

"May thy boat sink and thy oars break!

I have found a ruby from Khwâja (Khizar, i.e., out of the river)."

Lastly to show how far the idea of Khwâja Khizar has sunk into the people of the Panjâb; in the Kursînînsâ, or Genealogy, of the Saints of the Lâlbêgâs, a sect of the Scavenger Caste of the Panjâb and indeed of Northern India, who are out-caste, are found the following lines [vol. I (1884), pp. 531 ff.]:

"The Genealogy of the Saints:

First is Pîr Asâ:
Second is Pîr Khâsâ:
Third is Pîr Safâ:
Fourth is Pîr Gilharpâ.

A confused allusion to Muhammadan Saints, etc. Asâ is for 'Isâ, i.e., Jesus Christ: Khâsâ is Khwâja Khizar: Safâ is for Safu'llah, the usual title of Idris or Enoch (Akhnumkh): Gilharpâ is Lâlbêg himself [the chief object of worship among North Indian scavengers]."

In these quotations from the Panjâb we have displayed before us the assimilation by a population either Hindu, or originally Hindu, of the Muslim story of Khwâja Khîzîr. In the following statements, besides in those already quoted in the early part of this discussion, we can follow the process right across Northern India to Bengal. In Crooke's Rural Glossary, 1888, e.g., we find: "Khwâja Khîzîr (Barun), the God of the Water and Woods . . . Barun (Skr. Varuṇa), the Hindu God of Water: cf., Khwâja Khîzîr." Here we find Khwâja Khîzîr identified with the old Hindu God of Water.

Again in Grierson's Bihar Peasant Life, 1885, p. 403, we read: "Khâjê Khidâr; the patron God of the Boatmen (Malâh) Caste. He is also confounded with a similar female deity, Gangâ Mâi. Musalmân women fast every Thursday in the month of Bhâdôõ (August-September), and call the fast Khâjê Khidâr kâ Rôjâ."

Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, an English woman married to an Oudh noble, writing her Observations in 1832, says (vol. I, p. 288 ff.): "The last month of the periodical rains is called Sahbaund [Sâwan]. There is a custom by the Musalmân population [of Lucknow], the origin of which has never been exactly explained to me. Some say it is in remembrance of the Prophet Elisha or Elijah [i.e., Khwâja Khizar], and commences with the first Friday of Sahbaund, and is followed up every succeeding Friday through this concluding month of the rainy season . . . The learned men call it a Zeenânah [Zenâna] or children's custom . . . A bamboo frame is formed in the shape of a Chinese boat: this frame-work is hidden by a covering of gold and silver tissue-silk or coloured muslin bordered and neatly ornamented with silver paper. In this light many lamps are secreted of common earthen-ware. A procession is formed to convey the tribute called 'Elias ky kishtee' [Ilîdûs kî kishtî, Elias's boat] to the river . . . The kishtee (boat) is launched amidst a flourish of trumpets and drums and the shouts of the populace."
Finally in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII (1899), p. 195, I had a short note on Khwāja Khizar giving various names for him in Northern India as God of the Flood. E.g., Khwāja Khizar identified with Ilyās (Elías); Khwāja Khāsa: Durmindir, Dumindo; Jindā Pir. I also quoted Trumpp, *Adi Granth*, p. xxiv and compared the story of Khwāja Khizar with the Russian myth of the Vodyany or Water-sprite, who is mixed up with Ilyā (Elijah). This sprite Ralston says, *Songs of the Russian People*, 2nd ed., p. 152, is properly Perun, the Slavonic Thunder God, thus carrying the cult of Khwāja Khizar Westwards into Europe.

In my edition of the *Diaries of Streynsham Master* (1675–80), vol. I, p. 379, occurs the following passage: “In the name of God, the underwritten persons have given a writing to Mr. Vincent, vizt., Wee . . . . Danungagoes [Dumindo Ghos].” I recollect being puzzled with the Bengali personal name, Dumindo. But the above note settles the point, as no doubt this servant of the old East India Company was named after Khwāja Khizr Durmindir.

V.

Khwāja Khizar in South India.

The cult of Khwāja Khizar has duly spread to Southern India, witness Herklots’ *Qanun-e-Islam* which he wrote in Hindustan in 1832. It contains an account of the religious customs of the Southern Indian Muhammadans, in the course of which there are passages relating to Khwāja Khizar. Thus, quoting from the 1863 edition of his work, at p. 21, I read as to domestic ceremonies: “Moondun [mündan] or Shaving . . . . Those who can afford it have the hair [of the child] taken to the water-side, and then, after they have assembled musicians and the woman and offered fateeka [fátīḥa, oblations and offerings to saints] in the name of Khoaja Khizur over the hair, on which they put flour, sugar, ghee and milk, the whole is placed on a raft (or jukaz [jahdz] a ship), illuminated by lamps . . . . they launch it on the water.”

Again on pp. 66 ff., the following statement is made: (concerning marriage) . . . . In the evening of that day about eight or nine o’clock, having launched the jukaz or ship, the ladies apply huldee [haldī, turmeric] to the bridegroom . . . . The jukaz is a wooden frame-work in the shape of a stool, to the four legs of which are fastened as many earthen pots or pankins; or it is made of the straw of bamboos in the shape of a boat so as to prevent its sinking, and it is variously ornamented . . . . Having . . . . covered it over with a red koorsoon [kursum] (safflower) coloured cloth and lighted a lamp made of wheat flour with ghee in it, they cause it to be carried on the bridegroom’s, or some other person’s head . . . . With torch lights they proceed to the banks of the river, sea or tank, and having offered there fateeka [fátīḥa] in the name of Khoaja Khizur (the peace of God be upon him) over the estables, the ship-wright takes them off and distributes . . . .”

Herklots then describes a weekly custom of the more piously and ritually inclined at p. 181 ff.: “There are some people who, every Thursday in the year, put a few flowers and some sugar in a dōnā [small boat] and launch it on the water in the name of Khoaja Khizur, and at times throw a number of kowries into the water.

“I understand that in Bengal it is usual, on any Thursday (but among the rich usually on the last one) of the Bengalee month Bhaon, for the men and women to fast all day in the name of Khoaja Khizur, and that having made one or two jukaz [boat], alias bayra or mohur-pun’khee or luchza [bīrā, mohar-punkhi, lachhī] of split bamboo frame-work, covered with coloured paper, ornamented . . . . letting off fire-works in great pomp and state, accompanied by friends and relatives, convey them on men’s shoulders, as they do taboots [lābūt, a coffin, bier] to the brink of the river, where they fix them on floating rafts, made by trussing the trunks of plain-tain-trees with bamboo skewers. They also take a couple of plates, one containing the food of oblation, the other the paste or silver lamps lit up with ghee and thread (as a wick), having had fateeka offered over them by the moolla [mullah, priest]
in the name of Khoaja Khizur, . . . and having put the above two plates with some cash [copper coins] as an offering into it, they set it adrift on the water. Afterwards grown up persons, as well as boys, jump into the water, swim for, and plunder it.

"Some take the bayras (bṛṇas) to the middle of the river, and thence set them adrift; but previously to so doing, set afloat on the stream hundreds of earthen plates, one after another, containing lamps . . . . The poor place two earthen plates . . . . and take along with them a lōṭā [pot], and proceed in the evening to the bank of the river, and there having lighted up the lamps, they get the fāṭeṣha offered in the name of Khoaja Khizur by the moolla (to whom they give kowries), and float the plates on the water, which the people immediately plunder."

Here again we see the mingling of ideas of both Hindu and Musalman origin in this cult.

VI.

Madra and Bhadra.

A passage from the writings of Forlong in JRAS, 1895, p. 203 ff., set me enquiring into a purely Hindu aspect of this cult. He wrote: "Knowing the particular works and localities, of which indeed I possess sketches, I have no hesitation in saying that the rock-bound god of Akyab [Badar of the 'Buddermokan'] and elsewhere is our old friend the Būd-kal or Bad-a-kal, the Bod or 'Badstone,' common in the villages of Southern and Central India and not rare in Upper and Himalayan India . . . . The whole great cone [Lanka's peak in Ceylon] is, or was in the language of the masses, a Bud, Bod or Madra,—that familiar and kindly name, which they have ever applied to village Bad-a-kals or 'Badstones,' as emblems of Madra or Śiva."

The above statement, however, is not in accordance with that of Dames, Barbosa, vol. II, pp. 117-118 on Adam's Peak in Ceylon, the text of which runs as follows: "In the midst of this Island [Ceylon] there is a lofty range of mountains among which is a very high stony peak, on the summit whereof is a tank of water deep enough to swim in and a very great footprint of a man in a rock, well shaped. This the Moors [Muhammadans] say is the footprint of our father Adam, whom they call Adombaba, and from all the Moorish regions and realms they come thither on pilgrimage declaring that from that spot Adam ascended to Heaven." Mr. Dames' comment is: "Barbosa probably heard the phrase Adam Bābā used of Buddha by Muhammadans. I have myself heard the God Śiva called Bābā Adam in Northern India, and the identification of one of the leading gods with Adam may have come down from the Buddhist period."

On this statement I made the following remarks in the Indian Antiquary, vol. LII, p. 132: "I am tempted to support this with an instance to the opposite effect. The name Buddha Makán (Buddha's House) for well-known Muhammadan sailors' shrines on the Northern and Eastern Coasts of the Bay of Bengal, notably at Akyab on the Arakan Coast and at Mergui on the Tenasserim Coast, arises out of a corruption, through local Buddhist influence combined with folk-etymology, of the name of the great sailors' saint Badru-'ddin Auliā, whose chief shrine is at Chittagong. So Badr Maqām became 'Buddha Makán.'"

Going further with my enquiry into Madra and Bhadra, I did not meet with any very satisfactory result in India and in fact could not find any quotations worth recording. Bhadra seems to be mixed up with the Hindu goddess Kāli: e.g., the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. XV, pt. II, Kanara, p. 297, gives the following information: "Gokarn: Shrines and Pools . . . . North of Venkaṭarāman's temple, at the east corner of the town, is the temple of Bhadrakāli or Dakshinakāli, with her attendants Hadshinbrā, Dodahosbrā, Sunnahosbrā, Kadbrā, and Holayadrā. Kāli's image is a figure of a woman holding a sword. She stands facing the south and is the guardian of the southern quarter of Gokarn." But there is not much in this for the present purpose, and I am afraid that, after all, there is little in Forlong's suggestion,

(To be continued.)
SOME ASPECTS OF THE CAREER OF GURU HARGOVIND.
By INDUBHUSSAN BANERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.
(Continued from page 50.)

II. Hargovind and the Moghul Government.

"Hargovind was always attached to the stirrup of the victorious Jahangir," says the Dabistan.48 We have seen in the previous section that Hargovind could not have entered into the service of the Emperor before A.D. 1619 or 1620, and that he was still in the employ of Jahangir when the latter died in 1627. But what exactly the position of Hargovind under Jahangir was, it is very difficult to determine. From Macauliffe's account it only appears that the Guru had become a great friend of the Emperor and had accompanied him in his tour to Kashmir. But Mohsun Fani's remarks make it absolutely clear that Hargovind had actually become a servant of the Muhammadan Government, and he is corroborated by the Panth Prakash69 and the Itihas Guru Khalsa.50 These Sikh accounts claim that Hargovind was appointed a sort of supervisor over the Punjab officials with a command of 700 horse, 1000 foot and 7 guns, as a reward for his services against Raja Tarachand of Nalgahr, whom he had subdued and brought to the Emperor. Narang wrongly mentions the Dabistan as an authority for the latter statement that Hargovind subdued the Raja of Nalgahr,61 Mohsun Fani merely stating that the Guru took refuge at Geraipur (Kiratpur) "which lies in the mountainous district of the Panjab, and was then dependent on the Raja Tarachand, who had never paid homage to the Badshah, Shah Jahan."62 Dr. Narang's confusion is perhaps due to the fact that both the chiefs are named Tarachand, but the latter cannot be the chief of Nalgahr, as Kiratpur was situated within the territories of the hill chief of Kahlur.63 However, we know that some of the Hill Rajas revolted during the reign of Jahangir. In 1615 Jahangir sent an expedition to reduce the famous fort of Kangra. Murtaza Khan, the commander of the expedition, died without achieving anything, and the supreme charge of the affair was then entrusted to Suraj Mal, the son of Raja Basu. The latter disbanded his troops, and allying himself with some of the hill chiefs, openly rebelled. But the rebellion was crushed and Kangra at last capitulated on November 16, 1620.64 It was also around this time that Hargovind had accompanied the Emperor to Lahore and, as he had thereby come very near to the scene of operations, it is not improbable that Hargovind was put in charge of a minor command and sent against one of the rebellious Hill Rajas. But the story of the personal friendship between the Emperor and the Guru and the latter's appointment as a sort of supervisor over the Punjab officials seems to be disproved by the almost decisive negative evidence of the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. In that diary "full accounts of the riots and rebellions, wars and conquests are given. The imperial regulations are reproduced in full. All the important appointments, promotions and dismissals are mentioned. Sketches of the principal nobles and officers are drawn in a lifelike manner" and "the Emperor's own daily life is revealed with candour and frankness".65 Further, it was only in the sixteenth year of his reign, i.e. 1623, that the Emperor, owing to severe illness, entrusted the task of writing the memoirs to Motamad Khan. But the Guru had come into the Emperor's favour already in 1620. The fact that even the name of Hargovind does not occur in Jahangir's memoirs seems to prove that the Guru could not have been so intimate with the Emperor as the Sikhs would have us believe, and the position that he held was also certainly a very minor one, which the Emperor did not think worth his while to notice. Mohsun Fani's evidence also points definitely to the same conclusion, for he says that "when the Guru returned to Batnesh, which is a district of the Punjab, he attached himself to Yar Khan, the eunuch, who

50 P. 128.  
52 Dabistan, vol. II, pp. 175, 276.  
54 Beni Prasad's Jahangir, pp. 316, 317.  
49 P. 107.  
51 Narang, ibid., p. 56, fn.  
53 Cunningham, ibid., p. 69.  
held the office of a Faujdar in the Nawabi of the Punjab, and whom he assisted in the administration." Thus Hargovind was not a supervisor over the Punjab officials, but the mere assistant of a Faujdar.

Mohsun Fani does not state whence the Guru returned to Batnesh. But the word "return" seems to suggest that he had formerly been at that place. It may well be that after his tour with the Emperor and his expedition against the Raja of Nalgahr, Hargovind had been posted at Batnesh. He was subsequently called elsewhere or left the place of his own accord, and again returned there after the accession of Shah Jahan. This is, however, little more than a conjecture. Indeed, it is impossible to fix the details of the Guru's life in chronological order since his release from Gwalior until he finally cuts his connection with the Government and comes back to Amritsar. From the Sikh accounts, which however never admit that Hargovind had entered into the service of the Government, it only appears that the Guru had been leading a wandering life, and that troubles with the Government were already commencing. We have seen that immediately after his accession Hargovind had taken to arms. About five hundred Manjha youths had enlisted in his service, and besides, "several men out of employ and without a taste for manual labour flocked to the Guru's standard." Others also gathered round him, "who were satisfied with two meals a day and a new uniform every half-year." His imprisonment could not in any way damp his military ardour, and there is evidence to show that after his release he continued the same old policy. His service under the Government served him as a cloak and he began to increase his military resources. Hargovind is said to have enlisted all malcontents and fugitives among his followers and to have taken many dacoits and free-booters into service. This seems to be supported by the statement of Mohsun Fani that 'whoever was a fugitive from his home took refuge with him.' So that, very soon "the Guru had 800 horses in his stable, 300 troopers on horseback and 60 men with fire-arms were always in his service." He also enlisted bands of Pathan mercenaries, and a Pathan Chief named Painda Khan became one of his most able and trusted adherents. The Guru was thus daily becoming a distinct source of danger to established order and a rallying point of disaffection. Dr. Trumpp says, "As the Guru's expeditions were nearly always directed against the Mahomedans and the extortionate provincial authorities, we need not wonder that his popularity fast increased with the ill-treated Hindu rural population; every fugitive or oppressed man took refuge in his camp, where he was sure to be welcomed without being much troubled about religion, and the charms of a vagrant life and the hope of booty attracted numbers of warlike Jats, who willingly acknowledged him as their Guru, the more so as he allowed his followers to eat all kinds of flesh, that of the cow excepted." When due regard is had to the nature of the Guru's following and the traditional marauding instincts of the Jats, who preponderated among his followers, one is tempted to agree with Dr. Trumpp. And we have clear, indisputable evidence, which almost wholly bears out Dr. Trumpp's remarks. The Sikhs of the old school did not apparently like the Guru's innovations and thought that 'he was too much occupied with Mahomedans and military exercises'. Hargovind often used to distribute the offerings made to him by the Sikhs to his Mahomedan followers. Painda Khan in particular was pampered in every way.

57 Ibid., vol. IV, p. 4.
58 Ibid., p. 5.
59 Narang, ibid., p. 56; Cunningham, ibid., p. 56.
61 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, pp. 52, 76.
62 It is said that Ram Pratap, the fugitive Raja of Jaisalmer, took refuge with Hargovind and that Yar Khan and Khwaja Sarai, dismissed commanders of the Moghul army, entered the Guru's asylum. (Narang, ibid., p. 56 f.n. 1. See also Dabistan, vol. II, p. 280.) We are further told that two Pathan nobles, named Anwar and Hasan Khan, left the service of the Government and took refuge with Hargovind. (Tawarikh Guru Khalsa. See also Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, p. 100.)
63 Trumpp, ibid., p. Ixxxiv,
This the Sikhs could not appreciate, and it was ultimately decided that a deputation consisting of some notable Sikhs should wait upon Bhai Gurdas, who had very great influence with the Guru, and ask him to remonstrate with Hargovind on his general conduct. It is said that it was on this occasion that Bhai Gurdas composed the significant pauiri that occurs in his 28th war, and which we shall presently quote. It has to be remembered, however, that the verse itself might have led to the fabrication of the story of the deputation, and instances of this kind are not rare in Sikh literature. Macauliffe says that most of the details of the Janamsakhis of Guru Nanak are simply settings for his verses and compositions. So, we cannot as yet definitely say to which period of Guru Hargovind's life the pauiri refers. But there is clear internal evidence which proves that it was composed after the release of Hargovind from Gwalior. As Bhai Gurdas died in 1629, it is evident that the pauiri was composed during the particular period of Hargovind's life which we have now been discussing. The importance of the passage in question cannot be gainsaid, as Bhai Gurdas was a contemporary and a very ardent admirer of the Gurus, and we therefore make no apology for quoting it in full. It runs:

"People say the former Gurus used to sit in the temple; the present Guru remaineth not in any one place.

The former Emperors used to visit the former Gurus; the present Guru was sent into the fortress by the Emperor.

In former times the Guru's darbar could not contain the sect; the present Guru leadeth a roving life and feareth nobody.

The former Gurus, sitting on their thrones, used to console the Sikhs; the present Guru keepeth dogs and hunteth.

The former Gurus used to compose hymns, listen to them, and sing them; the present Guru composes not hymns, nor listeneth to them, nor singeth them.

He keepeth not his Sikh followers with him, but taketh enemies of his faith and wicked persons as his guides and familiaris.

I say, the truth within him cannot possibly be concealed; the true Sikhs, like the bumblebees, are enamoured of his lotus feet.

He supporteth a burden intolerable to others and asserteth not himself." It is to be noticed that in the last two verses Bhai Gurdas does not dispute the truth of the people's allegations, but merely expresses his firm belief that the Guru's motive would soon become clear and then everybody would learn to appreciate his actions. But that Bhai Gurdas himself did not also quite approve of the Guru's irregularities, is proved by his remarks in the twentieth pauiri of his thirty-fifth war. Bhai Gurdas says, "Even if the Guru become a play-actor, his Sikhs should not lose their faith." This seems to indicate that in Bhai Gurdas' opinion Hargovind had actually become a play-actor.

It is thus evident that Hargovind was leading a disorderly life and that conflict with the State had practically become inevitable. The Sikh chroniclers state that difficulties had commenced even during the reign of Jahangir. The incident of Kaulan, the Kazi's daughter, or as some say, his concubine, has already been referred to. The Kazi, moreover, had other complaints against the Guru. A beautiful horse that was being brought from Kabul by a Sikh masand named Sujan for the personal use of the Guru was forcibly captured by an

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64 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, p. 76.
66 Ibid., vol. IV, p. 144.
67 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, pp. 76, 77.
68 Ibid., pp. 133, 134.
69 The Sikhs state that Hargovind could not like the verse and inflicted a punishment on Bhai Gurdas in order to teach him humanity. The Bhai was, however, afterwards pardoned and allowed to continue his literary work (Macauliffe, vol. IV, pp. 134-137).
70 The Itikas Guru Khalsa (p. 191) states that it was Bhag Mal, a Sikh merchant.
imperial officer. The Emperor presented the horse to the Kazi of Lahore. The Guru, however, recovered it by force, and in addition Kaunlan was abducted. The Kazi complained to the Emperor, the Emperor refused to interfere, and the matter was hushed up, though only temporarily.\textsuperscript{71}

But the Guru could not long remain in peace with the Government, and after the accession of Shah Jahan open hostilities broke out. It so happened that one day when Shah Jahan had gone out hunting near Amritsar, the Guru also was similarly occupied. The Guru’s followers and the servants of the imperial hunt quarrelled about a bird, and finally the imperialists were driven out with slaughter. This was too great an offended to be lightly passed over, and “the enemies of the Guru thought it a good opportunity to revive the charges against him, and to remind the Emperor of his alleged misdeeds.” An expedition under Mukhlas Khan was sent against Hargovind and a battle was fought near Amritsar.\textsuperscript{72} The Sikhs describe the battle in great detail\textsuperscript{73} and unanimously affirm that the Guru came out completely victorious. Mohsun Fani, however, says that “at Ramdaspur (Amritsar) Hargovind sustained an attack of the army, which Shah Jahan, the shadow of God, sent against him, and the Guru’s property was then plundered.”\textsuperscript{74} It seems that the Sikh accounts also corroborate Mohsun Fani, though in a curious way. It is stated that the Sikh detachment at Lohgarh (something of a fortress outside the city) was too small to cope with the invaders. The Muhammadans made short work of them and took possession of the Guru’s palace. As the coming day was fixed for the marriage of the Guru’s daughter, Viro, sweets had been stored in the house for the marriage feast. The Muhammadans “gorged themselves to repletion” and “surfeited by the Guru’s sweets” could not help sleeping, when they were surprised by the Guru’s men and entirely routed, Mukhlas Khan himself being killed in the fray.\textsuperscript{75} It is needless to discuss the merits of this story. Suffice it to say that clearly the Guru’s house was plundered by the Muhammadans on this occasion and that his alleged victory did not prevent his hasty flight from Amritsar. Mohsun Fani says that the Guru fled to Kartarpur\textsuperscript{76}, and the Sikh accounts also bear him out.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{71} This is somewhat different from the accounts given in the Sikh chronicles. (See Macauliffe, \textit{ibid.}, vol. IV, pp. 38-47; \textit{Panth Prakash}, pp. 108-110; \textit{Itihas Guru Khalsa}, pp. 131-136.) We have left out the tedious details and narrated only what appears to us to be the kernel of the story.

\textsuperscript{72} It is stated by some authorities that this incident occurred during the reign of Shah Jahan. (See Macauliffe, \textit{ibid.}, vol. IV, p. 49, T.N.I.; \textit{Panth Prakash}, p. 108; \textit{Punjab Notes and Queries}, vol. I, sec. 740.) But this cannot be true. The expedition of the Kaulas must have taken place after Kaunlan’s departure to Amritsar. As already noticed, Macauliffe gives 1621 as the date of the excavation of the tank. The \textit{Itihas Guru Khalsa} states that the excavation was commenced in 1624 and completed in 1627 (p. 135).

\textsuperscript{73} The \textit{Panth Prakash} (p. 112) itself places it in 1627. The mistake might very well have been due to confusion with regard to the year of Jahangir’s death, which event the \textit{Panth Prakash} places in 1624 (p. 108).

\textsuperscript{74} There is also some difference of opinion with regard to Kaunlan. The Sikhs unanimously state she was the daughter of the Kazi, whereas the \textit{Tarikh-i-Punjab} states that she was merely a maid-servant. As Dr. Narang says, “Muhammadans, according to Cunningham, assert that she was a concubine, and the Hindu name of the girl, Kaulan (lotus), would confirm the Mohammedan view. The girl might have been a Hindu and might have been forcibly abducted by the Kazi, by no means an uncommon occurrence in those days. Thinking the Guru to be a champion of the Hindus, she might have escaped and taken refuge with him. (Narang, \textit{ibid.}, p. 57 f.n.; see also Cunningham, \textit{ibid.}, p. 68.)

\textsuperscript{75} The Sikhs state that the battle was fought outside the city, but it seems that Amritsar itself was the scene of action.

\textsuperscript{76} Macauliffe, \textit{ibid.}, vol. IV, pp. 82-93; \textit{Gur Bilas} (published by Gulab Singh and Sons), pp. 271-291; \textit{Panth Prakash}, pp. 113, 114; \textit{Itihas Guru Khalsa}, pp. 142-149.

\textsuperscript{77} Macauliffe, \textit{ibid.}, vol. IV, p. 81; \textit{Panth Prakash}, p. 113.
It does not seem that Hargovind remained long at Kartarpur, which was situated in the Jalandhar Doab between the Ravi and the Beas. He continued his journey, crossed the Beas and "pitched his camp on the tumulus of an ancient village". Hargovind decided that this was a very suitable site for the foundation of a city, and ordered that the foundation should be laid out immediately and the whole work completed without delay. But the landlord and chauduri of the place appears to have raised difficulties. His son, Ratan Chand, complained to the Subahdar of Jalandhar, and a small army was sent against the Guru. Hargovind, however, succeeded in beating it back, and the city of Sri Hargovindpur was then founded.

After this Hargovind appears to have remained in peace for some time, but his restless character again involved him in hostilities with the Muhammadan government. It is said that two masands named Bakht Mal and Tara Chand were bringing two horses "of surpassing beauty and fleetness" for the Guru, but these again were seized by the Emperor's officials. An ardent follower of the Guru, named Bidhi Chand, who had formerly been a notorious highwayman and robber, and whose exploits in that capacity are described by the Sikh chroniclers in great detail, succeeded in recovering the horses from the Emperor's stable at Lahore. Thereupon the Emperor sent an army against the Guru. Hargovind thought it prudent "to seek shelter in some advantageous position," and he is said to have retired to the wastes of Bhatinda, south of the Sutlej, where it might be useless or dangerous to follow him. There, near the village of Lahira, a great battle is said to have been fought, in which again the imperialists were completely routed. The date of the battle is given as 16th of Maghar, Sambat 1688 (A.D. 1631).

Mohsun Fani does not make any clear reference to the two actions described above. But he says that before and after the battle of Kartarpur, the last of Hargovind's battles against the Moghul Government, "he encountered great dangers of war." As the battle of Amritsar is definitely referred to, it seems that in the meantime, i.e., between the first battle, that of Amritsar and the last battle, that of Kartarpur, the Guru had had to engage in some other minor actions. And the remark, "with the aid of God he escaped unhurt, though he lost his property," seems to indicate that he did not meet with decisive reverses. Mohsun Fani's remark, however, may as well refer to the personal safety of Hargovind; but, nevertheless, it is to be noticed that Hargovind's last battle was fought at Kartarpur, and therefore it is clear that after the battle of Lahira Hargovind found himself strong enough to leave his retreat and return to the plains. It is thus difficult to say what actually happened. The Sikh accounts state that "the Guru allowed Hasan Khan to return to Lahore with the survivors of the imperial army." It does not seem probable that the Guru willingly allowed them to retire. Hargovind had taken up his position in a very advantageous place. "The Guru's army was so disposed round the only tank in the area that when the enemy arrived they could not obtain access to its water, and thus must inevitably perish from thirst." It appears that the imperialists could not cope with the natural difficulties of the situation and the Guru succeeded in compelling them to retire.

After this Hargovind "watched his opportunity" and soon returned to Kartarpur. He appears to have lived for some time in peace, but troubles again commenced through the defection of Painda Khan. Who this Painda Khan was, we do not definitely know. On

79 Ibid., vol. IV, pp. 102-119; Panth Prakash, p. 115; Itihas Guru Khalsa, pp. 150-156. See also Macauliffe's footnote on p. 104.
80 Cunningham, ibid., p. 68.
81 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, pp. 179-186; Panth Prakash, p. 117.
83 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, p. 186.
84 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, p. 179; Panth Prakash, p. 117.
the authority of certain Sikh accounts Cunningham states, "the mother of one Painda Khan, who had subsequently risen to some local eminence, had been the nurse of Hargovind, and the Guru had ever been liberal to his foster-brother." From Macauliffe's account it simply appears that Painda Khan was a Pathan mercenary, who entered the Guru's service and rose high in his favour. He had led the Guru's army in the battle of Amritsar, and it was chiefly to his valour and ability that Hargovind's successes were due. Mohsun Fani merely says that he was the son of Fattah Khan Ganaida, while Irvine makes him an imperial commander. Irvine was perhaps led to this belief by the fact that Painda Khan commanded the troops against Hargovind at the time of the battle of Kartarpur. However, this Painda Khan quarrelled with the Guru about a hawk and joined the imperialists. Another expedition was now sent against the Guru under the leadership of Painda Khan, but it is stated that the imperialists were again totally defeated and Painda Khan himself was slain. Mohsun Fani also seems to corroborate the Sikh chroniclers, because he, too, says that on this occasion Mir Baderah and Painda Khan found their death. We do not know who this Mir Baderah was; most probably he was an imperial officer who had accompanied the expedition, but there can be no doubt that Mohsun Fani's Painda Khan is identical with the man whom we have been discussing.

The rest of the Guru's adventures is soon told. Mohsun Fani says, "At last Hargovind retired from the war at Kartarpur to Bhagwarh, and because there, in the vicinity of Lahore, he met with difficulties, he betook himself thence in haste to Geraitypur, which lies in the mountainous district of the Punjab." The Sikh records also state that after the battle of Kartarpur (which took place in 1634) the Guru left the place and in the course of his journey reached Phagwarh. "As the town was on the road to Lahore, whence reinforcements could easily be sent against him, he continued his march to Kiratpur." Thus ended Guru Hargovind's career as a military adventurer. Forster says, "the vein of incongruous story which runs through the achievements of this militant priest precludes the derivation of any historical use." This may be true if the Sikh records are taken by themselves; but, as we have seen above, they agree in many important points, and with regard to the general sequence of events almost entirely, with the scrappy account given in the Dabistan; and we believe that if they are handled carefully, they may yet yield very satisfactory results. Their attempt to give undue importance to the exploits of their Guru cannot possibly mislead us, for it is certain that Hargovind's adventures were, after all, what Irvine calls "a petty revolt"; otherwise they must have been noticed by contemporary Muhammadan writers.

(To be continued.)

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85 Cunningham, ibid., p. 58. 86 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, p. 52.
89 Cunningham, ibid., p. 58. The Sikh records make the issue a bit wider. A Sikh named Chitar Sain made the Guru a present of a horse, a hawk, a dress and some military weapons. Hargovind gave the hawk to his son Gurditta and the rest to Painda Khan, whose son-in-law Asman Khan took possession of these with the help of Painda Khan's wife and in addition stole Gurditta's hawk. When asked about the hawk, Painda Khan denied that it was in his house and the Guru drove him out. (Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, pp. 190-193; Panth Prakash, p. 118. See also Narang, ibid., p. 59, foot-note.)
90 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, pp. 198-212; Panth Prakash, pp. 118-119; Itihas Guru Khalsa,
91 Dabistan, vol. IV, p. 263; Panth Prakash, p. 119.
92 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, p. 263; Panth Prakash, p. 119.
93 Forster's Travels, vol. I, p. 259
KANNADA POETS.

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

In 1924 the Government Press, Madras, published Memoir No. 13 of the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, entitled "Kannada Poets mentioned in the Inscriptions". The author of the Memoir is Mr. Tirumala Tatāchārya Sharman, and the Editor is Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Shastri, Government Epigraphist. The memoir is intended to form a supplement to the two important volumes of Lives of Kannada Poets, by the late S. G. Narasimhacharya and Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya, by rescuing from oblivion the names of some other Kannada poets who are mentioned in South Indian inscriptions. The work, which is based upon epigraphical reports and literature and on Kanarese inscriptions, is decidedly important for students of Indian history and Indian literature; but as it is published, except for the author's preface, entirely in the Kanarese language, it is practically of little value to any students, except those who happen to have learnt Kanarese, or are fortunate enough to own that language as their mother-tongue. In the belief that others besides the true Kannada may be interested in Mr. Sharman's excellent work, I propose to give in this article a précis of the information contained in the Memoir, omitting the quotations which are included by the author in his notice of each poet, and curtailing the several accounts as far as is possible without harming the meaning of the original. I trust that I have not been guilty of mistranslation of any passage; but if I have, I can only ask pardon of Mr. T. T. Sharman, whose own conciseness and clarity of style embolden me to think that I have succeeded in correctly interpreting his statements. Mr. Sharman's work is well documented; but as this article does not claim to be a literal translation, I have omitted his many footnotes and references.

The following are the Kannada poets discussed in the Memoir:—

1. Divákara. circa A.D. 734.

The name of this poet is mentioned, as writer or composer, in an inscription discovered at Dharmapur in Salem District, which eulogises a very learned Shaiva Guru named Vidyārāshi. Incidentally the inscription proves that the original name of Dharmapur was Tagādur,—a town, which as early as the epoch of the Tamil Sangham was famous for its wealth, its fortifications, its palaces, pleasure-gardens and temples, and which gave shelter to both Jains and Shaiva Hindus.

The inscription bears no date; but this can be determined with the help of another inscription found at Kōṭimbai or Koṭimbātur in Pudukota State, which contains a dynastic list of the rulers of that place. Mr. Sharman is not disposed to accept the opinion of Rao Bahadur Venkayyana that this Koṭimbātur inscription belongs to the tenth century A.D. He points out that the dynastic list includes a ruler named Bhutvikramakesari, who is stated in the inscription to have built a matha for a chief Guru, Mallikarjuna of Madura, who was a disciple of the Gurus Vidyārāshi and Taparāshi; and he reasonably assumes that the Vidyārāshi, who was Mallikarjuna's spiritual preceptor, is identical with the Shaiva Guru Vidyārāshi eulogised in the Tagādur (Dharmapur) inscription.

The dynastic list also shows that Bhutvikramakesari's grandfather, Paradurgamardana, conquered Vatāpi and bore the title (bīruda) of 'Vatāpinagaradvahsa.' He must, therefore, have been a contemporary of the Chāluksya Pulakesi II and the Pallava Narasimhavarma I; for it is an established fact that Narasimhavarma, the Pallava, led an army against Vatāpi and destroyed it. Two of his generals on this occasion were Mānavamma, the Ceylonese prince, and Shirutondondanāyanar; a third was Paradurgamardana, who probably assumed the above-mentioned title to commemorate the attack upon the Chāluksyas.

Paradurgamardana's son was Sāmarābhirāma, who bore the title of 'Yaduvasaketa,' and, like his father, was hostile to the Chāluksyas. He actually killed a Chāluksya king near Adhirājamaigala. After the fall of Vatāpi the Chāluksya power certainly declined, and
Vikramāditya I made serious efforts to restore it. His defeat of the Pallavas followed a fruitless attempt by his elder brother, Adityavarma, to do the same, and it seems probable that on his march against the Pallavas, Adityavarman may have come in contact with Samarakrāma in the neighbourhood of Adhirājamāgala and have been slain by the latter in the course of a battle at that place.

This Samarakrāma’s son was Bhūtivikramakasari, who, unlike his father and grandsire, opposed the Pallavas and won a victory over them on the banks of the Kāveri. He also conquered a Pāṇḍya king, Vira Pāṇḍya, and destroyed Vanjivel. Now it is a fact that during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. the Chāluikyas of Vātāpi and the Pallavas engaged in a prolonged struggle for the hegemony of Southern India. Bhūtivikramakasari was two generations later than Paramadurgamardana, who had a share in the destruction of Vātāpi. Therefore he cannot have belonged to a period later than that of Vikramāditya II, however late we may place him; and if he was not a contemporary of Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya, which is not likely, he must have been a contemporary of Vikramāditya II, who came to the throne about A.D. 734.

The natural inference from the above facts is that Bhūtivikramakasari, Mallikarjuna, Vidyārāshi, Divākara, and Vikramāditya II were all contemporaries, and the Tagadur (Dharmapura) inscription must belong to the eighth century A.D. This is rendered more probable by a study of the language of the inscription, which contains old Kannada terminations, such as baredon, cannipom, bannipom. These words make it practically certain that the inscription cannot be of later date than the eighth century.

The inscription gives no further information about the poet Divākara, who, except for this composition, is unknown to fame. All we can say is that he was a Śaiva and a pupil of Vidyārāshi, whose praises he sings in ornate verse.

2. Gunavarma. circa A.D. 905.

This poet is mentioned as author in an inscription of Śrī Vijayadāndanātha in Dānavulpādu village, Cuddapah District. He is described as Anupamakasiya Senabhovam, and those who have studied the inscription admit that he was no ordinary poet. The inscription belongs to the period of the Rāshaṅkutka king, Indra III, whose date has been fixed at circa A.D. 905; and on that account Mr. T. T. Sharman identifies the composer of the inscription with a Gunavarma who wrote a book entitled Shudraka, in which he eulogises a Gaṅga ruler, bearing several titles (biruda) including that of ‘Mahendrantaka’. The Gaṅga king who bore this title was Ereyappa, and he is stated in Lives of the Kannada Poets to have been the patron of Gunavarma. Ereyappa ruled up to A.D. 913. The identity of Ereyappa’s court-poet with the author of the Dānavulpādu inscription seems clearly established.


He composed an inscription of the time of Taila II, which exists at Sogal, Belgaum District, and records the fact that a female devotee named Kancheyabbe or Kanchale bestowed charitable gifts upon a sacred place of pilgrimage known as Suvarnakshi. In the inscription Sogal is called ‘Soval,’ ‘Solu,’ and ‘Sol;’ and the concluding portion of one of the couples names Kamalāditya as the author of the record. No further information is given about him; but from the fact that some lines are devoted to praise of Siva and the Śaiva sages, we may conclude that the poet was a Śaiva. He also extols Taila II and Katta, scil Kartavirya I, who was in sole control of the Koni or Koni District. This indicates that Kamalāditya was under royal patronage; and quite possibly was the court-poet of Kartavirya I. The inscription is dated 901 Śālivāhan Saka, and this fact, coupled with the references to Taila II and Kartavirya I, establishes the date of Kamalāditya with practical certainty.


Nāgavarman was the composer of an inscription which is to be seen in Somalingesvara’s temple in Mālār village, Haḍagali tāluk, Bellary District. It records the fact that in Śaka
968 Kālīma Ayya or Kālidāsa, a ruling feudatory of the Chālukya king Trailokya-malla (Someshvara I), made religious donations to certain gods through the disciples of Pândits Maulimaduvas and Tojārās. The excellence of the composition proves that Nāgarāman must have been a pre-eminent master of poetry. Kālidāsa’s achievements in particular are admirably described.

Kālīma or Kālidāsa is eulogised in two other inscriptions,—one belonging to the period of Trailokya-malla, which faces a sixty-pillared temple in Nāgar, Nizam’s Dominions, and the other belonging to the period of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya, which is on the wall of a ruined temple opposite the temple of Śiva. In the latter the epithets Sāhityavindayavarkkari and Vēksativāraknātavatāiśē are applied to the ruler Kālīma: in the former, which describes the family, deeds of prowess, and other particulars of the general Kālidāsa, the same two epithets are applied to him.


Near a shed in front of the Jain temple of Kogali in Bellary District is an inscription dated Saka 977 of the reign of Trailokya-malla, which records that the temple was constructed in former days by a Gaṅga ruler named Durvinta, and that at the date of the inscription gifts were made to the temple by a Jain achārya named Indrakirti.

Indrakirti is described in the inscription in the following phrases:—Śrī-madaraḥchachha-rānasarasamtha bhṛṣṭa; koṅkunḍānavaṃsaṃha-mukhanaṃdana; Dēśyayasa-kumudavana-sarachchandra; Kukalipurvedra; Trailokya-malla-sadasarasi-kalakūsa. Moreover, the epithets applied to him in the inscription, e.g., Kavi-jandehārya, Pânditamukhāṁbhuha-çandamārtana, Sarvasāstrājñā, Kavi-kumudarāja, etc., indicate that he must have been an excellent poet—a supposition which is fully corroborated by the fine diction of the inscription. In one place he is also called Trailokya-mallendra-kirti-Harimūrti. No information is available as to the books which he wrote.


All that is known about Rāvapaya is that he was Kulkarṇi of Sūḍi, modern Sūḍi in Ron taluka, Dharwar District, and that he composed the inscription dated Saka 981, of the time of Somēsva I (Trailokya-malla), which appears on a stone to the right of a temple with two domes in that village. During the rule of the Chālukeya of Kalyāṇ, Sūḍi was the capital of the Kisaṅkade ‘seventy.’ The inscription contains a stanza relating to Someśvara’s prime minister and dasayandya, Nāgadeva. The poetry of the inscription is very fine, and the style of writing admirable: the inscription is in fact a poem. We know nothing more about the author, however, save the fact that in another inscription he is described as Bhāskaradvaita and Ishvarapāḍīḥambahramara.


The Madras Museum possesses a copper-plate received from the Collector of Godāvari District, which states that the Eastern Chāluka ruler Rājarāja Narendra in his thirty-second regnal year bestowed Nandamponḍi village upon a Brahman named Nārāyaṇa Bhāṭṭa. The grant, which is in verse, declares that Nārāyaṇa Bhāṭṭa belonged to the Hārīta gotra, and followed the Apastamba sutra; his paternal great-grandfather was Kaśchenasomyājī, his grandfather Kaśchenārya, his father Akalaṅkāśāṅkanaṃtāya, and his mother Śāmekāmba. He was well versed in Sanskrit, Kanarēse, Pāscale, and Telugu, and bore various titles, such as ‘Kavirājaśekhara,’ ‘Kavibhavajātskva,’ ‘Ashtādāśāvadhārana-chakravarti’ and ‘Sarasvatīkarnāvatāsma.’

The poet-author of the grant is one Nannayya Bhāṭṭa, and Dr. Hultsch has suggested that he is identical with Nannayya Bhāṭṭāraka who wrote the Andhrabhadrata and other works.
Now at the beginning of his Bháratas Nannaya Bhattáraka has written:

‘Páyaka Pákaśasanikí bhárataghora ranambundu Nárayanunāṭalu vanasadhanamara vanśa vibhushanundu Ná |
ráyana Bhattu vaigmayadhurandharů́n tanakishūrdu sahádyāiyunainavabhimatambuga doṣajayi nirvahimparga ||’

This proves beyond any doubt that the Nárayana Bhatṭa mentioned in Nandamponḍí copperplate, who was styled ‘Kavirajāśekhara’ and ‘Kavibhuvajrajāūkṣa,’ is identical with Nárayana Bhatṭa who assisted Nannaya to compose the Āndhrabháratas.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. Kanarese poetry flourished greatly. The Chálukyas being natives of the Kannada country, Kanarese books must have been in much demand in Vengi. Ádipampa, Nágavarma and others born in Ándhradesá gained great renown as Kanarese poets. It is possible that Rájarāja Narendra ordered his court-poet Nannaya Bhatṭáraka to compose an Ándhrabháratas comparable to the Bháratas which had been published in Vengi; and perhaps, who knows, he conceived the idea of a Kannada Bháratas. Anyhow the Ándhrabháratas was composed according to the royal order; and Nárayana Bhatṭa, who was Nannaya Bhatṭáraka’s fellow-student, assisted him to write it.

8. Śri Kanṭhasuri. circa A.D. 1099.

He is mentioned, as author, in an inscription belonging to the reign of Tríbhuvanamallá [seil Vikramádiśtya VI] which stands near the temple of Kálłeśvara at Kurruvatti in Bellary District. The inscription states that in Chálukya Vikrama year 24, i.e., A.D. 1099, two hundred mahajans of Kurruvatti, Kálładá, the ruler of that place, and his sons, made a gift of land and of the duties levied on the eastern road on such commodities as grass, wood, vegetables, fruit, etc., for the support of ascetics (tapodhanaráháradánaká) and the enjoyment of the god Abhinava-Somesvara (abhinavasomesvaradevaruvaigabhogakakā). Kanṭhasuri’s poetry, as exemplified in the inscription, is very sweet (väksudhe).


At Koṭṭakallu in Hágagali taluká, Bellary District, is an inscription of the eleventh year (Śaka 1070) of the prosperous reign of Jagadekamallá II. It records the fact that Vikramádiśtya, maternal uncle of Víra Páṇḍya, a feudatory of Jagadekamallá, made a permanent assignment (daṭṭiyannu biţu) to the svayamabhi dítiy Koṭṭishankar enshrined on the southern bank of the Tuṅga(bhudra ?). One of the verses of the inscription declares that Madhusudana composed the portion describing the virtues of Vikramádiśtya, the prowess of Víra Páṇḍya, and showing the descent of Jagadekamallá II from Tailá II. It is also clear that Madhusudana was a court-poet enjoying the protection of Víra Páṇḍya.

[Note—This poet is mentioned in Lives of the Kannada Poets, by R. B. Narasimhácharaya. Vol. I, pp. 130-132.] [The feudatory Víra Páṇḍya appears to be the same as Víra Páṇḍyadeva who ruled the Noḷambaváḍí district as feudatory of Someśvara III. (Fleet, Dynasties of the Kannarese Districts.)]


In the independent Játá principality of the Bijapur Political Agency is a village named Mágadighál, called in olden time Málige and Málikapur. In front of the temple of Mahárdeva in this village is an inscription containing the following information:—In the Tarikád District of Kuntala was a city called Mangaliveda, whose ruler was Kannama. His son was Rája, who in turn had three sons, Amaigí, Sákhkama, and Jógama. Jógama had a son Hemmádá, and Hemmádá’s son was Bijjala, who founded the Kálchuri dynasty. Bijjala’s son was Ráyamurári Soýi, under whose protection dwelt the courtier Bijjaya Náyaka. In Sálívahan 1093 this Bijjaya Náyaka constructed a temple of Somnáthēšvara in his lord’s name, and in his own name a temple of Bijjēśvara, as well as a lake in the precincts of the latter,
The poetry of the inscription is admirable and deserving of close study, but the name of the author is nowhere mentioned. On the other hand Bijjaya Nāyaka is belauded in several places. Thus, for example, it is stated that the wise have bestowed upon Bijjaya Nāyaka the epithets ‘Varṇapakavi’ and ‘Kannādajāna.’ Another verse indicates that Bijjaya Nāyaka was both principal minister and court-poet of Rājamūri Śoīy.

The distinctive word ‘Kannādajāna’ appears in several verses. The authors of *Lives of the Kannāda Poets* have quoted several verses containing this word, which they consider may be the special epithet of certain poets, as it appears at the end of their compositions. They cannot however decide to which or what particular poets the epithet was applied, but suggest that they belong roughly to the period about A.D. 1500. Now considering that Bijjaya Nāyaka, as is shown by the Mādagihāl inscription, was a renowned poet and was dubbed ‘Varṇapakavi’ and ‘Kannādajāna’ by the wise, is it out of place to suggest that the author of verses bearing the distinctive word ‘Kannādajāna’ was none other than Bijjaya Nāyaka? If this theory is accepted, we shall have to carry the holder of the epithet back from A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1172. Of what works Bijjaya Nāyaka was the author, we unfortunately have no knowledge whatever.


Near the Subehdar’s Kacheri in Paṭṭanacheru, in the Nizam’s Dominions, is an inscription of the Chalukya Bhulokamalla Somēsvara (*scil. Somaśvara III*), written in Chalukya Vikrama year 51 (= A.D. 1127), which records that on the occasion of his formal installation on the throne Someśvara made a gift of land to the astrologer Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, for having fixed an auspicious hour for this great festival. One of the verses of the inscription, which is an ornate composition, declares that one Bhāskara was the author.


An inscription (Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915, No. 546) records that when Mālaparas, the invincible Daṇḍanaṅiyaka of the Chalukya Someśvara, was ruling the ‘Sindavādi thousand,’ he made in Saka 1108 an irrevocable gift of certain land revenues for the maintenance of a lamp to be kept always alight as an offering to the God Śri Mallikarjuna in Nandāpur. The concluding verse of the inscription states that it was composed by Bhāskara, who is described as ‘Sukavipadamaprabhākaro,’ and is also given the title of ‘Kukavimukha-mudra’ (‘the seal on the lips of bad poets’). Bhāskara was an accomplished scholar of both Sanskrit and Kanares. The inscription gives no further information about him.


A certain Udayādītya, whoever he may be, is described as ‘Vasudhanāthana Somanāthanā Sutaḥ Chodoyaḍītyaśa’ and ‘Somamahibhrīnandanaṁ,’ wrote an Alaṇkāra work entitled *Udayādītyaḷaṅkaṇa* (*Lives of Kannāda Poets*, vol. I, pp. 132—3). It appears that he was the son of a Chōla king, Somanātha, and that he ruled after a formal coronation. The authors of *Lives of Kannāda Poets* suggest A.D. 1150 approximately as the date of this poet.

In the north-western wall of the enclosure of the famous temple of Rameshwara in Tāḍapatri town, Bellary District, is an inscription containing the following information (Madras Epigraph : Collection for 1892. No. 338). A Mahārāja Udayādītya, ‘scion of the royal and famous Lunar race,’ (Bhavanaprakhyāda somāṇvyajanita), was governing his territory in the palace of Tāḍipārappur (Tāḍapatri), which was the capital of Pennapari-nādu. Udayādītya’s father was Somadeva. On the occasion of a solar eclipse on Thursday the 15th Māgh, Saka 1120, Kālyukta Saṅsvatsara, Udayādītya “made a grant of inam land for the repair of the dilapidated shrine of the gods Chandranātha and Parshvanātha and for defraying the cost of the prescribed worship and for expenses of food, etc.” These facts show that the author of the Alaṇkāra work must be this Mahārāja Udayādītya.
Note by H. Krishna Sastri. "But the inscription nowhere mentions the Chola Udayaditya, nor is there any reference to this Udayaditya being a poet. Again, the Cholas were of Solar, not Lunar, descent. The Udayaditya praised in the inscription is of Lunar race (Sundhavarajanita), and his father is styled 'Kaliga Kar' and 'Gangaevipala.'"

The authors of Lives of Kannada Poets are of opinion that the Chola Udayaditya cannot have been independent, but must have been the feudatory of some paramount ruler. But if we bear in mind the words of the prasasti, viz.:

'Svastyanekasamasanghatasamata-vijayalakshmismamalingita-vishalavakshasthalam kshatriyaputra bhuwanatrikta nauadumbarabharanaa Pandyaagajakesari kulukade-puravaradhibharaasthita sahaamahasiiddhi siddhavatadavadvityaasipada padmaraadhaka para-balasaadhaakanamadhasamasta prasastisahitaam sriramahamanadalesvaram Garlandya-malla bhujabala viranarayana pratapa kumaranudayaditya.'

and if we remember also that he is styled 'Udayaditya Maharaaja,' that one of his epithets is 'Garlandya-malla,' and lastly the fact that he gives nowhere in the inscription the name of any paramount lord, it is a reasonable inference that the princes of Udayaditya's line were originally feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyan, but subsequently became independent rulers of Pennarapi-nadu.

On the decline of the Chola power, several of the representatives of this dynasty became subordinate to the Chalukyas. But as the might of the Chalukyas, in its turn, gradually waned, several of their feudatories became independent. The Chola Udayaditya was probably one of those who thus asserted their independence.


In a mandap near the temple of Krishna, half-way between Kamalapur and Hampe, is an inscription (Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1889, No. 38), which records that on Thursday in Phalguna, Virodhi Saivat, Saka 1332, Lakshmihdra, prime minister of Deva Raya [I of Vidyaganter] installed the god Mahagananatha (Siva) with full festal ceremonial in a cave on the south side of Malaya hill, which stands in the eastern portion of Pampakshetra.

In the final portion of the inscription it is stated that Madhura, the Ornament of Eminent Poets, wrote these auspicious tidings for the glorification of the minister Lakshmihdra, so long as Sun and Moon shall endure. It is our task to discuss the personality of Lakshmihdra, who was responsible for the inscription, and of Madhura who composed it.

It is stated in Lives of Kannada Poets that one Madhura was the author of several works, including Dharmanathana Purana and Gumma跋sika. "He was a Jain of Vaji family of the Bharadvaja gotra; his father was Vishnu, his mother Nagambika. He was under the patronage and protection of Mudda-landesvar, minister of Harihara Raya, son of Bukka Raya. As he is styled 'Crest jewel of the Court of Bhunatha,' he must have been Harihara's court-poet." We are also told in the above-mentioned work that Madhura bore the following titles (biradhas), "Darling of the Fine Arts," "Glory of Royal Poets," "Honey of Song," "Mellifluous," "Spring of Master Poets," "Ocean of Knowledge," etc.

The inscription mentioned above informs us that Lakshmihdra, minister of Deva Raya, gave to Madhura, Jewel of Eminent Poets, a goodly piece of land, elephants, horses, jewels, etc., and most affectionately supported him.

Readers may ask what connexion, if any, there is between the Madhura mentioned in the Lives of Kannada Poets, who was the protege of Muddadandesvar, Harihara's Minister, and the Madhura of the inscription, who was the protege of Lakshmihdra, minister of Deva Raya.

At the end of the inscription Madhura devotes a stanza to describing himself in certain phrases and terms. Similarly the Madhura of the Lives of Kannada Poets describes the graces and attractions of his own poetry in a stanza, which is quoted in that work. A comparison of these two stanzas shows that, with the single exception of the fourth line they are word for word identical.
As regards the fourth line, Madhura of the Lives of the Poets styles himself "Karnataka-laksha-bhāshā kavirajanaṁ pravilasadvāni-mukhambojanaṁ." Madhura of the inscription describes his poetic ability in the same terms as the fourth line and adds that, as Lakshmideva has become his patron, he purposely uses the phrase "Lakshmanapāda-sarojanaṁ pravilasaddhātri mukhambojanaṁ." It seems therefore fairly certain that Madhura who is 'Karnataka-laksha-bhāshā-kavirajā' and the Madhura who calls himself 'Nṛnītakarnatā-Lakshmanapāda-sarojanaṁ' are one and the same poet. It is obvious that in addition to having been a protegé of Muddadanḍeshvar, Madhura had become the recipient of the liberal patronage of Lakshmideva.

Moreover he describes himself as 'Madhura Kavendra Bhunáthathāna-chuqāmāni' (the eminent poet Madhura, ornament of the court of Bhunātha), and in giving details in the inscription of Deva Raya's lineage, he indulges in various eulogies of that ruler. From this fact we may conclude that Madhura was also Deva Raya's poet-laureate.

Madhura's works are not easy to obtain. This inscription is essentially a short poem, and contains all the distinctive features of true poetry. The attractiveness of his style can best be seen in the portion of the inscription devoted to a sketch of Lakshmideva.

He first tells us that Lakshmideva was the prime minister of Devaraya. He styles him 'The true poet Lakshmideva, ' 'The chief of poets, Lakshmana, ' etc., in several places. There can, therefore, be no doubt that Lakshmideva was not only a real friend to learning and an active supporter of learned men, but was also himself an eminent poet. Unfortunately we know none of his writings, though there are grounds for supposing that among his works were the Krishyaśīkā, Ananda Ramayana, and Nīvālayāmarīka.

Lakshmideva gives an instance of Lakshmideva's keenness and efficiency in the administration of public affairs. Certain bad characters once resolved to assassinate Deva Raya, and armed with keen weapons approached the entrance of the royal chamber. Lakshmideva heard of the plot, and heeding not of the strength of the enemy, with great daring turned the tables on the miscreants and saved his royal master's life.

BOOK-NOTICES.

Books in Sanskrit: 1. Tantrarakshasya, by Ramanujacharya, edited by Dr. Shama Sastri, Mysore. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 24.) Price Rs. 1.80.

It is well known that the Baroda State is publishing a useful and scholarly series of Sanskrit books. The book under review is a hand-book to the great study of the Mīmāṃsā Sutras. It is evidently a work attributed to Ramanujacharya, a Brahman of the Godavari district, belonging to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. It consists of five chapters, dealing respectively with the theory of knowledge from the point of view of the Mīmāṃsākas, a categorical examination of things known, such as the element of caste system, the authority of the Vedas to realise religious ideals as distinct from secular ones, the rules and regulations laid down in a Śastra or a law treatise, and lastly the correct interpretation of these laws in the light of reason. This book is edited by Dr. Shama Sastri, the pioneer publisher of that extant work Kautilyya's Arthashastra. The price is comparatively cheap, so as to place it within the reach of ordinary students of Sanskrit.

2. Parasurāma Kalpa Sūtram in two parts. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series Nos. XXII and XXIII) Price Part I, Rs. 7 and Part II, Rs. 4. Edited by Mr. A. Mahadeva Sastri, Adyar, Madras.

The first part contains the Sutra with Vīrāt, while the second one the Nīgītsa. The book is published with the commentary of Rameswara. This work, in the words of the editor, is a digest of Śrīvīrya, a system of Divine Mother's worship and is attributed to the authorship of one Parasurāma. Whether this learned author is the famous Parasurāma of the Rāmāyaṇa, it is for future research to decide. The method and arrangement are all well thought out and in order. The commentary is quite a useful one for those who can not understand the peculiar technical expressions used by the author. The first part contains ten chapters dealing in minute detail with the various means and methods of that cult-worship, while the second part or the Nīgītsa has seven chapters. The book is very valuable to the followers of the Śakti, and other allied cults. The printing and the get up are excellent.

3. Catalogue of MSS. in Jaisalmer Bhands, (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XXI.) Edited by Mr. L. B. Gandhi. Price Rs. 3-4-0.
This hand-book is a catalogue of manuscripts and books in the Jain Bhandars at Jaisalmer. The most difficult portion of the work, namely, its compilation, goes to the credit of that well-known scholar C. D. Dalal, M.A. The first European scholars to examine these Bhandars were Drs. Bühler and Jacob. Nearly three decades after their visit, D. R. Bhandarkar made an extensive tour throughout Rajaputra in search of more manuscripts from 1904-6. It was the late Mr. Dalal, a Jain himself, who visited Jaisalmer in 1916 and is responsible for this comprehensive list. The first seventy pages of the book deal with the minor works found in general. Then the manuscripts in the big Bhandar are analysed—347 palm leaf MSS. and 18 paper ones. In the Tapagachha Bhandar 28 MSS. both palm leaf and paper, in the Dunganrai Yati 22 MSS., and in the Thimsaia Bhandar four MSS. are given. It is on the whole a useful compendium for those interested in Sanskrit literature.

V.R.R.

THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA, by J. N. SAMADDAR. Patna University Readership Lectures. 1922.

The inhabitants and workers in 'Magadhā' have reason to be proud of their native land and one cannot grumble at the title of this little book—so very much that has been great in India has come from this portion of it. Prof. J. N. Samaddar has already won for himself golden opinions by his Calcutta University lectures on the economic condition of Ancient India, and he now follows them up by equally informing and in their way delightful lectures on Magadha—the land of the Mauryas, the first Indians to combine and of Asoka and his Buddhism, of the great Buddhist University of Nalanda. Magadha has, indeed, done many things for India.

Professor Samaddar is, of course, going over old ground, but he does it well and has at times something new to which to draw our attention, though personally I cannot agree with everything that he says. The part of the book that has interested me most is the account of the Royal University of Vikramasila founded by the Buddhist Dharmapala in the ninth century A.D. Not much is known of this ancient university and what Prof. Samaddar has to say is most interesting.

R. C. TEMPLE.


This issue deals with the early period of Pallava Architecture and is more valuable for its architectural information than for its historical, as the author has not availed himself of the latest work on the latter subject. He divides the architecture into four styles: (1) Mahendrā, 610–640 A.D.; (2) Mamalla, 640–674 A.D.; (3) Rājā skillā, 674–800 A.D.; (4) Nandivarmaṇ, 800–900 A.D. Both the names and the dates attributed are the author's own.

To the Mahendrā style he attributes the cave-temples in the country round Kānchipuram (Conjeeveram), i.e., Tondaimandal. To the Mamalla style, cave temples, rathas or free monolithic temples, and rock sculptures are attributed. To this architecture belong the Seven Pagodas and the great Śiva cave temple at Trichinopoly. To the Rājā skillā style are ascribed stone- and brick-built temples dedicated to Śiva as Somaskanda. To the Nandivarmar style are attributed apsidal-ended temples approaching the Chola style. On this division of his subject the author describes in detail various examples of the Pallava buildings in the Mahendrā style. There are twenty splendid plates attached to the descriptions. Altogether a valuable piece of work has been accomplished.

R. C. TEMPLE.


The late Mr. Monahan of the Indian Civil Service proposed to himself to compose a History of Bengal, the province in which he served, and for this purpose he collected much material, which, however, was never published, beyond what was contained in some lectures printed in Bengal, Past and Present. He died in 1923, leaving behind him complete for publication only the first portion of his studies, which is now produced by his friend Sir John Woodroffe.

This "early history" of Bengal is, however, really a study of the history of the Mauryan Empire and as such it does not seem to contain much that is new to the old student, but it has one commanding recommendation. It gives in a small space and in an orderly manner all the evidence available for the statements made in the general books on the period. For this the earnest student cannot be too grateful, and he should always keep such a book with him, as here he has to his hand the actual evidence he should require.

A great portion of the book is taken up with the Kauṭālya Arthāśāstra on the administration of the period, and the only word of caution I would offer here is that it is quite possible that we have in the statements found in the Kauṭālya Arthāśāstra what the author and his school thought ought to be the method of administering the Empire rather than what it really was. It may have been merely a book of advice.

The Chapters on the Greek evidence as to Mauryan Institutions and on the Asokan Inscriptions are beyond praise.

R. C. TEMPLE.
PERSIAN LOAN-WORDS IN THE RAMAYAN OF TULSIDAS, by BAHURAM SARKENA.

This is a most welcome little pamphlet, excerpted from some Journal, though, except the pagination (63-75), there is nothing to show this. It relates to the words adopted by Tulsiās from Persian into Awadhi, and shows that they were used to represent things newly introduced, as terms of address to the noble classes, as 'elegancies' by the gentry, for military or legal purposes, or for abuse or depreciation. Just such words as one would expect.

Such loan words were assimilated by Tulsiās in the usual ways, i.e., by substitution of Awadhi sounds for alien Persian sounds, and by otherwise fitting the borrowed words for use in Awadhi speech. Tulsiās also had to fit the foreign words into his metre. This fitting of the Persian words to his purpose, moreover, obliged him to make a few grammatical changes and in some cases to give them a gender. In fact, he treated the loan words just as do the speakers of every other language. Nevertheless, one is grateful to Prof. Sarkena for the list of the Persian borrowings which he gives and for showing us exactly how Tulsiās managed to adapt them to his own language.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE SUBJECT INDEX TO PERIODICALS, 1921.

This is a further issue of this most useful publication where the student can find all that is produced in the current Journals and Periodicals on his subject, if it is connected with Languages and Literature. I cannot speak too highly of it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

"DIWANI."

May I enquire if any of your Readers can help me to solve the following historical difficulty?

One of the most important steps in the development of the territorial sovereignty of the British in Bengal was their acquisition in 1765 A.D. of the "Diwani" in the three Mughal provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. A separate "Firman" was issued by the Emperor Shah Alam, granting the "Diwani" in each of these provinces. Even in 1759 A.D. when Clive first mooted the subject of establishing the "Diwani", he spoke of obtaining possession of all these provinces.

But, in actual fact, the province of Orissa had been in the hands of the Marathas since 1751 A.D. The nominal sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor was indeed, preserved for a short time. But in 1757 A.D., as Sir W. Hunter tells us (Orissa II, 31), "a Maratha obtained the undisguised governorship, and from that date till 1803 Orissa remained a Maratha province."

The usual explanation of the grant by the Emperor of the "Diwani" in regard to a province which had passed to the Marathas is that some portions of Orissa were still in 1765 available for transfer to the British and were not under the Marathas. Thus Vincent Smith writes (Oxford History of India, page 503): "Shah Alam was further directed to grant the Company the Diwani of the whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The province last named then included only Midnapur and part of Hooghly district—the rest of Orissa and Cuttack being in Maratha hands since 1751 A.D." In this he seems to have followed a statement to the same effect by Baden Powell (Land Systems of British India, I, pages 392 and 473). But Midnapur, as far back as 1706 A.D., been taken from Orissa and annexed to Bengal—(Hunter's Orissa II, p. 29 and Appendices, p. 197. He follows Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 370). If Midnapur was a part of Bengal, then Hooghly to the east of Midnapur must also have been included in that province, and the explanation given by Vincent Smith and Baden Powell for the grant of the "Diwani" in Orissa apparently falls to the ground.

I would be grateful if any one could give me the correct explanation why the British in 1765 demanded the "Diwani" of Orissa. Was it merely part of the British design to expel the Marathas from Orissa (see Grant-Duff, page 650, beginning of Chapter XXIII), which was subsequently abandoned?

C. WILLS.

NOTE ON MR. WILLS' LETTER.

It seems quite natural that the English should have demanded the "Diwani" of Orissa: for they were taking the place of the Nawab (of Bengal), under whose authority Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa had long been grouped together. The Cuttack portion was certainly in the hands of the Marathas: but this was only in virtue of an agreement made with Ali Vordi Khan in 1751 [see Grant-Duff, ed. Edwardes, 1921, vol. I, p. 457] and they were nominally tenants of the Nawab. It is within the bounds of possibility that Clive may have wished to keep the French or others from settling in Cuttack district: but there is no direct evidence to that effect.

JOINT EDITOR,
Indian Antiquary.
MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

FROM THE COLLECTION MADE BY THE LATE DR. W. CROKE, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

Prefatory Note.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, B.C.

Among the papers left behind by Dr. William Crooke was a collection of Hindu and Muhammadan marriage songs (27 Hindu and 3 Muhammadan) from various districts in Northern India. Some of them are of peculiar value. For instance, there are a complete set of Hindu songs from the Mirzapur District from the commencement to the end of the marriage ceremonies, and two incomplete sets from the Itawā District. There are also two sets of songs at the nail-paring ceremony: one attributed to Tulasi Dasa and the other from the Mainpuri District. And lastly there are seven separate Hindu songs connected with various marriage ceremonies from different places and districts of Northern India. Three Muhammadan songs are further in the collection.

They will all be given now with text and translation.

I.

Hindu marriage songs of Mirzapur.

This set of eight songs were told and recorded by Rājkali, Head Mistress of the village girl-school at Kachhwā in the Mirzapur district. It is valuable, as the set is complete from the commencement to the end of the marriage ceremonies.

1. The Phaldān song sung at the first betrothal.

It will be observed that this set of songs refers in a confused way to well-known incidents in the Hindu sacred classics relating to the marriage of Rāmachandra, and have often no direct bearing on the matter in hand. The singing of them would therefore appear to be strictly conventional.

Text.

Manchiyā baithi̧u Kaushalyā Rāni; sinhāsan Rājā Darsath ho.
"Are, Rām ke tilak charhawhu; ab sukh dekhāb ho."
Baur bhaaiti̧u Kaushalyā Dei: kin bhaarāwal ho?
Ek din maulā janam kēa: ab jhankhai̧n byāhan ke.
Haukaı̧ nagāra ke Biprā begahii chali̧ awahii hoï.
Thāri jo bharallii sopariyāi; newati̧ deî āwo ho.
Newatahu argan pargan sagarī Ayodhya.
Ek jin newato Rāni Kekāi, jin apane garab se ho.
Sone kai kharanāstu Rājā Darsath: hathwāi̧ sumirini̧ liye ho.
Sone kai tilak, lilār Kekāi manāwal ho.
Kekāi manai; jangh baithi: "kaun gunah ham kihal hamare nahii aya ho?"
Mangan: "ek ham māngahii̧, jo ham pāwahii ho?"
Rām Lakhān ban dehu; Bharath kairi̧ rāj ho."
Mangai̧ ke "Rānī, māūgyo māūgahii na jānyo ho.
Mangai̧l prān adhār Kaushalyā kai bālak ho."

Translation.

Kaushalyā Rāni sat on her seat: Rājā Darsath on his royal throne.
"Ho you, mark Rām’s forehead with the tilak, and then I shall have the pleasure of seeing him."

Kaushalyā Rāni has become mad (with joy): who has maddened her.
One day she was nearly dying at his birth: now she is bought and sold (for joy) at his marriage.

When the drums begin to play, the Brāhmans flock to the palace.
The dish is full of betel nut: take it away and distribute it."

1 By way of invitation.
Invite friends and neighbours and the people of Ayodhyā and the pargana.
But don't invite Rāni Kekāl; she is very proud.
Rājā Dasrath has golden sandals and in his hand a rosary.
He has a golden tilak, and is trying to conciliate Kekāl.
He has soothed Kekāl and seated her on his thigh; "what crime have I committed
that you do not come to me?"
Says she: "I want a boon if I can obtain it.
Send Rām and Lakhan to the forest, and let Bharat rule."
Says he: "Rāni, you know not what you ask,
You are demanding the son of Kaushalyā Rāni, the guardian of my life."

2. The Nahacchu song, sung at the paring of the bridegroom's nails.

Text.
Ghar ghar phirai le nauniyāū; "āju more Rām kai nahučchu gotin sab āye ho."
Awailīũ aṅthali au ētrāṭi alahan, pāte kai jājim; jhāri bhīchhāī ho.
Awalin gotin sau tin chār, sumangal gāwai līn ho.
Nānā ke hāthēi naharanī, nauniyāũ gori
Rām kai badan nihārī, haṅsai mukh mori:
"Kāhe gun Rām bhaye sānwar? Kāhe gun Lakshman gor ho?"
"Rām to hai! Rājā Dasrath ke, aru Lakshman mor ho."
Rāni Kaushalyā Dei kaise jāye tapsi gāī ter ho?
Lehalū khainchā bhar dhēbuā bēshalīṇ ghor ho.
Nānā to charhailā ghorāwā, nauniyāũ kei le gail chōr ho.

Translation.
The barber's wife has gone round the houses; "come to the nail-paring of our Rām"
The clansmen come to the house, stately and proud: the carpet is spread.
Three or four hundred clansmen assemble and songs of joy are sung.
The barber has the nail-parer in his hand, and the barber's wife,
Seeing the body of Rām, laughs and turns back her face:
"Why is Rām swarthy? Why is Lakshman fair?"
"Rām belongs to Rājā Dasrath, and Lakshman to us."
"How burning has your Rāni Kaushalyā Dei become?"
"Take your parer's full and mount your horse."
The barber mounted the horse, and the barber's wife stopped her abuse.

3. Marriage song, sung during the actual marriage ceremony.

The recorder of this song notes that it is really a call for help by the bride against the
bridegroom to her father, and is therefore a survival of marriage by capture. She complains
that the bridegroom is by force putting the red spot (the sign of the married state) into the
paring of her hair. The bride sings:

Text.
'Bābā, bābā' goharāilā: bābā ta bolai nu ho.
Janghiyāā ki baraiyāā sendur monkoī nāwai nu ho.
Hātiyā mei sendurā mahang bhailei, bābā; chunari bhaile amol.
Ehi re, sendurwā ko kāran chhorōi maiū des tohār.

Translation.
'Father, Father' I cry; but my father does not hear.
By his personal strength he is putting the sendār into the parting of my hair.

2 I.e., he has a saffron tilak on his forehead.
3 The vernacular term may also read "grandfather."
4 Red lead in the form of a round spot put on the forehead just below the parting of the hair: the
   sign of a married woman.
In the market the price of sendâr is rising, father: coloured (marriage) garments are beyond price.
Ah me, on account of the sendâr I am leaving your country.

4. The Kanyakâdañ song, sung when the father gives his daughter solemnly to the bridegroom.

The gist of this song is that the father shudders when he has completed the marriage ceremony. The reason for his shuddering is the thoughts of the sacredness of the union accomplished and the great responsibilities that the married pair are assuming, of the vengeance of supernatural powers (Fire, Water, Air, Sun, Moon and the Gods) on any violation of the marriage vows, of the troubles of widowhood which Indian women cheerfully undergo on the death of their husbands. There are signs that this short song is very old.

*Text.*

Kââpaile, thâri: kââpaile, jhâri: kââpaile, kuse kai dabh:
Mandye meû kaâpaillâ betî kai bâbâ det kaâwarî kanyakâdan.

*Translation.*

Shuddering, the dish,—shuddering, the jug;—shuddering; the bundle of kusâ grass;
In the marriage-shed the shuddering father of the girl gave his daughter in marriage.

*Note.*

The sense of this song is that, while the father is completing the marriage ceremonies and placing the articles of worship in a dish, the sacred water in a jug, the kusâ grass round the sacrificial pit in the marriage shed, he shudders at giving away his daughter.

5. The Barât song, sung when the bridegroom starts for the bride’s house.

*Text.*

Râm je châlalaiñ biyâhan, run-jhum bajeñ bajai;
Are, uprâñ je sadawa menraaillâ na; “ham hûñi chalab biyâhan ke.”
Unch nagar pur Pâtan ale bâûceñ chhaiile mandô.
Bahaile jhur-jhur byâriñ, uhaiû dal utrailû ho.
Are, Râm sâsu je chalalîñ parêâhan kekarî arti utarahu ho:
“Kawan bar sundar saâwar baran? kanhaiya orhale pitambar ho?”
“Unhiû ke arti utarahu; unhiû bar sundar ho.”
Hot bhiñ phat-phatat chiraâiñ ek bolaillû ho.
“Khalahu, tuñ Sâsû bajarâ kewar; hamhuû jâbai kohbar ho.”
“Kaisâ maîñ khoñi bajarâ kewar? To Râm jaihaiû kohbar meû ho.”
“Are, torî lañkâ bál adûn: bolahi nahiû jânaile ho.”
Torî dhiyû lañkî adûn: hamhûñ kawal kai phûl: “dunoû jaîñiñ bihansab ho.”

*Translation.*

When Râm starts for the marriage, beautiful music is played.
Ha, a parrot is hovering over his head: “I, too, will go to the marriage.”
In a city lofty as Patnâ is the marriage-shed set up, and made of fresh bamboos.
Where the wind blows pleasantly, there does the procession halt.
Ha, Râm’s mother-in-law comes to wave the lamps over the bridegroom’s head:

6 The word used is jâl, an army and the reference may be to the time when the bridegroom’s party was his ‘army’ came with him to capture the bride.

6 I.e., to wave the lamps of propitiation: arti or parchhan karnô.
"Over whom must I wave the lamps?" "The beautiful dark boy that wears the yellow robe."

"Over him doarti: over him wave the lamps."

In the early morning a bird begins to chirp and sing:

"Mother-in-law do thou open the iron gate; I too would go to the kohbar."

"How can I open the iron gate? It is Ram that goes into the kohbar."

"Ha, thy daughter is an innocent child: she does not know how to speak.
Thy daughter is an innocent child. I, too, am a flower of the lotus. We two will talk together and laugh and joke."

6. Sung at the fixing of the Marriage contract, after which the married couple cannot be parted.

Text.

Àûgan lîpâî Debi Saraswatî chandân se,
Gajmotî chauk parâî, Ganesh manâî ke.

"Uthahu na Mâî Kaushalâyâ Râî; chumahu dalrû kai mâth,
Jaiî jagaiî Râjâ Râm Chandra." Debi Saraswatî manâwain na ho:—

"Belsaiî Ayodhyâ kai râî." Ganesh manâî ke na ho.

Translation.

Saraswati Devi plasters the courtyard with sandal-wood.
She plasters it with large pearls, after worshipping Ganesh.

"Up, mother Kaushalya Rani and kiss the bridegroom on the forehead,
By which Raja Ram Chandra will live long and prosper. And Saraswati Devi prays:

"May he have rule over Ayodhya." And she worships Ganesh.

7. The Gawanâ song, sung when the bride goes to her husband’s house.

This song illustrates the grief of the bride’s mother at parting with her daughter.
Children are much petted and the recorder of the song states:—I do not exaggerate when I say that most mothers do not touch food for several days after the gawanâ. Fathers, too,
will cry like children when their daughters leave them on marriage.

Text.

Aju rain daf bajai; bhaîwarâ udayâ bhai.
Uthahu na râjumari: gawan niâr bhai.
Mâî je rowaile mandir charhî, jaise jharai Sawanawâî kai nîr:—

"Are, more bajarâ kai chhatiyâ naihareû, dhiyâ bhaiin pâhun."

Pâthî jagâwai morî mât, suhenu sir sâheb:—

"Bhor bhaïul bhisár to nauniyân bolâwahu; gorâ bharâwahu."

Bhaujî kothâriyâ meî thâhr jharâ jhâr ravaiî nâ.

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7 The kohbar is usually held to mean the house when the bride and bridegroom go after the wedding to worship certain family gods, but this passage and certain others point to its being really the bridal chamber.

8 The recorder of the song here has a remarkable note. "It is usually supposed that gajmuktâ means the pearl in the elephant’s head." I disagree with this view. Gaj means simply ‘great’ when applied as an adjective. Just as Indra, when it precedes a noun and is not a proper name, means simply large.

9 The recorder also notes that the song makes the goddess Saraswati worship her own son Ganesa, the god of good luck.
Sanjhañiñ danñiyā phanñiñ bidwa karaiñ na ho.
"Bhorahin chhoñinliñ mor des dhiiñ bhailiñ pahun na ho."

Translation.
To-day at night the drums are being played: the result of the walking round the fire is come.
Up, princess; the time for departure has arrived.
Mother is weeping and her tears fall, as falls the rain in Sawan.
(Says mother): "Alas, my breast must be of iron that I can bear my daughter's becoming but a guest in my house."
My mother goes to my father and reverences him:
"The day has dawned, so call the barber's wife and dye my daughter's feet."
My brother's wife is standing in the room weeping copiously.
In the evening my husband got ready the palanquin and I bade adieu to my parents.
(Said my mother)—"My daughter forsok my home in the morning and is now but a guest in my house."

8. The Barhār song, sung when the bridegroom's procession (Barāt) goes to dine at the bride's house.

On the second day after the marriage the bridegroom goes in procession at noon or in the evening to dine at the bride's house. In the Eastern Districts this is called khichari khāñd, or the day itself is called Barhār kā din, the day of the Great Feast.

Text.
Mañ toñ señ puchhailoñ ghuñawā navār; kanà birauñ se jorale sanchā?
Jāñ mor gailan, "Patālpur meñ chandan biranā se joraliñ sanchā."
Mañ toñ se puchhailoñ; "Janak Rājā Kawan samadhīyā se jorale sanchā?
Jāñ mor ropailiñ; "Sital Rāṅi Rājā Dasrath samadhīyā se jorile sanchā."

Translation.
I ask thee, cocoa-nut tree, a riddle: with what plant hast thou entered into relationship?
The tree replied: "In the Lower Regions (Pātāla) I made friends with the sandalwood."
I ask thee again: with which father-in-law did Rājā Janak enter into relationship?
The tree replied: "Sital Rāṅi and I made friends with Rājā Dasrath as father-in-law."

II.

Some marriage songs of the Chaube Brāhmans of Mathurā.

This incomplete set of three songs was recorded by Prāg Dās Chaube of the Town School, Itāwā. It will be observed that these Brāhman songs are more modern in form and more poetical than those recorded from Mirzāpur. It will also be observed that final vowels are unstable, ð, õ, e, and even u: perhaps on account of accent and rhythm in singing.

An essential point in the marriage ceremony.

The bride is supposed to be speaking throughout this song.

August—the wet month.

With the auspicious dye called mehañdr.

The song here seems to follow the old Indian custom of asking and answering stock riddles.
1. Hazāri14 Bannā, tū bhale āyo re.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.

Text.
Hāthi to lāye, Bannā, Kajari desh ke.
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āyo re.
Ghora to lāye, Bannā, Qābul desh ke.
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āyo re.
Nauhat to lāye, Bannā, Būndi desh ke.
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āyo re.
Sono to lāyo, Bannā, Lankā desh ke.
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āyo re.
Rupo to lāyo, Bannā, Danhdal desh ke
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āyo re.
Mōtī to lāye, Bannā, Sūrat desh ke.
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āyo re.
Chunni to lāye, Bannā, Daryābād ko.
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āyo re.
Sālu to lāye, Bannā, Dakshin desh ko.
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āye re.
Missi to lāye, Bannā, dhūr Gujārāt ke.
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āyo re.
Dāsi to lāye, Bannā, Chanchal desh ko.
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āye re.
Dulhin to lāye, Bannā, Singhālādip ko.
Hazāri Bannā, tū bhale āyo re.

Translation.
Hast brought an elephant, Bridegroom, from the Kajari16 land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought a horse, Bridegroom, from Kābul land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought music17, Bridegroom, from Būndi land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought gold, Bridegroom, from Lankā18 land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought silver, Bridegroom, from Danhdal19 land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought pearls, Bridegroom, from Sūrat land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought gems, Bridegroom, from Daryābād.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought silk20, Bridegroom, from the Dakhan land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.

14 Lit., 'of the thousands', i.e., wealthy.
15 The Kajari Ban is usually a fabled forest, but the country beyond Hardwhār, where the Ganges enters the hills was once described to the Editor as the Kajari Ban.
16 Naubat, often known as roshan chauki.
17 Usually held to be Ceylon by all Indians.
18 The locality of this country has not been traced.
19 Dakhan means here the country to the South generally.
20 Sālu, the bride's garment of red silk.
Hast brought tooth-paste, Bridegroom, from far Gujrát.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast brought maids, Bridegroom, from Chanchar 21 land.
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.
Hast a bride, Bridegroom, from Singhaldwip. 22
Bridegroom of the thousands, thou art welcome.

2. Ektáí Mahmúdi Naurangi—The oranges are Mahmúdi and are peerless.

Text.
Ektáí Mahmúdi naurangi; sútan lál; chameli chämpa ras bhíni choli chatar amol.
Sir kesariyá pág par sohái khajúri ka mor.
Bár barní bárí ankhání : tispar kájar atí chhabi det.
Mere kol dipak ajab bano báre banná.
Ráshan jáit makhamli panhi láge hirá līl.
Bár bar jal piwat janani. Dháni dháni jahaní mái.
Mere kul dipak báre banná.
Byáhí chalo Barsáne awo, míli Vrindában Chand.
Mero kul dipak ajab bano re bare banná.

Translation.
Her oranges 23 are Mahmúdi and peerless; her trousers are red; her bodice 24, soaked in the juice of jasmines, is clever and beyond price.
On her head a saffron-coloured turban shines, crowned with a palm-leaf peacock.
Her large eyes look beautiful with lamp-black.
The lamp of my family, the young bridegroom is dressed wonderfully.
He has velvet shoes studded with diamonds and rubies.
Her mother drinks water again and again. Blessed art thou, O mother.
The lamp of my family has the bridegroom become.
Married let us go to Barsána and meet the moon of Vrindában 25.
The lamp of my life, the young bridegroom has dressed himself beautifully.

3. Banná hai nádán—The bridegroom is an innocent.

This is a maiden’s song and contains a common complaint in Indian marriage songs. It refers to the extreme youth of the bridegroom and is really an indirect appeal on the part of maidens for a change in marriage customs.

Text.
Chirá to bándhe saúwaliyá:
Banná hai nádán.
Jámá to pahire saúwaliyá:
Banná hai nádán.
Patuke khátir machálá:
Banná hai nádán.

21 This country has not been traced.
22 i.e., Ceylon.
23 By ‘oranges’ (naurangi) is meant the breasts of the girl, who is young. By ‘Mahmúdi,’ the recorder thinks that a reference to Mahmúdi of Gházni, who sacked Mathurá is meant. But Mahmúdi’s raids occurred at the end of the 4th century A.D. and the beginning of the 11th century A.D., and Mahmúdi is a common personal name. It is more likely that ‘Mahmúdi oranges’ merely refers to a well-known variety much valued.
24 The recorder has a quaint and interesting note here. “The Indian woman’s bodice is in reality no covering at all. It rudely shelters the breasts and leaves the stomach exposed. But chiefly on account of its indecency it has been the subject of many praises in the compositions of authors and poets, who only think of love in its meanest form.”
25 i.e., Krishna or Sft Krishná Chandra.
Súthan pahi saívaliyá :  
Banná hai nádán.
Motí khátrí machálá :  
Banná hai nádán.
Dolá to láwai saívaliyá :  
Banná hai nádán.
Banarí khatír jhágrá.  
Banná hai nádán.
Mere re bábul ko piyári hai nádán.

Translation.
He wears a turban like a beau :  
But the bridegroom is an innocent.26
He wears a long coat27 like a beau :  
But the bridegroom28 is an innocent :  
He grieves for the want of his girdle :  
But the bridegroom28 is an innocent.
He has on trousers like a beau :  
But the bridegroom is an innocent.
He grieves for the want of pearls :  
But the bridegroom is an innocent.
He brings a palankee29 like a beau :  
But the bridegroom is an innocent.
He is quarrelling for a monkey30.  
But the bridegroom is an innocent.
The beloved of my father is an innocent.

(To be continued.)

26 Náddān means literally ignorant, but both Hindus and Musalmans use the term to mean a little innocent child.
27 Jámnd means the long loose coat worn by bridegrooms at th marriage ceremony. It is a relic of the coat formerly worn by all men in public, just as Muhammadans still wear them.
28 The term often used here is bánde, not bándi, Bándi means apparently mean ‘monkey,’—‘the young monkey.’
29 There is a pun here and this expression might read as ‘he takes a bride.’ Of Hindu ráje Musalmán bádsháho ko dól deta hain—Hindus offer brides to Rájas and Musalmans to kings.
30 Here the sense is ‘the young monkey is quarrelling for his mate.’

"The veneration of rivers—of the various rivers venerated in the Punjab the Ganges is the most famous. It is very often worshipped under the title of Bhágirathí, after the name of the Puranic hero Bhágiratha, who is said to have brought the Ganges down from heaven. A large number of those who worship the river under this name are of the Öd caste, which is said to be descended from Bhágiratha. The Öds of the south-west are a wandering caste of workers in earth, who say they are Hindus, but none the less they bury their dead, and hence are not associated with by ordinary Hindus. They are often found wearing a black blanket, the origin of which custom is explained in two different ways. According to one story the Ganges, which was brought from heaven by the austerities of Bhágiratha, has not flowed to the place where the bones of the ancestors repose, and until it does the Öds must continue to wear mourning. Another account is that the ancestor of the Öds, the father of Bhágiratha, swore to himself that he would never drink twice of the same well and that he used to dig a new well for himself each day; but one day he had to dig very deep and the earth fell over him, and he was seen no more. This story is also given to explain why the Öds do not burn their dead."

Passing down the West Coast, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. V, (Cutch), p. 55, we read that the Lohánás in Cutch "are devout worshippers of the Spirit of the Indus, Darya Pír, who is said to have saved them when they fled from Múltán. Every Loháná village has a place built in honour of this spirit, where a lamp, fed with clarified butter, is kept burning day and night, and where in the month of Chaitra (March-April) a festival is celebrated." See also Burton, *Hist. of Sindh*, p. 315.

In Baroda, J. A. Dalal, *Census Report*, 1901, vol. I, p. 157, it is stated that: "There are special deities for particular tribes . . . . the Magár Dev, the Alligator God of the Dubás, Chodháras, Vasávás and Kukanáhs. It is worshipped once a year to avoid injury from alligators to men and animals, and also as a preventive against illness. This deity is found only in isolated places under a roof and is merely a piece of wood, somewhat resembling an alligator and propped up on two posts." And in regard to the alligator and crocodile, Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, pp. 275-276, has as usual some pregnant remarks to make: "The alligator is held sacred and worshipped by the Hindus. To be eaten by an alligator of Gangasagar is considered happiest of deaths (Ward's *View of Hindus*, I, lxvi). It is a lucky sign if a man drowning himself is seized by an alligator (op. cit. II, 117).

"One of the meritorious suicides in the 'Ain Akbarí is to go into the sea at the Ganges' mouth, and be eaten by an alligator (Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, II, 164). Alligator canopies are favourite Buddhist ornaments. Crocodiles eat the bodies of men and frequent the banks of rivers; one of the great spirit haunts, and so the crocodiles are worshipped and tamed at the well-known crocodile pond near Karáchí in Sind. The crocodile is eaten by Upper Egyptians and Nubians (Burkhardt's *Nubia*, 36). Food for the crocodile is a Nubian phrase for one thrown into a river (op. cit. 146). In Melanesia they are believed to contain the spirit of a friend, and are tamed (Jour. Anthropological Institute, X, 306). Crocodiles are prayed to in Madagascar. The people are much afraid of them, and so they offer them prayers that they may not be troubled (Sibree's *Madagascar*, 270). Many persons in Madagascar won't kill them, except in revenge, and many wear the tooth as a charm. A golden crocodile's
tooth is the central ornament in the royal crown (op. cit. 269). In Guinea they are worshipped as containing the spirits of men (Primitive Culture, II, 8); so also in the Philippine Islands (op. cit. 230). Some South Africans put a man out of tribe who has been bit by an alligator (Livingstone’s South Africa, 255). This is because the man is the alligator’s prey and the alligator will punish them. Compare the Burmans not helping a drowning man, because he is the victim of the water nymphs. The Zaparo Indians of South America though enjoy killing all animals, still they won’t kill the big alligator (Jour. Anthropological Institute, VII, 504). In Tahiti at the king’s coronation two deified sharks are said to come and congratulate the king. The kings used to play with them (Jones’ Crowns, 453). According to Pliny (Natural History, XXVIII, 8), the crocodile cures fever, ague, weak eyes, and many other complaints.”

In Bombay Gazetteer, vol. II (Broach), on pp. 567ff. is described a Sukaltirtha, the most important fair in the Broach district, and at p. 569 it is stated that “the ceremony of launching on the Narbadā a boat with black sails to become white in token that the sins of the penitent are taken from him, is still practised; but nowadays the pilgrims, not being kings, use instead of a boat a common earthen jar. This they set adrift, having set inside of it a lighted lamp, and as it drifts down the stream it carries away with it their sins.”

Campbell, Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom, p. 169, says: In the Konkan water spirits live in the round holes found in river-bed rocks. River beds are favourite spirit haunts, and so in Poona every year, when the rivers swell, all villagers come together, take a green skāl or waist cloth, and chōl or bodice cloth, flowers, fruits, frankincense, and betelnuts and leaves with them, and throw them in the river. In Melanesia holes in water rocks are sacred to spirits (Jour. Anthropological Institute, X, 277). In Scotland pot-holes are called fairies’ cups (Scott’s Border Minstrelsy, 462).

General quotations on Water and River Worship might be indefinitely extended, but the whole question is well summed up to the information obtainable at the beginning of the present century in Sir James Campbell’s admirable Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Customs, pp. 325-327. His remarks on the universal aspect of water worship go far to show us that in the legends surrounding Badara’dūn Aliā and Khwāja Khizar we are in the presence of beliefs going back to the beginnings of human thought and of superstitions that are world wide. He says: “Water as one of the chief scarers or foes of evil spirits rose to a high position among the Hindu objects of worship. Certain rivers and ponds are held very sacred and are often resorted to by thousands of pilgrims. In the Rig Veda the waters are personified, deified and honoured as goddesses, and called the mothers of the earth. They cleanse their worshippers from sin and untruthfulness and give birth to fire (Monier Williams’ Religious Thought in India, 345-347). They are also praised for their power of healing (ibid).

The Ganges is considered the most sacred of all the rivers, and next to it in importance are the Jāmā, the Sarasvatī, the Narmadā, the Šaravī, and several other minor rivers. To bathe daily in the rivers and seas, especially in the months of Kārtika, Mārgashirsha, Pausha and Māgha—that is, from December to March—is considered very meritorious; and to bathe on a new-moon day that falls on a Monday is still more meritorious. To bathe in the sea as well as some sacred ponds, like bathing in the rivers, is held holy. All high class Hindus in the Kōṅkāṇ, especially Brahmans, daily worship a pot filled with water, called varunā, with flowers, rice and red powder. Among the Hīrakurvinavars of Dharwar on the twentieth day after a child-birth the mother and five married women, whose first husbands are alive, go to a tank, well, or river, and worship the water with turmeric and red powder (Bombay Gazetteer, XXII, 168-169). The Kanara Halvaki Vakals at the Dīvāḷī festival in the month of November worship an earthen vessel full of water with a row of lighted lamps round it (op. cit., XIV, 207).
Among the Belgaum Kunbis the day before Divál (October–November) large earthen pots are bought, smeared with lime, put on the fire-place, and filled with water (Bombay Gazetteer, XXI, 117). Among the Areres, a class of Kanarese husbandmen, a copper pot full of water, its mouth stopped by a cocoanut ornamented with flowers, mango leaves and vermillion paste, is worshipped as the abode of the marriage gods (op. cit., XV, 215). On the sixteenth day after death the Kanara Jains put on heaps of rice, and putting from nine to one hundred and nine pots filled with water on them worship them with flowers and red powder (op. cit. 236).

According to Buchanan (Mysore, II, 71), in Mysore a pool was worshipped, and money was thrown in it. At the spring of the Kaveri, in Coorg, in October all pilgrims try to bathe at the same moment just as the sun enters the sign of Libra (Rice’s Mysore, III, 243). The Ganges is worshipped because it purifies everything (Ward’s View of the Hindus, I, xiv). The Japanese worship wells and gods of water (Reed’s Japan, I, 51). Rivers and seas are the object of worship of the Shinto religion of Japan (op. cit. I, 27). There is a sacred well at Mecca, in Arabia, which cures all diseases (Burkhardt’s Arabia, I, 262–263). In East Africa presents of clothes are made to sacred springs (Cameron, Across Africa, I, 144). The Romans had service rites of fontanalia. Seneca says: "Where a spring rises, or a river flows, there should we build altars and offer sacrifices" (Dyer’s Folk Lore, 4). Water was held sacred in Scandinavia (Grimm’s Teutonic Mythology, II, 584), and the Franks and Alamanni worshipped rivers and fountains (op. cit. 553). In Germany whirlpools and waterfalls were held in special veneration, and were thought to be put in motion by a superior being—a river sprite (op. cit., 592); so also above all was the place honoured where the wondrous element leaps up from the lap of earth, and the first appearance of a spring was often ascribed to divine agency or a miracle (op. cit. 584). It is the custom of Estonia for a newly married wife to drop a present into the well of the house (op. cit. 598).

In Great Britain many wells were held sacred, and were often resorted to by patients and pilgrims till the beginning of the eighteenth century. The worship of wells in the holy pool of Strathfillan near Tyndrum, in Scotland, in 1798 is thus described. In August hundreds of people were said to bathe in it. After bathing each person picked up nine stones and took them to a hill near where were three cairns. They went three times round each cairn, at each round dropping a stone. If they bathe to get rid of any sore or disease, they leave on the cairn a piece of cloth which covered the diseased part. If a beast was ill at home, they brought its halter, laid it on the cairn, kneaded some meal on the water of the pool, and gave it to the cattle. The cairns were covered with old halters, gloves, shoes, bonnets, nightcaps, rags, petticoats and garters (Anderson’s Early Scotland, I, 192).

To the well of many virtues in St. Kilda, in West Scotland, pilgrims brought shells, pebbles, rags, pins, needles, nails and coins (Anderson’s Scotland in Early Christian Times, I, 119). The well of St. Michael was held very holy in Scotland. In the Statistical Account of Scotland (XII, 464) parish of Kirkmichael, Banffshire, it is said: ‘Near the kirk of this parish there is a fountain, once highly celebrated, and dedicated to St. Michael. Many a patient has by its waters been restored to health, and many more have attested the efficacy of their virtues. But as the presiding power is sometimes capricious and apt to desert his charge, it now lies neglected, choked with weeds, unhonoured, and unfrequented. In better days it was not so; for the winged guardian under the semblance of a fly was never absent from his duty. If the sober matron wished to know the issue of her husband’s ailments, or the lovesick nymph that of her languishing swain, they visited the well of St. Michael. Every movement of the sympathetic fly was regarded in silent awe; and as he appeared cheerful or dejected the anxious votaries drew their presages’ (Brand’s Popular Antiquities II, 372).
"In North Wales there was a holy well called the Holy Well or St. Winifride's Well. Pennant in his account of this well says: 'After the death of that saint the waters were as sensitive as those of the pool of Bethesda: all infirmities incident to the human body met with relief: the votive crutches, the barrows, and other proofs of cures to this moment remain as evidences pendent over the well. The resort of pilgrims to these fontanalia has, of late years, been considerably decreased. In the summer still a few are to be seen in the water in deep devotion up to their chins for hours sending up their prayers or performing a number of evolutions round the polygonal well, or threading the arch between well and well a number of times' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 367).

"In the curious manuscript account of the customs in North Wales by Pennant he says: 'About two hundred yards from the church in a quillet called Gwern Dugla, rises a small spring. The water is under the tutelage of the saint, and to this day held to be extremely beneficial in the falling sickness. The patient washes his limbs in the well, makes an offering into it of four pence, walks round it three times, and thrice repeats the Lord's prayer. These ceremonies are never begun till after sunset, in order to inspire the votaries with greater awe' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 375).

"In England people offered pins, shells, needles, pebbles, coins, and rags to sacred wells (Chamber's *Book of Days*, II, 7), and on Holy Thursday people used to throw sweet garlands and wreaths of pansies, pinks and gaudy daffodils into the streams (Dyer's *Folk Lore*, 4). In some parts of North England it has been a custom from time immemorial for the lads and lasses of the neighbouring villages to collect together at springs or rivers on some Sunday in May to drink sugar and water where the lasses give the treat: this is called Sugar-and-water Sunday. They afterwards adjourn to the public-houses, and the lads return the compliment in cakes, ale and punch. A vast concourse of both sexes assemble for the above purpose at the Giant's Cave near Eden Hall in Cumberland on the third Sunday in May (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 375).

"Hutchinson in his *History of Cumberland* (II, 323), speaking of the parish of Bromfield and a custom in the neighbourhood of Blencogo, says: 'On the common to the east of that village not far from Ware-Brig, near a pretty large rock of granite called St. Cuthbert's Stane, is a fine copious spring of remarkably pure and sweet water which is called Helly Well, that is, Holy Well. It formerly was the custom for the youth of all the neighbouring villages to assemble at this well early in the afternoon of the second Sunday in May, and there to join in a variety of rural sports' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 37)."

On the connected question of Water Spirits, Campbell is equally explicit (op. cit., pp. 149 f.): "The most important and widely known of the Konkan spirits that are supposed to live in water are *Asras*, *Bádpév*, *Gírá* and *Hadal* or *Hedáli*. *Asras* are the ghosts of young women who after giving birth to one or more children, committed suicide by drowning themselves. They always live in water, and attack any person who comes to the place of their abode at noon, in the evening, or at midnight. When they make their rounds they generally go in groups of three to seven. Their chief objects of attack are young women, and when a woman is attacked by the *Asras* generally, a female exorcist is called in to get rid of them.

"Their favourite offerings are cooked rice, turmeric, red powder, and green bodice cloths. *Bádpév* is the ghost of a sailor or mariner drowned in a channel or sea. He is much feared by the mariners, who please him with the offerings of fruits and cocoanuts. *Gírá* is the spectre of a man drowned in a well, tank, channel, river or sea. He has his feet turned backwards. Whomsoever the *Gírá* attacks, the feet of that person become crooked. He is said
to allure travellers by calling them by their names. Sometimes he offers to become a guide to lonely travellers, and taking them into deep water drowns them, and thus makes them members of his clan. The Girá is supposed to get frightened at the sight of knives and scissors. It is said should any person happen to cut the shendi or top-knot of the Girá he would come to him at night to ask for the top-knot, and in return would do any work the person may require him to do. Hadal or Hedali is supposed to be the spectre of a married woman drowned in a well, tank or a river. She wears a yellow robe and bodice and green bangles, and lets her hair fall loose on her back. She is said to be plump in front and a skeleton behind. She generally attacks women. A woman who is attacked by a Hedali lets her hair fall loose, shakes all over, and shrieks. The Hedali is said to be much afraid of the sacred thread of Brahmins."

To the above remarks Campbell adds the following: Compare—The Romans worshipped water nymphs. The Greeks believed the inspired men. The Swedish believe that drowned men, whose bodies are not found, have been drawn into the dwelling of the water spirits, Hafsfuru (Grimm's Teutonic Mythology, II, 497). The Germans had water spirits called Nichus and Nix (op. cit. II, 489). Scott (Border Minstrelsy, 444) mentions a class of water spirits called Dracae who tempted women and children under water by showing them floating gold. The water spirit was greatly feared in Mexico (Bancroft, III, 422). The Nix or water-man was also greatly feared in Middle-Age Europe (Primitive Culture, I, 108, 109, 131; II, 209). Heywood quoted in Scott's Border Minstrelsy, 445, writes:

. . . . another sort
   Ready to cramp their joints who swim for sport.
   One kind of these the Italians Fatae named,
   See the French, we Sibyls and the same,
   Others white nymphs, and those that have them seen,
   White ladies, some of which Habundia queen.'

"It was also known as the Kelpi. It appeared in the form of a horse, a bull, or a man, and deceived people by sending dancing lights or will-o'-the-wisp (Eastern Races of Scot., II, 437; Scott's Border Minstrelsy, 540). Some of them lived in the sea, where they caused whirlpools and shipwrecks (Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, 124; Scott's Border Minstrelsy, 507, 509).

"In Denmark the popular belief pictures the Ellekone as captivating to look at in front, but hollow at the back like a kneading trough" (Grimm's Teutonic Mythology, II, 449)."

It seems, therefore, quite clear that in the "Buddermokans" we have a series of shrines on the Burmese Coast representing really a very ancient universal faith in the God of the Flood, introduced under Muhammadan influence from India, where it had become mixed up with indigenous Hindu and animistic beliefs. In Burma it has become further confused with Buddhist and Far Eastern animistic traditional superstitions.
PALOURA-DANTAPURA.

(A translation of a Note by M. Sylvain Lévi.)

The issue of the *Journal Asiatique* (Tome CCVI) for January-March, 1925, contains a collection of ‘Notes Indiennes’ by M. Sylvain Lévi, one of which is concerned with the identification of the place called "Paloura" by Ptolemy the geographer. As M. Lévi's conclusions cannot but be of interest to students of the early history of India, I give below as faithful an English rendering as I can of his erudite note.—S. M. Edwardes.

"Ptolemy mentions a locality named Paloura on the eastern side of India (VII, 1, 16), which he took as one of the bases in the construction of his map. He locates Paloura in 136° 40' E and 11° 20' N, near the mouths of the Ganges, 20 degrees north of the apheterion, where vessels bound for the Golden Peninsula (Khrusē Khersonēsos) ceased to hug the shore and sailed for the open sea. Ptolemy's map locates this apheterion at the southern extremity of an imaginary peninsula, which inclines in a south-easterly direction from a point approximately corresponding to Point Calimere, immediately to the north of Ceylon, and then after running straight northward finally bends west-by-east towards the Gangetic delta. In his first book (I, 13, 5-7) Ptolemy discussed at length the position assigned to Paloura by his predecessor, Marin of Tyre, and corrected according to his own ideas his predecessor's estimate of the distance between Paloura and the port of Sada, situated on the opposite shore.

"It is surprising to find that, except by Ptolemy, no mention is made of a locality situated in so exceptional a position on the maritime trade-route between India and the Far East. The name belongs to the Dravidian type, and is one of the large series of names ending in oura,—suffixes which have long been recognized as derived from the Dravidian term ur (town). Caldwell (Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, Introduction, p. 104) derives the name Paloura from the Tamil pāl-ūr, i.e., 'milk-town.' But there is an alternative explanation. The Tamil word for 'tooth' is pallu (Tel. palu; Kan. hallu; Mal. palu; Gond. pal; etc.; cf. Linguistic Survey, vol. IV, 650—652, No. 37). Paloura can quite well signify 'the city of the tooth.' Indian tradition has known from a very remote date of a "tooth-city," Dantapura, in the country of Kalinga, the very region in which we meet with Paloura. Dantapura is renowned chiefly in Buddhist tradition, which associates the name of the city with a famous relic, the tooth of Buddha, worshipped to-day at Kandy in Ceylon. The ordinary tradition regarding the division of the relics soon after the Parinirvāna related that one of the teeth of the Master was taken to the kingdom of Kaliūga (Digā, II, p. 107; Buddhavamsa, chap. XXVIII; Dulva in Rockhill, Life, p. 147). A late poem in Pali, the Dājahdevamsa by Dhammakitti, gives the supposed history of this relic. It was carried to Dantapura by the sage Khema, in the reign of Brahmadatta of Kalinga, and was worshipped there until the reign of Guhasiva, who, to save it from profanation, entrusted it to his son-in-law, Dantakumāra of Ujjaini. Carried by the latter to Tamralipti, the tooth was thence carried by sea to Ceylon, where it was piously welcomed by Mahāsena's successor, Kittisiri-megha (middle of the 4th century), the same prince who despatched an embassy to Samudragupta in connexion with the Mahābodhi monastery. The two facts are closely connected; Kittisiri-megha appears as the champion of Buddhist interests, while India is experiencing a wave of reaction against Buddhism.

"According to Buddhist tradition, Dantapura is one of the most ancient Indian cities; it stands first on the list of the six towns founded by Mahāgovinda in the time of king Reppu:—

_Dantapuraṁ Kālingānaṁ Assakaṁcha Patanaṁ._
_Mahāsētā Avantīnaṁ Suvrānaṁcha Rorukam._
_Mūkulaṁcha Vīśhānaṁcha Campā Aṅgasa māpirā._
_Bārāṇasaṁcha Kāsīnaṁcha Govindamāpirā._
This list is included in the Mahāgovinda Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, XIX, 36; it is also found in the corresponding sūtra of the Divyāgama and has thence passed into the two Chinese versions of this text. It has also been introduced into the Mahāvastu, III, 308. The scene of several incidents in the Mahāvastu is laid at Dantapura in Kaliṅga, III, 361, 364. It is the same case with the Jātaka: Kurudhamma, II, 67; Culla Kaliṅga, III, 3; Kumbhakāra, II, 376; Kalingabodhi, IV, 230. One is always finding in it stories which belong to the time "when the Kaliṅga was ruling at Dantapura in the kingdom of Kaliṅga" (Kaliṅgaratthe Dantapurananagare Kaliṅge rajjao kārente). In the Kumbhakāra, the king who rules Kaliṅga from Dantapura is the famous Kāraṇḍu, whose name is associated with those of Naggajī of Gandhara, Dummukha of Uttara-Paśchala, and Nimi of Videha, who abdicated in order to embrace asceticism. They are equally famous in Jain literature, in which Kāraṇḍu is transformed into Kārakaṇḍu, likewise king of Kaliṅga at Dantapura. The magnificent Jain encyclopædia, now in course of publication, the Abhidāna-Rājendra, gives a long biography of Kārakaṇḍu and refers to a series of texts: it will suffice here to recall that of the Uttarādhyāyana sūtra, XVIII, 45-46, with the commentary of Devendra. Among the Jains, Dantapura in Kaliṅga is also famous as the capital of king Dantavakra, "the greatest of the Kṣatriyas," according to the testimony of the Sūtraśāstra, I, 6, 22, who is specially known for having involuntarily incited two friends to rival one another in heroic devotion, namely Dhanamitra and Drīḍhamitra, the Indian counterparts of Orestes and Pythias, etc. The word danta, signifying 'tooth' and 'ivory,' has supplied the basis of the first episode in the story: the wife of king Dantavakra, being pregnant, expresses a wish for a palace constructed entirely of ivory, and the king issues orders for all the ivory available to be kept for his use. Unfortunately the wife of the merchant Dhanamitra, likewise pregnant, expresses the same desire; and in order to satisfy her, the merchant and his friend contravene the royal orders. Each of them demands thereafter to pay the penalty; the king, greatly moved, pardons them both. (Cf. Abhidāna-Rājendra, s.v. pacchita, vol. V, p. 186, and for the references, s.v. Dantavakra.)

"The Mahābhārata speaks of a prince named Dantavakra, but he is king of Kāruṣa, the country lying between Chedi and Magadha, to the south of Kāśi and Vatsa. Dantavakra of Kāruṣa appears fairly often in the Harivāma, nearly always in company with the Kaliṅga; he is the bitter enemy of Krishña who ends by slaying him. This no doubt is the origin of the reading adopted by the Southern manuscripts in the passage of the Mahābhārata quoted below (p. 96): "He (Krishña) has crushed the Kaliṅgas [and] Dantavakra."

"I have not succeeded in finding any mention of Dantapura in Brahmanic literature. At the same time there is late epigraphical evidence to prove that the name of this place remained for a long time in common use. The Ganga King Indraravarman dates a gift from his residence at Dantapura (Dantapuranavāsakāt: Ep. Ind. XIV, 361), whereas the rulers of that dynasty generally date their donations from Kalinganagara. Indraravarman presents to a Brahman the village of Bhukkukātra in Kurukarāṣṭra (modern Bhukkur in Pālakonḍa taluka), where the inscription was discovered. G. Ramadas, who edits the inscription, remarks: "On the road from Chicacole to Siddhāntam, and close to the latter spot, a wide stretch of land is pointed out as the site of the fort of Dantavakra. The peasantry often used to pick up there ornaments, images, coins and so forth, and even to this day there is a general belief that the site once contained great treasures." Mr. Ramadas concludes: "These facts show that Dantapura once existed on the spot which is now pointed out as the site of Dantavakra's fort." If Mr. Ramadas had been conversant with the Jain legends, he would not have failed to remark the extraordinary persistence of the memory of this king Dantavakra or Dantavakra (the two forms of the name are equally common and both merge into the Prakrit form Dantavalka), the legend about whom, connected with the name of Dantapura, I have just recounted.
"Although the Mahābhārata contains no mention of Dantapura, it mentions several times, in connexion with the country of the Kaliṅgas, a name containing the element danta. In the fifth canto (adhy. 23, verse 708) Yudhisṭhira, recalling the exploits of his brethren, cries:—"The son of Mādrī, Sahadeva, has vanquished the Kaliṅgas assembled at Dantakūra, firing his arrows to right and left."

Mādrīputrā, Sahadevaḥ Kaliṅgān samāgalān ajayad Dantakūre
vāmmenaśyān datarāya攄 va'yā mahābalaśaṁ kacchedanāṁ smaranāt

"A little further on, in the same canto, when Saṅjaya repeats the words of Arjuna in praise of Krishna (adhy. 47, v. 1883), "It is he," he says, "who broke the Pāṇḍya at Kavāṭa and crushed the Kaliṅgas at Dantakūra."

ayāṁ kavāṭe niyagāhāna Pāṇḍyaṁ
tathā Kaliṅgān Dantakūre mamardā

"P. C. Roy's rendering of this passage is as follows:—"It was he who slew king Pāṇḍya by striking his breast against his, and mowed down the Kaliṅgas in battle." He adds the following note: "Some texts read Kapāṭe niyagāhāna," meaning "slew in the city of Kapāṭa." He for his part follows the text of the Calcutta edition: kapāṭena jaghāna. Obviously the two texts give very different meanings. The translator has followed the commentary of Nilakaṇṭha, who accepts kapāṭena jaghāna, and translates kapāṭa as "thorax, chest as large as the leaf of a folding door," and who, in the second place, arbitrarily interprets dantakūra as "a battle in which one gashes the teeth."

"The Southern edition (adhy. 48, v. 76) reads Kavāṭe niyagāhāna and dantavakrami mamarda. A gloss interprets Kavāṭe by nagarabhedā, "a particular town," but says no more. It is curious, in any case, to find this king Dantavakra, so persistently associated with Kaliṅga, reappearing here in defiance of the rules of syntax, which forbid the juxta-position of two accusatives (tathā Kaliṅgān dantavakrami mamardā).

"The word dantakūra appears again in the Mahābhārata, VII, 70, 7, at least in the Southern edition. The poet recalls the exploits of Parasurāma in his great struggle against the Kṣatriyas: "There, fourteen thousand enemies of the Brahmans, and yet others, he checked and slew at Dantakūra."

brahmavedaśīṁ cāthā taleṁ sarasṛāṁ chaturdaśā
punar anyāṁ niyagṛāṁ Dantakūre jaghāhā sa

The commentator mentions an alternative reading, dantakrūram; "in this case," he remarks "this word refers to the ruler of the country." In other words, if it is not a place-name formed with kūra, it is a personal name formed with kūra (cruel), and one must take it to be an accusative: 'he slew Dantakrūra'. P. C. Roy's translation accepts the reading Dantakūre and gives the following rendering:—"In that slaughter were included fourteen thousand Brahman-hating Kṣatriyas of the Dantakūra country." The Calcutta edition prefers to read Dantakrūrāṁ jaghāhā ha, which is the reading followed by Nilakaṇṭha, whose gloss (taddeśādhipati) has been reproduced by the annotator of the Southern edition. The authors of the Petersburg Dictionary have, under the heading dantakrūrāṁ, treated this word as an adverb and have translated it 'in a savage manner with the teeth,' giving a reference to this particular passage. Subsequently, however, in the abridged edition, Bøhlingk has substituted for the adverb dantakrūram the noun dantakrūra, which he renders as follows:—"Name of a place (according to Nilakaṇṭha); one ought unquestionably to read dantakūre for dantakrūram."

"The choice between Dantakūra and Dantakrūra, which the Mahābhārata translations leave in uncertainty, and the very meaning of the word, which has also remained uncertain, are definitely established by the testimony of Pliny. In Book VI, xx, he states that he will estimate the length of the coast as far as the Indus, as it appears to him, by distances, although there is no agreement between the various itineraries, and he describes the first
stage as ab ostio Ganzisad promontorium Calingon et oppidum Dandagula DCXXV M. passuum, i.e., "from the mouth of the Ganges to the promontory of the Kaliāgaś and the fortified town of Dandagula, 625000 paces." The promontory of the Kaliāgaś, which serves as so clear a guide-mark to the line of the coast, is evidently, and beyond all doubt, the place where Ptolemy locates the starting-point of the deep-sea route to the Golden Peninsula, and which marks for him a sudden alteration in the geographical direction of the coast. The neighbouring town (oppidum) can be none other than the Paloura of Ptolemy, otherwise called Dantapura; and in Pliny's title of Dandagula it is easy to recognize the name of Dantakūra. The distance of 625,000 paces, chosen by Pliny from among the discordant data of the itineraries, is equivalent to 3945 stadia. Ptolemy reckons 500 stadia to a degree at the equator, and therefore also on each of the meridians. Accordingly, by Ptolemy's reckoning, the distance from the Ganges to Dandagula would correspond approximately to 6° 36'. Between Paloura and the westernmost mouth of the Ganges, Ptolemy marks a distance of 7° 50' in longitude (136° 40'—144° 30') and of 6° 55' in latitude (11° 20'—18° 15'). Apparently, therefore, Ptolemy was working on data closely allied to the approximate calculations of Pliny; without the combination of ideas which forced him to wholesale misconception of outline, he would probably have been able to produce a tolerably faithful representation of this part of the coastline. The delta of the Ganges is situated near the 22° degree N.; the region, in which one must search for Dantapura and in which local tradition still locates the fort (oppidum) of Dantavaktra, lies in proximity to Chicaole and Kaliāgarapatam, 'the city of the Kaliāgaś,' a little to the north of the 18° degree; the distance between these two places, following the shore-line, is from 5 to 6 degrees.

In a work which is included in Études asiatiques, published by the French School of the Far East on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, I have pointed out that the aphētrion eis Khrusen (starting-point for the golden Chersonese) of Ptolemy is identical with the Charitrapura of Hien-tsang and of various Sanskrit texts. I should like to draw attention to another feature, common both to the Greek and Chinese writers. As we have seen, Ptolemy locates the aphētrion at a promontory where the coast bends sharply from the direction W.N.W. by E.E. to the direction S by N., and then is inflected eastwards, separating the Aragic and Gangetic gulf. The Charitrapura of Hien-tsang is situated on the southwestern boundary of the kingdom of Orissa and to the north-east of the kingdom of Malakuta. Towards the south-west, Orissa borders on the kingdom of Kong-yu-t'o or Kongoda, which forms a province of Southern Kosala and corresponds with the modern Ganjam District. "The frontiers of this kingdom" writes Hien-tsang "include several dozens of little towns which are near some hills and are situated at the meeting of two seas."—This, at any rate, is Julien's rendering of the passage, which Watters criticises as follows:—"The word kuo does not appear in the original Chinese text; the term hai-kiao here signifies the meeting of the sea and the land. The pilgrim wished his readers to know that the towns at one end joined the hills and at the other were situated on the coast." I do not propose to join in this controversy on the Chinese translation, but I feel bound to remark that the word kiao signifies, as a general rule, 'crossing, exchange, mingling,' and that the expression 'situated at the crossing (or intermingling) of the seas' is a very apt rendering of the geographical idea which Ptolemy adopted for the aphētrion.

To find a sufficiently conspicuous promontory along the eastern coast, one has to travel as far as point Palmyras, which marks the beginning of the Gangetic delta, situated in 20° 44' 40" N. and 87° 2' E., to the north of the mouth of the Mahānadi. But Ptolemy locates the aphētrion well to the south of the latter river, which he styles the Manadas, half-way between its mouth and the mouth of the Maisūlos, by which latter term he signifies both the Godāvari and the Kistna. Moreover, the deflected current which, during the south-west monsoon, runs from the coast of India to the coast of Burma, breaks away from the Indian coast in
approximately the 18th degree, in the vicinity of Chicaco and Kaliugapatam. Once more I repeat here the statement of Valentijn (1727), to which Yule drew attention (Proceed. Roy. Geogr. Soc., 1882) — "At the beginning of February, a little boat was sailing to Pegu with a cargo loaded at Masulipatam. From this point it followed the coast as far as the 18th degree North latitude, and there took to the open sea, in order to reach the opposite coast in about the 16th degree." As late as the seventeenth century maps of India, as for example that of William Blaeu, continued to show a bold promontory and a sharp bend of the coast, precisely according with Ptolemy's views, between the ports of Masulipatam and Bimlipatam (to the north of Vizagapatam in 17° 53' 15" N. and 83° 29' 50" E.)

"In conclusion, it would be scarcely wise to interpret Ptolemy's data for the whole of this locality too literally; but the precision of his statements should not blind us to the real value of his information. He locates Faloura a little to the north of the aphelērion: Pliny, on the contrary, starting from the mouths of the Ganges, mentions first "the promontory of the Calingae," and secondly,—and therefore further to the south, "the fortress of Dandagula." Thus Pliny places Dandagula within the country of "Calinga": Ptolemy ignores the name of Kaliouga, whether inland or coastal. Possibly we may recognise an echo of this famous name in the town of Kalliag, which Ptolemy, (LII, 1, 33) mentions among the inland cities of the Maisoloi. Pitundra, of which I shall speak hereafter, also figures in Ptolemy's list. I have already had occasion to remark the curious inversion whereby he transfers Tosali from Orissa to the territory of Pegu; and I cannot help thinking that the whole of Orissa and a portion of the neighbouring countries have been subjected to a transfer of the same kind, in consequence probably of a confusion between the land-routes, running south by north, and the maritime routes, running west by east.

"Now that the name Dantakura is definitely proved to be a geographical designation analogous to or identical with Dantapura, one is hardly surprised to find the obscure word kura occurring in the name of the kingdom of Kūraka-ruṣṭa, which included the village of Bhukkuksura granted by King Indravarma during his residence at Dantapura. The editor of the grant, Mr. Ramadas, expresses his surprise at meeting in it the term ruṣṭa (kingdom), in view of the fact that the provinces of Kaliouga are elsewhere termed visaya. Possibly 'the kingdom Kūraka' or 'kingdom of Kūra,' was an ancient expression, consecrated by long usage, signifying the territory adjacent to the capital Dantapura.

"This curious word kura, which seems to be used alternatively with the Sanskrit puṇa to designate, in combination with danta, the capital of Kaliouga, recalls by analogy the final syllables of the name of the town which Ptolemy writes Hippokoura (VII, 1, 83). Hippokoura is situated in the southern portion of Aria, to the south of Paithana (Paithan on the Godāvari) and Tagara (Ter in Naldrug), and to the north of Banaonesi (Banavasi in Mysore). Like Dantakuru, Hippokoura is a royal capital; it is basileion Bālekouros, 'the royal residence of Bāleokouros'. The name of the king also appears to embody the element kura. Bāleokouros is without doubt an approximate transliteration of the mysterious Vījivāyakura, —a word which appears, coupled with the name of Sātakarni Vāsaithiputra and Sātakarni Gautamiputra, on a peculiar type of coin, differing from the usual coinage of these two kings and found only in the southern part of the Marathā country, or more precisely in the Kolhapur State, an area which in situation corresponds very closely with the directions given by Ptolemy for Hippokoura. As to the title Vījivāyakura, I can only repeat what Mr. Rapson writes in his excellent Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty, 1905: "No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the forms Vījivāyakura and Sivalakura." Sivalakura, which is coupled in the same way with the name of King Mādhariputra, also contains this element kura.

"The name Hippokoura reappears, in the Tables of Ptolemy (VII, 2, 6), as the name of a port situated in the immediate vicinity, and a little southward, of Simulla (Chaul, 23 miles
south of Bombay). The Periplus makes no mention of it. Since this second Hippokoura is located by Ptolemy on the coast of Ariakē, which he distinguishes by the name of Ariakē Sadinōn, one may well ask whether we are not here dealing with the original Hippokoura, transferred to the seashore from its proper location by an erroneous interpretation of routes.

"One is tempted to identify the final koura in Hippokoura with kourai, which appears like a plural termination in the name Sōsikourai (VII, 1, 10). Sōsikourai unquestionably identical with Tuticorin; and kourai is clearly the equivalent of the Tamil word kvādi, signifying 'place of habitations, town' (see the quotations s.v. Tuticorin in Yule and Burnell's Hobson-Jobson). On the other hand the identification of kāra with kourai is open to serious doubt. "Whatever the meaning of the term kāra may be, the identity of Paloura with Dantapura seems definitely established. Thus Pliny and Ptolemy provide new data in the geography of Ancient India, enabling us to identify the site of a great city of antiquity. The alternative use of the words Paloura-Dantapura shows also that in the age of Ptolemy the Dravidian language shared the territory of Kaliga with Aryan forms of speech. In these days also, Chicacole, Kalingapatam, and the Palakonda taluka in the Telugu-speaking region; the boundary between the Aryan and Dravidian tongues lies plainly more to the north, about half-way between Chicacole and Ganjam (cf. Linguistic Survey, IV, 577)."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE KĀVERI, THE MAUKHARIS AND THE SĀNGAM AGE,
BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN. University of Madras, 1925.

I am not surprised that this thesis won the Sankara-Parvati Prize of the Madras University for 1924, as in 122 pp. of rather small print it contains enough historical research to keep a student busy for a month in order to assimilate it. Mr. Aravamuthan has sat down to his work with all the detachment of a lawyer asked to give his opinion on the evidence laid before him, only in this case he has collected the evidence himself. The result is an investigation which is altogether admirable.

The book investigates in a wonderfully detailed examination certain statements of the Tamil Sāngam as to invasions of North India by Tamil kings. One has often heard of the invasions of South India by the kings from the North, but here we have a story of reverse statement, of which there has been practically no investigation. The thesis goes, however, much further. It attempts to fix the dates of these invasions and hence of the Sāngam, following up this attempt by an essay on the Kāveri "an excursus into a subject hitherto untouched," and another on the Maukhari of Madagha.

In his preface Mr. Aravamuthan draws attention to four footnotes on p. iv: (a) the probability of Adityasena, the later Gupta having invaded the Chola country: (b) an identification of a temple in Mālwa as probably one built by the Mālwa kings in honour of the Tamil goddess 'Our Lady of Chastity': (c) an explanation of the origin of the names Sātakari and Satavahan: (d) a theory that the Kāveri might have changed its course some miles to the west of Kumbhakonam. I have quoted the preface here in full, as my own attention in the course of the perusal of the book was forcibly drawn thereto.

Enough has been said above to show the extraordinary interest and value of this work as to ancient Indian history, but space forbids my following Mr. Aravamuthan in his many arguments. The general result, as I read it, is that the Sāngam writers refer to three Tamil kings having invaded Northern India as far as the Himalayas—Kariśkalā, Sānguṭtivan, and the latter's father, Imavaravambh. The dates of them all are within 25 years of each other and they had for proteges some of the Sāngam authors. So if their dates can be fixed, that of the Sāngam is also fixed. Assuming then that the Sāngam statements as to these three kings are reliable, the step necessary to fix the dates of their expeditions is to find the period in which the countries between South India and the Himalayas were weak enough to admit of the Southern armies being able to penetrate as far as the Himalayas.

It will be perceived that the question is of great historical importance, as it fixes the date of the Sāngam. But the first question to settle is the reliability of the statements of the Sāngam authors as regards the expeditions of the three kings, Kariśkalā, Sānguṭtivan and Imavaravamb. Into this point Mr. Aravamuthan goes in the minute manner, and his conclusion is that "the historicity of the invasions" of the three kings "is indisputable." As to the corollary of the date of these invasions, Mr. Aravamuthan considers that "in the general state of our knowledge of Indian history we might be safe in fixing the close of the third century a.d. as the lower limit." That then is a date for the Sāngam. The reader will perceive that for all his care in research Mr. Aravamuthan is still most cautious.

Kariśkalā, the greatest of the early Cholas, among other things, built flood-banks for the Kāveri. This has remained as his chief achievement in the popular mind. Among those who had to help in the great work was a feudatory king named Mukari. He was not a Tamil and Mr.
Aravamuthan suggests that he was a Maukhari of Magadha. This sets him on a special enquiry, including a valuable review of North Indian history from B.C. 320 to A.D. 650. It also leads him to an examination of the history of the Kāvēri with reference to Mukari as a possible place name, and he decides that "Mukari" cannot be one. Mr. Aravamuthan then goes into the obscure history of the Maukharī clan of Magadha and their possessions, with the patience that distinguishes the rest of his work.

The above is the veriest outline of the substance of this extraordinarily full book, and I now turn to notice some of the notes. First, there is an exceedingly ingenious footnote to p. 31 to show that Adityasena, the Later Gupta, invaded the Chola kingdom in A.D. 674 with Vikramāditya I, the Western Chalukya. This note is well worth study. Another note equally worthy of attention is one (p. 41) on a suggestion that the cult of Pattni-Davi, 'Our Lady of Chastity' spread to Eastern Mālwa. Then there is a well thought out note on the names Stavākhana and Štakariti as those respectively of a race and its kings, both meaning possibly "a hundred ships"—a new equivalence for them. To these must be added the whole story of the Kāvēri River and its changes, which is admirably told. In reading this, sights should not be lost of the long footnote on pp. 118-122 on Pālaikāvēri and Pālayiyyar.

So far Mr. Aravamuthan has himself drawn attention to his notes, but I would add one or two more on my own account. On p. 28 there is an identification of Vajra as a kingdom mentioned beside Magadha and Avanti. As to the latter there is no difficulty, but Vajra presents many, though it may fairly be accepted now as having extended from the banks of the Son in a south-easterly direction to the Bay of Bengal, so that it touched the sea and skirted the Son.

At pp. 101-102 is a remarkable suggestion which I merely quote in full in order to draw attention to it. It gives a probable origin of Harsha's greatness: "The possibility of the Maukharis having been able to control all these territories during a period when the Vardhanas of Thanesar are not known to have been very powerful, and the circumstance that the Vardhana line comes to the forefront on the extinction of the Maukharī dynasty, suggests a rather startling conclusion in respect of the origins of Harsha's greatness. If the Maukharis had before Grahavarman's days extended their power over the major portion of North India, if before Harsha the Vardhanas of Thanesar were inconspicuous rulers—which there is no reason to doubt—and if Harsha ostensibly placed Grahavarman's widow, Rājya-Sri, on the throne and himself professed to be only a 'Kumara', we have adequate basis for a belief that Harsha came into an empire by stepping dexterously into the shoes of the Maukharis."

With these inadequate remarks I close my observations on one of the fullest books on history that it has been my fortune to peruse. I should add these there is an excellent index for which scholars will no doubt be grateful.

R. C. Temple.


The booklet under review is the sixth volume of a well-known German series Indische Erzählten. The former volumes of this series contained translations from Sanskrit, but this one is from Old-Gujarātī, a novelty inasmuch as it is the first complete attempt of the kind. The original text was edited by the same learned scholar in 1922 (Markert and Petters, Leipzig. The book can also be had of Harashand Bharabhai, Benares) and its contents have been made known to the public by him still earlier, in 1914, in his well-known work on the History and Spread of the Pāstacetr. The chief interest of the book lies in the fact of its being quite popular. The stories have been taken, as Hertel has shown, not only from the Pāstacetr but also from other sources, They depict the actual conditions of Indian life among common classes. Again the style is not at all learned, but very simple: just one suited to the people. And the translator has tried to imitate it in his German. It goes without saying that it is very difficult to edit and translate a text written in an unknown language, especially when the MS. is full of mistakes and when the words are not separated therein. Mistakes in the edition due to haste have been corrected in the translation. Some of them have been noted in the second appendix of this work, and the careful reader will find that others too have been silently corrected. It is no wonder therefore if the writer of these lines suggests some corrections elsewhere. Numerous footnotes deal with grammatical and exegetical points. The introduction touches upon the author and the language of the text, the latter subject being continued in the first appendix with detailed discussion upon some words. The whole book gives a fair idea of manners and customs, beliefs and superstitions of India not very old, and some pieces are really charming as stories. Thus it is both interesting and instructive. Its importance to the students of the Old-Gujarātī language cannot be too much emphasized. Prof. Hertel has prepared grammatical and glossarial studies on this and other old Gujarātī works. Their publication should no longer be delayed, and we hope that the learned author will soon find time for it.

J. C. Tavadia.
III. Hargovind at Kiratpur.

The battle of Kartarpur is said to have been fought in 1634, and as Hargovind immediately withdrew to Bhagwara and thence in haste to Kiratpur, he might have reached the latter place in the very same year. The Sikhs state that the city of Kiratpur had been founded by Baba Gurditta, the eldest son of Hargovind, and that it was named Kiratpur, because "God's praises (Kirti) were ever to be sung there." Hargovind now made it his permanent residence and appears to have lived here till his death in 1645.

We do not know much about Hargovind's life at Kiratpur. It seems that he eagerly availed himself of the peace and tranquillity that the secure retreat offered, and which he so much needed after the trials and anxieties of his previous adventures. But it is said that even here in his retirement he could not entirely avoid military operations. Two of his exploits are mentioned. The first was an "expedition to Nanakmata in the Tarai near Naini Tal, whose faqir Almast, the Udasi, complained that he had been expelled from his shrine by the Jogis, who had also burnt the pipal tree, under which Guru Nanak had held debate with the followers of Gorak Nath." Hargovind had absolutely no difficulty in rescuing the shrine and putting Almast in possession of it. The Guru remained there for some time and "busied himself with the organization of a methodical Sikh service under the guidance of Almast". Since then the place has borne the undisturbed name of Nanakmata, and remained in the possession of Udasi Sikhs. It is to be noticed, however, that both Macauliffe and Gyan Singh place this event much earlier, the former even before Hargovind's first open breach with the Moghul Government, and that it was after all a very tame affair which we cannot certainly count among the military exploits of Hargovind. Secondly, the Guru is said to

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94 We need not enter into any chronological discussion with regard to the second period of Hargovind's career. It seems that the Sikh records can perhaps be safely followed. Hostilities commenced immediately after the accession of Shah Jahan, and the battle of Amritsar was fought, as the Sikhs state, in 1628 or in 1629. Hargovind retired to Kartarpur and then to Ruhola, forcibly took possession of it and defeated the small contingent sent by the Subahdar of Jullundur. He, however, feared that a stronger army would soon be sent against him and consequently retired to the wastes of Bhatinda. There he met the Imperialists, who were compelled to retire, and it does not seem improbable that this happened, as the Sikhs state, early in 1631. The Guru could not return to Kartarpur immediately, and the Panth Prakash states (p. 117) that he remained in the hills for about 3 years and came down to Kartarpur in 1634. Hostility seems to have broken out immediately and the Guru thought it prudent to retire to Kartarpur the very same year. There seems nothing impossible in the above account, and the Sikh records cannot possibly be more than a year or two off the mark.

96 Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. I, p. 684. It is said that 'this or another Almast had been deputed by this, the sixth Guru, to Shujatpur near Dacca and had there founded a sangat. This sangat at Shujatpur was called after Natha Sahib, third in succession to this Almast.' It is significant that "the inscription on a stane in the well of this sangat commemorates the name of the original founder and his "Mother Lodge" of Nanakmata. This new sangat was not named Nanakmata, but it was under the Lodge at Nanakmata in Naini Tal, and its priests were appointed or removed by the head at that place." (Gurbakhsh Singh's Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal, Dacca Review, 1916, p. 228.) In Macauliffe it is stated that Hargovind had sent Bidhi Chand to some untraceable island in the Bay of Bengal. (Vol. IV, p. 216.) Sikh activities outside of the Punjab in or about this time are clearly established in the valuable paper of Gurbakhsh Singh already referred to. (Dacca Review, 1915, 1916.) Mohsun Fani also states that Hargovind had sent a Sikh named Sadah to bring horses from Balkh (Dabistan, vol., p. 284).

97 Macauliffe, ibid., vol. IV, pp. 50-54.
98 The Sikh Religion.
have joined forces with Raja Tarachand and helped him to defeat the Nawab of Rupar in 1642.\textsuperscript{100} Mr. Rose makes this statement on the authority of Khazan Singh, but we have not been able to trace the information in any reliable authority.

It is again claimed by the Sikhs that Hargovind acquired a very great influence over the Hill Rajas, many of whom are said to have been converted to Sikhism. It is stated that in the days of Amar Das the Raja of Haripur had accepted Sikhism,\textsuperscript{101} and that the hill Rajas of Kulu, Suket, Haripur and Chamba visited Guru Arjan and became his followers, as the Raja of Mandi had previously done.\textsuperscript{102} Guru Hargovind is said to have converted the Rajas of Kangra and Philibit,\textsuperscript{103} so that when he retired to Kiratpur, the hold of Sikhism over the hill tracts seems to have been clearly established. It appears that Mohsun Fani also says the same thing. In this connection he narrates a very interesting story. The inhabitants of the country of Raja Tarachand worshipped idols, and on the summit of a fortified mountain they raised an image of Narayana, whither Rajas and other eminent persons made pilgrimages. When Hargovind went to that place, a Sikh named Bhairao entered the temple and struck off the nose of the idol. The Rajas complained to the Guru, but Bhairao denied the deed. The servants of the Rajas, however, declared that they positively knew the man. Bhairao replied: "O Rajas, ask you the god; if he tells my name, kill me." The Rajas said: "You blockhead! how shall the god speak?" Bhairao laughed and answered: "Now it is clear who is the blockhead: if the god cannot defend his head nor point out the man who struck him, what benefit do you expect from him, and why do you venerate his strength?" Bhairao's answer is said to have had tremendous influence, and Mohsun Fani says that 'from this time the disciples of the Guru increased considerably, and in this mountainous country, as far as the frontiers of Thibet and Khota, the name of Muselman was not heard.'\textsuperscript{104} Subsequent events, however, clearly prove that Sikhism never succeeded in making any headway in the hills, and that the Hill Rajas remained to the last the most implacable enemies of Guru Govind and his cause. The Kangra Hills have always been the greatest stronghold of Hinduism, and throughout this tract the ascendency of a type of Rajput society is well-marked.\textsuperscript{105} Political privilege, social exclusiveness and tribal pride, all combined to induce the Hill Rajas to present a united front against Sikhism, and Govind's mission in the hills proved a conspicuous failure. It is thus evident that even if there had been a movement in favour of Sikhism during the days of Hargovind, it was only temporary. It seems, however, that Hargovind lived in friendly relations with the Hill Rajas; and that he had gained a considerable reputation, is proved by the fact that Perah Kaivan, Yazdanian, was moved by the name of the Guru and came to pay him a visit.\textsuperscript{106}

We would now close the account of Hargovind by referring to a very notable affair connected with his death. Mohsun Fani says that when Hargovind's body was put upon the pyre and the fire rose up in high flames, a Rajput named Raja Ram precipitated himself into the fire and expired. Raja Ram was followed by a Jat, who was in the service of Hargovind's son-in-law. And many other Sikhs would have followed Raja Ram's example, if Har Rai had not forbidden it.\textsuperscript{107} This shows how very devotedly Hargovind's followers were attached to him, and explains, to some extent, his successes against heavy odds.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textsuperscript{100} & Khazan Singh, p. 139. \\
\textsuperscript{101} & Macauliffe, \textit{ibid.}, vol. II, p. 62; Narang, \textit{ibid.}, p. 26. \\
\textsuperscript{102} & \textit{Ibid.}, vol. III, p. 70. \\
\textsuperscript{103} & Panth Prakash. \\
\textsuperscript{104} & \textit{Dabistan}, vol. II, p. 276. \\
\textsuperscript{105} & \textit{Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes}, vol. I, pp. 5, 6 \\
\textsuperscript{106} & \textit{Dabistan}, vol. II, p. 280. \\
\textsuperscript{107} & \textit{Ibid.} \\
\end{tabular}
VYAGHRA, THE UCHCHAKALPA.

BY PROF. G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

A new inscription, discovered in 1919 at Ganj in the Ajaiagur State of Bundelkhanj was published in the Epigraphia Indica (vol. XVII, p. 12) in January 1925. It is a short inscription:—"Vyaghradeva, who meditates on the feet of the Mahärāja, the illustrious Prithivishēna, of the family of the Vākāṭakas, has made this, for the sake of the religious merit of his parents."

On this statement the following questions arise:—Who was this Vyaghradeva? Who was Prithivishēna the Vākāṭaka? What is the date of the inscription? These questions are answered in an uncertain manner in the article in the Epigraphia Indica. My own opinion is, however, that, on the contrary, we have here, despite the incertitude of Central Indian history, an instance of quite clear precision.

Fleet (Ind. Ant., vol. XIX, 1890, p. 227) has affirmed that the Uchchakalpas employed the Trikūta Era. In my opinion this is incorrect, and my own idea is that the inscriptions of the Uchchakalpas are dated in the Gupta Era. About the year A.D. 511, there were in this part of Central India two neighbouring kingdoms, and to make their boundaries clear their respective kings set up at Bhumarā a boundary pillar (Gupta Insc., p. 111). Assuming that these kings were using the Gupta Era, it is easy to determine their date. One of the two, Hastin, the Parivārāja family, was a feudatory of the Guptas, and his inscriptions (Gupta Insc., pp. 95, 102, 107, 114) prove that he was reigning in A.D. 475, 482 and 511. The other, Śarvanātha of the Uchchakalpa family, is mentioned in the inscriptions at Bhumarā, and of him we have three inscriptions (Gupta Insc., pp. 126, 133 and 136), which are dated in the years A.D. 512, 516, 533. This Śarvanātha was the son of a king called Jayanātha (A.D. 493 and 496 G. Inscript., pp. 118 and 122), and grandson of a Vyāghra. The date at which this Vyāghra was reigning can be determined approximately. In fact, his son was reigning in A.D. 493 and 496. He himself was therefore reigning about A.D. 475. His son's inscriptions have been found (at Kārtalā and Khoh) in the Nagaudh State of Baghalkhanj and near Mūḍwārā in the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces. In that region we find the Vyāghra kingdom, and it is precisely in the same region that the Inscription of Ganj has been discovered, telling us that Vyāghra was the vassal of Prithivishēna the Vākāṭaka. We cannot but conclude that about the year A.D. 475—that is to say, during the reign of Vyāghra, the Uchchakalpa, there was reigning a Vākāṭaka called Prithivishēna.

In my work The Ancient History of the Deccan I have attributed approximately (p. 110) to the Vākāṭaka Prithivishēna II the date A.D. 475. In short, a chronology of the family can be thus made out:—

Chandra-Gupta II (c. A.D. 375–415).

Queen Prabhāvatī
wife of Rudrasena II and regent during the minority of his son Pravaraṇa (see J.R.A.S., Jan. 1924, p. 95).

Pravaraṇa II (c. first half of 5th century).

Narendraṇa (c. A.D. 450).

Prithivishēna II (c. A.D. 475).

Also about A.D. 475 there was reigning at Ganj and Nāchnā (Gupta Insc., p. 234) in Bundelkhanj a powerful sovereign, Prithivishēna the Vākāṭaka. His vassal was the Uchchakalpa king Vyāghra.
MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA.
(Continued from page 88.)

III.

Some Marriage Songs of the Khattris.

This is an incomplete set of six songs recorded by Prabhu Dayāl and Benī Mādhav, both Khattris of the Town School, Itāwā.

1. Āj kī ratiyān—To-night.

This is a song to the bridesgroom as a small child.

Text.

Hariāle Bannā, āj kī ratiyān, khel le lo lasiyān.
Chirā tumhārā khūb banā,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.
Khālgūn sambhāraiñ sab sakhiyān,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.
Bāgā tumhārā khūb banā,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.
Patukā tumhārā khub banā,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.
Jhālar samhāraiñ sab sakhiyān,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.
Moti tumhārī khub bani,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.
Lārya samhāraiñ sab sakhiyān,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.
Pahunchī tumhārī khūb bani,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.
Phundan sambhāraiñ sub sakhiyān,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.
Mojā tumhārā khūb banā,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.
Jūtā pahnāwañ sab sakhiyān,
Banne, āj kī ratiyān.

Translation.

Green31 Bridegroom, to-night let us play a game.
Your turban is well made,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your company32 is supporting the kālangī,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your cloak is well made,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your girdle is well made,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your company supports the fringe,
Bridegroom to-night.

31 Young, bright.
32 Sakht, is a female companion.
Your pearls are well put on,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your company is supporting the strings of pearls,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your wristlet is well made,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your company is supporting its flowers\(^3\),
Bridegroom to-night.
Your socks are well made,
Bridegroom to-night.
Your company puts on your shoes for you,
Bridegroom to-night.

2. **Manohar Sāñwarē—O swarthly charmer.**

*Text.*

Tēr dhanūhiyān bāūs ki khelaiū ajab darbār,
Manohar sāñwarē.
Tum nikro, kuñwar mere, bāhare laghu nāpat ūbāi dwār.
Manohar sāñwarē.
Thunthe kuñwar nahiū pāoū de dwāre bich,
Manohar sāñwarē.
Lālā pāg Pathānī atī bānī sir jhālar ko mor.
Kānēū kundal atī bānī sir chandān ki khorī.
Naināū surmā atī bānī : bhar mukh chabhaū pān,
Manohar sāñwarē.
Kumar ko patukā atī bānī jhālar desh ujār,
Manohar sāñwarē.
Kesarīyā jāmā atī bānī takhtāi lagi izār,
Manohar sāñwarē.
Janhgiāū sūthan atī bānī pindurpan kachnār,
Manohar sāñwarē.
Pāyāū kanorā atī bānī ; angūthāū chārī majīth.
Hāth chakar mundrā : tīrwāū kanchan dor,
Manohar sāñwarē.

*Translation.*

With bow and arrow of bamboo plays wonderfully in the darbār,
The swarthly charmer.

Go out, my prince, your younger brother is tired of waiting at the door,
O swarthly charmer.

The graceless prince steps not out of the door,
O swarthly charmer.

The red turban is Pathān-like and the twist of the fringe is beautiful.
Beautiful the rings in his ears and the *sandal* marks on his forehead.
Beautiful the antimony in his eyes, and he chews the betel in his mouth,
O swarthly charmer.

Beautiful the girdle at his waist, with the fringe that depopulates the country\(^4\).
O swarthly charmer.

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\(^3\) *The phundan* is a small ball of thread like a flower fastened on to the wristlet.

\(^4\) *I.e.*, the people will leave hearth and house to look at it closely.
The saffron garment is well made with bands\(^{35}\) attached in places,
O swarthy charmer.
The trowsers on his legs are well made and round the waist he is green\(^{36}\),
O swarthy charmer.
On his feet he wears a \textit{kanor}\(^{37}\), and black rings on his thumbs.
On his hands are large rings and golden strings are attached to his arrows,
O swarthy charmer.

3. \textit{Naiks\^a\i\i Baighan Birul\^a H\^alai—As Baighans Tremble.}

\textit{Text.}

\begin{flushleft}
Naiks\^a\i\i baighan birul\^a h\^alai aur mag dolai ari e jugin\^a sang l\^ag\^a re.
Chir l\^agi suh\^ag pathaiho : kal\^gi l\^agi, piy\^are : j\^ama\^i l\^agi sah\^ag pathaih\^on.
Bindu l\^agi piy\^are moje l\^agi suh\^ag pathaih\^on.
Jal bharat hindor hindor ras\^ari resham ki.
Resham rasariyy\^a jab\^ak\^i lagai\i jab sone gharal na ho.
Sone gharal\^\^a\i jab niko lagai jab moti lajuriy\^a hoy\^a.
Moti lejuriy\^a jab niki lagai patali si dhaniy\^a hoy\^a.
\end{flushleft}

\textit{Translation.}

The two breasts tremble like baighans when in company with the girl.
A turban to the bridegroom shall I send, furnished with \textit{kalangi}, my dear; and
auspicious things\(^{38}\) to the bridegroom shall I send.
Things furnished with \textit{bindu}, my dear, with pearls to the bridegroom shall I send.
She draws water (from the well) with a silken rope moving it again and again\(^{39}\).
Beautiful is the rope of silk when the pitcher is of gold.
Beautiful is the golden pitcher when the rope is studded with pearls.
Beautiful is the slender maiden when the rope is studded with pearls.

4. \textit{Vidy\^a Jaipur ki Maharaj—The Wisdom of The Maharaj\^a of Jaipur\(^{40}\).}

\textit{Text.}

\begin{flushleft}
Vidy\^a Jaipur k\^a Maharaj : vidy\^a Jaipur ki.
Ais\^a ko\i hai jo mujhe kh\^an\^a khilawai ;
Kh\^an\^a b\^abarchi k\^a Maharaj : kh\^an\^a b\^abarchi k\^a ?
Ais\^a ko\i hai jo mujhe bir\^a khilawai ;
Bir\^a Mahobe k\^a Maharaj : bir\^a Mahobe k\^a ?
Ais\^a ko\i hai jo mujhe sejju\^a salawai ;
Maharaj, sejju\^a amiro\^i ki ! Vidy\^a Jaipur ki !
\end{flushleft}

\textit{Translation.}

The learning of the Maharaj\^a of Jaipur, the learning of Jaipur!
Is there any one who give me a dinner;
A dinner from the Maharaj\^a’s cook, a dinner from the cook?
Is there any one who can give me the betel of the Maharaj\^a;
Betel of the Maharaj\^a of Mahobe, betel of Mahobe.
Is there any one who can put me to sleep on a bed;
Maharaj\^a the bed of the noble! The learning of Jaipur!

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\(^{35}\) These bands are called \textit{angark\^a band}.  \(^{36}\) Wears a green garment.
\(^{37}\) Some kind of ornament.  \(^{38}\) Such as \textit{rort}.
\(^{39}\) In order to displace the scum on the water: \textit{i.e.}, skilfully.
\(^{40}\) The astronomical achievements of Maharaj\^a Jaisingh of Jaipur have won him much mythical fame in North Indian villages as a “wise man.”
\(^{41}\) This refers to another story altogether.—the Legend of Alh\^a and \textit{C\^\^al}.  

5. Siyā Bar Kaisā Salonā—How charming is the Bridegroom.

Text.
Shyām siyā bar kaisā salonā.
Sitā kā bar kaisā salonā.
Mor mukat makarākrit : kundal tamē rekh lagāi kajare ki.
Shyām siyā bar kaisā salonā.
Jiyārā morā dag mag dolat koī sakhī in pardālai na honā.
Balihāri yah mukatwāle ki. Ākhir moīhū tumhāre sang jānā.
 Dekho : siyā bar kaisā salonā.

Translation.
How charming is the swarthy bridegroom!
How charming is the bridegroom of Sitā!
His peacock crown has the form of a spider: a streak of lamp-black has found its way into it.
I am uneasy lest some woman may charm him as he walks in the street.
I am a sacrifice to the wearer of the crown. In the end I must go with thee.
See, how charming is the bridegroom!

6. Zulmi Nainā Kahānā Lejāūn—Where shall I take these tyrannous eyes.

Text.
Mahārāj, e zulmi nainā kahān lejāūn?
Rām maike jāū, rahan nahiū pāū : sasure āūū, dewar lalchāi.
Rām, e zulmi nainā kahān lejāūn?
Āle dharū łilaī làp kai : chappar par dharūū, chilh mandrāyā.
Rām, e zulmi nainā kahān lejāūn?

Translation.
Mahārāj, where shall I take these tyrannous eyes?
If I go to Rām's house, I may not stay: if to my father's, my husband's younger brother covets them.
Rām, where shall I take these tyrannous eyes?
If I put them on the shelf, the cat seizes them: if on the roof, the kite hovers over them.
Rām, where shall I take these tyrannous eyes?

(To be continued.)

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42 The term salonā means salty, full of salt, and is used to express special charm in a man or woman.
43 Allusion here to the story of Sitā and Rāma.
44 The circular crown of the bridegroom is called makra, a spider.
45 Figuratively for "my mother's house."
SIDE-LIGHTS ON DECCAN VILLAGE LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., G.V.O.

Mr. Surendranath Sen in his *Administrative System of the Marathas* has referred more than once to a volume of selections from the diary of the Räja of Satâra, which was prepared by Râo Bahâdur Gangesh Chimmâji Vâd in 1902. The volume contains a variety of information relating to political, military, revenue, judicial and social affairs during the reign of Sivåji II, otherwise known as Shâhu, who ascended the Marâthâ throne of Satâra in 1708 and died in 1749. Some of the entries in the official record of his administration throw an interesting side-light on the manners and customs of the age, and indicate the extent to which old religious rites and superstitions figured in the routine administration of the autonomous village-communities of Maharâshtra.

The Pâtel and the Pâtelki watan naturally occupy a prominent place in the record. The Pâtel’s responsibilities as head of the village-community were far from trivial, but he received in return for his services various rights and perquisites of sufficient value to render the watan worth retention and preservation at all costs. Thus, for example, in the case where the Pâtel of a village in the Subha of Khujaste Baniyad (i.e., Aurangâbâd) sold a half-share of his watan, the vendee acquired, *inter alia*, a right of precedence (a) in the presentation of a ritual cake at the Holi, (b) in the annual processions in honour of Gañësa and Gauri; (c) in the matter of the *kañakaṇda* or *kañakãvan*, which signifies primarily a circular piece of paper, cut into indentations, suspended above an idol on the *Navañatra* and similar occasions, and secondarily, a thin oil-fried cake made in the same shape; (d) at the annual Pola procession, the Pola being a bull dedicated to the gods, which was marked with a trident and discus and permitted to wander at large. He also acquired a prior claim to the decoration of his house with festoons of flowers by the Mâŋg and with red-ochre by the Mahar, and to the supply of water by the village Kol, who figures among the Bârâ Alute in Grant Duff’s list of hereditary village-servants as the recognized water-carrier of the village. As against the vendee of the half-share, the *vatañadar* Pâtel retained a prior right to the paper kite presented by the village Guravan, to the performances of the village-musicians at the Dasahra, to *ṭulâpiḍï* or the anointing with sandal and the presentation of leaves at public ceremonies, to the worship of the *apta* (Bauhinia tomentosa) at the Dasahra and the worship of the *tulâti*, to Harijâgara or the vigil kept on lunar days in honour of Vighnâ, and to precedence in the annual Sirâlket procession, Sirâlket being a legendary corn-chandler who became king for a short time, and an earthen image of whom is worshipped, carried in procession, and thrown into a well or tank. He also retained the prior claim to receive a bundle of fuel from the village Mahar.

In cases of dispute about village-boundaries the Pâtel filled an important rôle, as for example in 1744, when, other evidence having failed to establish the facts, the *panchâyat* asked the Pâtel to put a cow’s hide over his head and, so adorned, to walk step by step over the real boundary of the village. The Pâtel did so, and was then kept under close watch for fifteen nights. As nothing untoward or harmful happened to him during this probationary period, the *panchâyat* declared that he had indicated truthfully the course of the village-boundary, and formally confirmed it. The idea underlying this procedure is that the Pâtel, by putting the hide over his head and shoulders, becomes imbued with the divine influence of the sacred animal and must therefore speak the truth. If, by chance, he is so sinful as to do the opposite, the outraged divinity will visit him with various pains and penalties during the next ten or fifteen days, and on this account he has to be kept for that period in a kind of social quarantine. In Mysore the procedure in boundary-disputes was slightly different. There, according to Thurston, the *kulveddi*, an inferior village servant of the Holeya tribe, corresponding to the Mahar in the Deccan, had to carry on his head a ball of
earth, with some water in the centre, and march along the boundary-line. If, wilfully or even by accident, he went beyond the true boundary, it was believed that the ball of earth would fall to pieces, and that the kuluvadi himself would die in a fortnight and his house become a ruin. Here, as in the Deccan case, the Holeya, by acting falsely, incurs the wrath of the village-goddess, of whose divine presence the ball of earth, scraped up in the village, is the outward symbol.

We find the Mahār of the Deccan filling the rôle of arbiter, like the Mysorean Holeya, in respect of a dispute about the Pātelki watan of a village in the Poona pargana in 1741-42. As the usual official inquiry failed to show which of the two claimants had the right to officiate as Pātel, the Deshmukh and the Deshpānde were instructed to take the parties to the confluence of theKrishna and Venya rivers and there come to a decision with the help of a village Mahār. On arrival at the Saṅgam, the two claimants were made to enter the water, while their caste-fellows bathed and lined the banks. The Mahār was then summoned; and having likewise walked into the water, he seized one claimant by the right and the other by the left hand, declaring that he whom he held by the right hand was the rightful owner of the watan. The parties were then allowed to come ashore, and a period of ten nights was fixed as a test of the correctness of the Mahar’s decision. The record shows that no harm befell the Mahār during that period, and the ruler therefore issued a final order and sanad in accordance with his statement. The confluences of rivers have always possessed great sanctity in India, and it was doubtless understood by all concerned, from the Rāja down to the rāyat, that in this instance the deity of the confluence had given a decision through the voice of the Mahār.

The Marāṭhā government ordered the adoption of a somewhat similar procedure in the matter of a disputed claim to the Shete watan of Tasgaon in Miraj. The watan of Shete Mahājan or Shetepan, according to Mr. Sen, was usually granted as a reward to an enterprising man for establishing a new suburb or market-town, and was supported and remunerated by fixed contributions from the shop-keepers and retail-traders. In the particular case referred to, after various attempts, including an ordeal on the banks of the Krishna, had been made to decide the dispute, one of the parties again approached the Rāja’s government, agreed to abide by the decision of the caste-people, and begged that an ordeal might again be held at theKrishna. The Deshmukh, the Deshpānde, and the Baluta were therefore summoned and questioned: and on their asserting that the rightful owner of the Shete watan was a certain Malkanna bin Bālashet, the latter was sent to the river Krishna at Mahuli in charge of some government officials. There he and his rivals were made to stand in the water, and the caste-people were told to lead out of the water the one whom they considered to be the true Shete Mahājan. Their choice fell upon Malkanna, who, together with his supporters and relatives, was kept under guard at Mahuli for ten days. No ill befell them during the period, and Malkanna’s possession of the watan was, therefore, formally sanctioned.

The record of Shāhu Rāja affords various glimpses into the criminal administration of the villages, and the part played therein by the Pātels and others. A couple of shebuffaloes, which were stolen by Berads from a Silledar, resident in Jāmb village, Khaṭav district, were traced to Katgūn village, the Pātel of which agreed in writing to restore them to the Pātel of Jāmb. Instead of doing so, the Katgūn Pātel tried to palm off one barren and one old buffalo on the complainant. The Marāṭhā government thereupon intervened and ordered him to fulfil his undertaking. The Berads, it may be mentioned, appear in the diary more than once as the perpetrators of thefts and robbery, and were clearly quite as troublesome in those days as they have been in more recent times. As was customary in the case of the Rāmōshi in other parts of the Deccan, a certain number of Berads, in charge of their own nāths or headmen, were loosely attached to the villages in the southern districts, and in return for certain perquisites were expected to abstain from crime in the particular
villages with which they were connected, and to act as trackers and thief-catchers in the case of crime committed by outsiders. Thus, when cattle were stolen in 1752 from a village in Wâl, the Berads of the village, to which they were traced by the Pâtel and his watchmen, were called up and told to produce the culprit. They did so, and the thief was ordered to restore the cattle on pain of forfeiting his life. On another occasion a robbery took place in the house of an uncle of the Râja, who lived in a village entrusted for watch and ward purposes to a Berad named Santal Râna. The latter was ordered at once to trace the theft and restore the stolen property, and then to present himself at head-quarters (Satara), where doubtless he was called upon to explain his failure to forestall the robbery. In yet another case, when property was stolen from the residence of the custodian of government cattle at Vâgholi, thirteen Berads—six from different forts and seven from different villages in Wâl district—were summoned to Satara and ordered to trace the theft. This system, which in fact, consisted in employing hereditary and professional criminals as part of the machinery for the prevention and detection of crime in rural areas, may have secured the recovery of a certain amount of stolen property, but was open to grave abuses and liable to degenerate rapidly in periods of disorder. Its defects are illustrated in the history of the Râmoshi Nâïk, Umâjî, who headed the Râmoshi revolt in Poona and contiguous districts during the administration of Sir John Malcolm.¹

One of the points which strikes the reader of these records is the lightness of the punishment awarded for murder. A man who murdered the son of a weaver and stole his ornaments was ordered to pay a sum of Rs. 550, of which Rs. 350 were declared to be compensation for the murder and the remaining Rs. 200 were payable as a fine to the government. Two men who killed a government Kârkûn in the course of a caste-dispute were placed in confinement at Satara, but were released on payment of a fine of Rs. 15,000 and permitted to carry on their usual business. On the other hand, when a Marâthâ employed at Vandangâd Fort discovered his mistress and her paramour together and killed them both, he was granted a free pardon and directed to undergo the necessary purification enjoined by Hindu lore. In thus lightly letting off the murderer, the Marâthâ government was perhaps anticipating the doctrine of grave and sudden provocation which is embodied in an important clause of the modern Indian Penal Code. The adulterer fared worse than the murderer, if one may judge by a curt entry of 1752-53 recording that a Gaûtâri of Mahimângaât Fort had been guilty of this offence, and was sentenced to be shot or thrown down a precipice. Women who misconducted themselves in this way, as Mr. Son informs us, were usually sentenced to penal servitude and slavery, though occasionally they managed to purchase their liberty by the loss of their noses or by payment of a fine. It seems probable that male adulterers also were usually let off with something short of capital punishment. The severity of the fate awarded to the "Don Juan" of Mahimângad may possibly have been due to the fact that he was a mauvais sujet, of whom the Marâthâ authorities welcomed an opportunity to rid themselves.

Slavery was a recognised institution among the Marâthâs of the eighteenth century, as it was among the Mughals and among the English also at the same period. The diary mentions a woman of Bâramati, who consented to become a slave, and having been valued at Rs. 12, was given to one Keshav Ballâl Sâbni in part payment of his salary. Ten female

¹ It seems possible that the word "Berad" is loosely used in the Râja's diary to signify "Râmoshi". The two tribes have affinities, but are generally regarded in these days as separate social units, the former being found in the Southern Marâthâ country and the Madras Presidency and the latter in the Deccan proper. The Berads or Bedars were historically more numerous than the Râmoshis, and it seems possible that the writers of the Marâthâ diaries used their name generically to signify any tribe of professional and hereditary forest-robbers and free-booters, whom it was found advantageous to include in the rural police system. It is probable, for example, that the "Berads of Wâl" were actually Râmoshis.
slaves, belonging to a member of the Rāja’s family, had their heads anointed with oil at the
time of their mistress’ death and were set free. The daughter of a female slave belonging to
the Pāṭel of Ārle in Wāi was given in marriage to a male slave of one Bahirji Dhāpte. The
Government reprimanded the Pāṭel for permitting the girl’s marriage and summoned him to
head-quarters. The lot of a slave under Marāṭhā rule, however, was by no means unhappy:
he or she, as the case might be, was usually well treated, and was able on occasions to secure
freedom. Mr. Son quotes Jenkins’ report on the condition of slaves at Nagpur, which
proves that their treatment was not dissimilar to that accorded to slaves under the rule of
Islam. The average Moslem regarded his slave, “not as a persecuted and miserable chattel,
but as a well-treated household dependent, whose life was full of possibilities.” Neither the
Mughal nor the Marāṭhā was guilty of the atrocious cruelties which characterised the Portu-
guese treatment of slaves in the sixteenth century; and it was perhaps no more than just
retribution for their inhumanity, when the emperor Shāh Jahn, in 1629, had the whole
Portuguese population of Hūglī sent as slaves to Agra.

Just as at one time English children used to engage in mimic warfare between French
and English, so the amusements of the village-children of Mahārāṣṭra seem sometimes to
have been coloured by the political antagonism between Marāṭhā and Mughal. One day
in 1736 the boys of a village in Karde set out to pasture their cattle in the jungle, and met the
boys of a village in Chāmabhārconde, engaged in the same duty. To pass the time, the boys
arranged a fight between themselves, the Karde contingent representing the Mughal forces, and
the Chāmabhārconde boys the Marāṭhās. The fight lasted for five days and ended in a victory
for the latter, who pursued the routed “Mughals” through the jungle. In the course of the
pursuit a barber’s son in the Karde force fell down exhausted, and died a few days later.
His mother complained to the Kāzī at Ahmadnagar, who decided that the facts disclosed no
evidence to sustain a charge of murder and issued a certificate to that effect. The woman,
however, was not satisfied and bombarde one authority after another with her complaints, so
that at last the Pāṭel of the village in Chāmabhārconde reported the case to the Rāja of Satara
and requested his orders. The Rāja concurred with the opinion of the Kāzī, confirmed his
decision, presented the Pāṭel of the Chāmabhārconde village with a robe of honour, and instruct
ed the Pāṭel of Karde village to inform the dead boy’s mother that her complaints must cease.

Real affrays between adults were not unknown and sometimes had more serious results.
In 1732 one Jagdale of Masur village, on his way to celebrate the marriage of a relative, halted
at Ek sal in Koregāon. As the festival of Shīnga happened to be near, the villagers of Ek sal
demanded a present from the marriage-party, which was refused. This led to an affray, in
which some of the villagers were seriously injured, and a Parīt, belonging to Jagdale’s party,
was killed. In fear of the consequences, presumably, the villagers completely evacuated
their homes and absconded in a body. The Marāṭhā government, on learning the facts,
issued a kaul to Jagdale and the villagers of the Pant Pratīdhī’s Jagūr to repopulate Ek sal.

The Chāmabhārconde area of the Ahmadnagar district, which is known nowadays as
Srīgonda, figures again in a case, which indicates Hindu-Muhammadan religious antipathy.
The Chaugula of Jintī, a township in Chāmabhārconde, joined the Marāṭhā army and marched
with it to Surat about 1720. There he was captured by the Mughals and was kept prisoner
in their camp for a year, thus becoming automatically polluted and an outcaste. Subse-
sequently he contrived to reach the army of Bāḷājī Panḍit Pradhān, on its homeward march
from Delhi, and returned with it to the Deccan. Having related all the facts to his caste-
fellows in Jintī, they decided to re-admit the Chaugula to his caste, and this decision was re-
ported for sanction to the Rāja of Satara by the Pāṭels of several villages in Chāmabhārconde.
The Rāja approved the decision, subject to the proviso that the Chaugula should first undergo
the purification-ceremonies enjoined by the Shāstras.
The diary proves that spells and witchcraft were not infrequently employed for the purpose of personal vengeance, despite the fact that the Marathā government regarded intercourse with the powers of darkness as an offence, punishable by fine and imprisonment. We read of Ganu Sonār of Satara invoking evil spirits against the household of Kusājī Jādhav, with the result that Kusājī’s wife was taken ill. Though, in the opinion of the villagers, Ganu’s malpractices were clearly proved, he took no steps to free the woman from the spirits’ influence. He was, therefore, fined Rs. 20 by the government and directed to cure the lady. As to whether he did so or not, the official diary is silent. One would like to know whether Kusājī’s wife actually recovered, and what happened to Ganu in the event of her death. In another case a servant in Vandanga Fort was charged with bewitching one Tukoji Chorkhatā, who suffered considerably in consequence. An official order was sent to the officers of the fort to inquire into the matter and communicate the truth or otherwise of the report. Here again the diary gives no information as to the upshot of the enquiry and the ultimate fate of the wizard and his supposed victim.

Evil spirits were by no means the only bugbear of the Deccan villager. The administrative authorities were occasionally quite as tyrannous and unsympathetic as the local bhuts. In 1728 we read of Yesājī Sonavānī acting oppressively in the Jalod pargāṇā, which he had been granted as mokota by Khāṇḍerāo Dābhāde, and illegally imprisoning men and women. The government at Satara at length intervened, and ordered Dābhāde to recall the unjust steward and send him to head-quarters. Similarly a Kamāvīḍār in the Paithān pargāṇā was reported by the Faujdār and Jamādār in 1744 to be behaving tyrannously, and even to be robbing Brahman women, who had gone to the river, of their ornaments and personal belongings. He received a severe reprimand from head-quarters. Phoṇḍ Sāvant Bhosale, Sardesāī of Kudāl, was likewise censured for keeping in confinement the wife of a Brahman, and informed that such behaviour was opposed to the principles of the religion of Mahārāṣṭra. Phoṇḍ Sāvant was compelled to restore the lady to her husband, but otherwise incurred no penalty. So long as the government, whether of the Rāja of Satara or the Peshwā, continued active in the discharge of its supervisory duties, the corruption and tyranny of the district officials were probably kept within certain bounds; but directly the government itself deteriorated, as it did under Bājī Rāo Ragunāth, the oppression of the revenue and police officials became intolerable and the old village life of the Deccan became in consequence seriously disorganised.

An even more disturbing influence in the peaceful tenor of Deccan rural life was the invertebrate addition of the upper-class Marathā chiefs and jāgīrdārs to swash-buckling and raiding, and there can be little doubt that this was a potent factor in the gradual disorganisation of the village administrative machinery. A few examples taken at random from the diary of the Rāja of Satara will show that even in nominal periods of peace the villagers of Mahārāṣṭra were not free from warlike ‘alarums and excursions’. In 1715 Jānoji Nālīk Nimbālkar attacked Akluj, burnt the villages of Mālshiras and Međhad, and carried away women and cattle. He was reprimanded and told to return the cattle. In 1727 one Choa-hān marched against Tāsɡāon with a body of 2000 men, and had to be opposed by force; a few months later Nāgoji Jhaṇjjhārrao Ghātge pillaged the country round Shirval, removing the grain from the villagers’ grain-pits, while Śīdhoji Thorāt stole all the cattle from the village of Vādoli Bhiḵēśvar. The only notice taken by the government of their action consisted of a reprimand and an order to return the stolen property. An officer in the service of Phoṇḍ Sāvant Bhosle of Kudāl attacked a village in 1734 and carried away a family of Brahmans, including a girl of 9 years of age, who had been married to the brother of one of the Pant Pratimāl’s kārkūns. All the prisoners, excepting the girl, were set at liberty; and, as in a case previously quoted, Phoṇḍ Sāvant had to be censured for keeping a Brahman,
girl in confinement. His conduct was stigmatised by Satara as “unworthy even of a Muhammadan.” These censures and reprimands appear to have failed of effect, for spasmodic raiding and looting continued unchecked. Yamaji Pañdit’s son was reported in 1752 to be plundering villages in Bāramatī; the Bāṇḍes were harassing the village of Mhesvaḍ; Udājī Pavār’s son captured the thana of the same village and murdered the Pātel; Bābājī Jādhay of Aundh carried off cultivators and cattle from one of Santājī Ghāṭge’s villages, and also from the village of Mainl, in charge of a member of the Mohite family. Men were not the only offenders and disturbers of the peace. Yesubāī Daghle in 1753 attacked and plundered Savarde, arrested the Pātel, and released him on payment of a fine of Rs. 40; while Bachabāī, a member of the famous Ghāṭge family, made a large haul of cattle belonging to the Marāṭhā government.

As one reads these references to cattle-raiding, one is irresistibly reminded of the people known to the early Tamils as Vadukar, who lived across the Tamil borders in Daṣākāraṇyam, the Sanskrit Daṇḍakārāṇya, were governed by a number of petty chieftains, and followed the profession of cattle-rearing and cattle-raiding. The origin of the Marāṭhās is still shrouded in obscurity; but the latest researches appear to indicate that they possess a marked aboriginal strain and are very ancient residents of Mahārāṣṭra, including both the Deccan proper and the Carnatic. Close observers who dwelt among them at the end of the eighteenth century regarded them as composed not only of the Kunbi or agricultural section of the Deccan population, but also of the Dhangar and Gauli or shepherd and cow-herd tribes. Is it quite beyond the boundaries of possibility that in the primeval Vadukar of early Tamil literature we may discover the ancestry of at least one section of the people known in later ages as Marāṭhās? If this were by chance true, it would form the basis of interesting speculations as to the historical connexion, if any, existing between the Marāṭhās of the seventeenth and later centuries and the Mahārāṣṭris, Mahāsenaṇaṇaṇas, Sātavāhanas, and possibly also the mysterious Pallavas, of early days.

TO THE EAST OF SAMATATA (S.E. BENGAL).

By Mr. RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bz.

In January 1920, Professor P. B. Vidyavinod published a paper in JRAS., entitled To the East of Samatata, on the six countries mentioned, but not visited, by Yuan Chwang. In this paper the Professor proposed new identifications for the places referred to by that traveller. In October 1920, M. Louis Finot, in a paper entitled Hsiian-tsang and the Far East, controverted the statements of Prof. Vidyavinod somewhat roughly in JRAS. So in July 1924, the Professor, in a paper entitled To the East of Samatata (second article), in The Hindustan Review, July 1924, replied to his critic. The old Chinese traveller has an unfortunate name. At any rate I long thought the correct method of rendering it in English to be Huen Tsiang, but for my present purpose I will call it Yuan Chwang.

The best way to regard the controversy is to state the identifications of Professor Vidyavinod categorically. Taking Samatata as his starting point in South Eastern Bengal, Yuan Chwang mentions in order “six countries he had heard of but could not see.” It is over the identification of these six countries that the controversy has arisen. When I first saw Prof. Vidyavinod’s paper in JRAS. it was obvious to myself that he had not taken into consideration the results of the vast researches into things Far Eastern accomplished by French students in the first two decades of this century. They were obviously not available to him. But nevertheless I was much interested in his effort, as an old student of geography in the regions alluded to by the old Chinese traveller. It was obvious also that the Professor’s paper, if accepted, would upset all former research. He soon got his answer at the hands of M. Finot, who roundly wound up his remarks by stating that “the identifications previously accepted are just as firmly established as ever.”
Four years later Professor Vidyavinod returned to his subject, and in 1924 produced a "reply to a critique of the first article." In it he vigorously attacks M. Finot point by point and adheres to his former opinion, and though I do not propose to intervene between the protagonists, I would point out that in Bengal Indian students have long carefully and learnedly searched into the secrets of the past of their own country and produced much work in Bengali alone, worthy of examination by European scholars. Likewise many French savants have searched into the antiquities of the Extreme Orient with a like knowledge. It would be well if each side were to know at first hand of the work of the other. I will only therefore here place as clearly as I can the situation as it has now been produced by Prof. Vidyavinod and M. Finot.

The first thing to do for the general reader is to produce a map showing the rival identifications, and this I have done in the map attached.

Then I come to a difficulty inherent in all such matters of controversy—the transcription of words and names. Here we have many languages to contend with and at least two systems of transliteration—French and English. As to languages we are mixed up with Chinese, Sanskrit, Pali, Bengali, Burmese, Siamese and Further Indian, not counting dialects. One could hardly have a more difficult set to deal with in reducing geographical names to a common denomination, or a situation more likely to lead to quarrels over the forms of words. In the circumstances I shall adhere to my own method and trust to scholars to understand it.

On this understanding I have drawn up a table, showing: firstly, Yuan Chwang's names with Prof. Vidyavinod's names beneath them; secondly, the direction of each place from that preceding it as stated by Yuan Chwang; thirdly, Prof. Vidyavinod's identifications; fourthly, former identifications according to Prof. Vidyavinod; fifthly, M. Finot's identifications. This table taken with the map will show the enquirer exactly the location of each place mentioned by Yuan Chwang on the small scale proposed by Prof. Vidyavinod and on the large scale proposed by M. Finot.

It will also help the enquirer to state the relative direction of the places as stated by Yuan Chwang and the identifiers of his names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuan Chwang</th>
<th>Direction as stated by Yuan Chwang</th>
<th>Vidyavinod's identification</th>
<th>Former identification</th>
<th>M. Finot's identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Shih-li-ch'ata-lo</td>
<td>N. E. [Sri-kshe-t-ra] (S.E. Bengal)</td>
<td>Śrikshetra from Samatata</td>
<td>Śrihatta</td>
<td>Śrikshetra</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=Sylhet</td>
<td>=Tharekhettara</td>
<td>=Prome</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=Karmānta</td>
<td>=Pegu</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=Comilla</td>
<td>[Tanaâsari, Taninthari]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=Tipperah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=Tripurāpati</td>
<td>=Ayudhyā</td>
<td>[Lower Siam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=Hill Tipperah</td>
<td>(in Siam)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=also Sthalavati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. I-shang-na-pu-lo [I-sà-na-pur-a] from Tolopoti
   E Ishnupur Cambodia Isanapura
   =Isânnapura =Cambodia
   =Vishnupur =Manipur State
   =Champánagara Cochin-
   =Sampenago China and
   =Bhamo Annam
   (Bamaw, in Burma)

5. Mo-ha-chan-p'o [Ma-hâ-cham-pâ] from Ishang pulo
   E Champanagara Cochin-
   =Jambudvipa China and
   =Jampudvipa Annam
   =Lower Burma
   (S. of Ava)

6. Yen-mo-na chou [chou=dvîpa] from Mohachanp'o
   SW Yamunadvîpa Java Yavadoc
   =Jambudvipa =? Java
   =Lower Burma
   (S. of Ava)

It will also help the enquirer to state the relative direction of the places as stated by Yuan Chwang and the identifiers of his names.

## Table of Relative Directions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
<th>General Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Chwang</td>
<td>Shih-li-ch'a-lo</td>
<td>N.E. from Samatata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyavinod</td>
<td>Srikshetra=Sylhet</td>
<td>N.E. from Samatata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Scholars</td>
<td>Srikshetra=Prome</td>
<td>S.S.E. from Samatata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finot</td>
<td>Srikshetra=Prome</td>
<td>S.S.E. from Samatata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Chwang</td>
<td>Ka-mo-lang-ka</td>
<td>S.E. from Shihloch'alo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyavinod</td>
<td>Kamalaṅka=Tipperah</td>
<td>S. from Sylhet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Scholars</td>
<td>Haüsāvatī=Pegu</td>
<td>S. from Prome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finot</td>
<td>Tenasserm</td>
<td>S.S.E. from Prome.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>III.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Chwang</td>
<td>To-lo-po-ti</td>
<td>E. from Kamolengka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyavinod</td>
<td>Tarapati=Hill Tipperah</td>
<td>N. from Tipperah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Scholars</td>
<td>Dwāravatī=Ayudhya</td>
<td>S.E. from Pegu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finot</td>
<td>Dwāravatī=Lower Siam</td>
<td>S.E. from Pegu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Chwang</td>
<td>I-shang-na-pu-lo</td>
<td>E. from Tolopoti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyavinod</td>
<td>Isânnapura=Mañipur</td>
<td>N.E. from Hill Tipperah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Older Scholars</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>S.E. from Pegu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finot</td>
<td>Isânnapura=Cambodia</td>
<td>S.E. from Pegu.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>V.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Chwang</td>
<td>Mo-ha-chan-p'o</td>
<td>E. from Ishangnapulo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyavinod</td>
<td>Champánagara=Sampenago</td>
<td>E. from Mañipur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Scholars</td>
<td>Cochin-China=Annam</td>
<td>E. from Cambodia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finot</td>
<td>Mahâchampā=Annam</td>
<td>E. from Cambodia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VI.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Chwang</td>
<td>Yen-mo-na-chou</td>
<td>S.W. from Mahachanp'o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyavinod</td>
<td>Yamunadvîpa=Lower Burma</td>
<td>S. from Sampenago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Scholars</td>
<td>Java</td>
<td>S.W. from Annam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finot</td>
<td>Yavadoc</td>
<td>S.W. from Annam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 I would like to say that in Burmese the name transcribed by the English as Sampenago is written Cham[or Chan]penago. By Burmese phonetics Skr. nagara would be spelt and pronounced nagō. So Champánagara fairly equates with Sampenago—R.C.T.
THE MUTINY AT INDORE.
(Some Unpublished Records.)
BY H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.

The following selections from the Indore Records, hitherto unpublished, throw considerable light upon an obscure episode in the Mutiny of 1857, viz., the rising at Indore. They were made by Professor W. Paul, of Robertson College, Jubbulpore, who deserves the thanks of students of Indian History for bringing to light these important papers.

In the hot weather of 1857, there were stationed at Mhow the 23rd Regiment of Native Infantry, a wing of the 1st Native Cavalry, and a battery of European Artillery under Captain Hungerford. The Commandant of the Station was Colonel Platt of the 23rd N.I.

Mhow is a Cantonment thirteen miles from Indore. At Indore, the Agent to the Governor-General was Colonel Henry Marion Durand, a distinguished soldier, who, as a subaltern, had taken part in blowing in the gates of Ghazni. The young Maharâja, aged 21, had been carefully educated under Sir Robert Hamilton, and was thoroughly English in his outlook. At Mhow, an acute difference of opinion had arisen between Colonel Platt, who had implicit confidence in his sepoys, and Captain Hungerford, who wished to evacuate the station and withdraw the women, children and civilians to the Fort. Suddenly, on July 1st, Colonel Platt received a note from Colonel Durand, "Send the European battery as sharp as you can. We are attacked by Holkar." But Hungerford had scarcely set out, when another note arrived, to say that Durand and the other Europeans had left Indore for Sehore. Hungerford returned to Mhow only just in time. Colonel Platt and his brother-officers paid for their confidence with their lives. The sepoys rose and butchered them. Hungerford saved the situation. He dispersed the rebels with grape-shot, and held Mhow until he was relieved. Subsequently a sharp difference of opinion arose between Colonel Durand and Captain Hungerford. History has completely exonerated the latter, and there is no doubt that Colonel Durand acted precipitately in evacuating Indore. The young Maharâja was entirely loyal to the British Raj, but for some time he was unable to cope with the rising tide of rebellion. But we must allow the papers to speak for themselves.

A.
No. 422.
The Brigade Major, Saugor.
Mhow, Fortified Square, 2nd July 1857.

Sir,

I have the honour to report, for the information of the Brigadier Commanding at Saugor:

1. That yesterday morning, at 11 o'clock, Colonel Platt, commanding the station, called at my house with a note from Colonel Durand, Acting Resident at Indore, in which Colonel Durand requested that my battery might be sent over to Indore instantly, as he was attacked by Holkar.

2. I accordingly marched from Mhow at about half-past 11. My battery trotted to Rhow, half way to Indore, when a Sowar rode up to me with a note from Colonel Travers, commanding Bhopal Contingent, stating that he was retreating on Simrole, on the road to Mundlaya. The Sowar stated that Colonel Travers was accompanied by Colonel Durand and by all the Europeans who had been resident at Indore.

3. To reach Simrole there was nothing but a 'cutcha' narrow road, cut up with ruts, along which my battery, in the blown state of the horses, could not have travelled a mile. I therefore determined on returning to Mhow, more especially as from circumstances which have lately occurred here, I had strong suspicions that the native troops would mutiny as soon as Holkar's conduct had become known.
4. On returning to Mhow I met Colonel Platt on entering the station. I gave him the note received from Colonel Travers, explained the reasons for which I had not proceeded to Indore, and requested his permission to enter the fortified square at once. I told him, if he would permit me to enter the Fort, and that I could be secure of two days' non-interference to mount the heavy guns I formerly dismounted, lay in stores, water, etc., that I would guarantee the safety of the Fort against any attacks for a month.

5. Colonel Platt was unfortunately so secure in the fidelity of his own regiment, and of the wing of the 1st Light Cavalry stationed at Mhow, that my request was refused; and it was only after great entreaty, and pointing out to the commanding officer that the lives of every European in the station were at hazard, that he gave me permission to enter the Fort with my company and guns at half-past 6 p.m. last evening. The whole of the European ladies and families at Mhow took refuge in the Fort at the same time.

6. At 9 p.m. last night it was reported that an agent from Holkar had arrived to communicate with Colonel Platt, and had been stopped by the cavalry picquet stationed on the Indore road. Whether this agent misled the troops or not, I am ignorant.

7. At 10 p.m. several musket-shots were heard in the direction of the cavalry and infantry lines, and shortly afterwards nearly all the officers of the 23rd Regiment and wing Light Cavalry ran into the Fort, and reported that they had run the gauntlet of their respective regiments, having all of them been fired upon, though fortunately none were hit.

8. Almost immediately afterwards Colonel Platt rode into the Fort, and ordered me to turn out my battery. The night was dark, my horses were much knocked up; but, in about half an hour, the horses were traced to, and we moved out and advanced to the infantry lines. Colonel Platt and his adjutant (Captain Fagan) proceeded me about a quarter of an hour; but from the moment I left the Fort I did not see them. On nearing the infantry lines my battery was fired upon; and before reaching the cavalry lines, several shots having been fired, I halted and fired several rounds of round shot into the lines of the 23rd Regiment N.I. No person was visible, but much noise was heard, and I think some men must have been killed.

9. By this time several officers' Bungalows were in a blaze; and as no persons were visible in any direction, and it was too dark for the battery to be in the least serviceable, I returned to the Fort.

10. Unfortunately we learnt afterwards that the mutiny of the troops had been accompanied by great treachery and violence. Colonel Platt and his adjutant, I grieve to report, were shot down by the quarter guard of the 23rd Regiment, and Major Harris was cut down and shot by the men of his own guard. I sent out a detachment to bring in the bodies this morning, which have been recovered, much mutilated.

11. Every precaution is being taken now for the protection of the Fort. I have laid in, and am laying in, stores of all descriptions for men and horses. All my bullocks have been carried off by the bullock drivers, but we have still some bullocks, though not sufficient to move my extra waggons. We are threatened with an attack from Holkar, probably accompanied by the troops which have mutinied; but I hope to hold the Fort until relieved; and as the Brigadier Commanding at Saugor may perhaps be able to communicate with Colonel Woodburn, if he will hurry that officer in his advance on Mhow, it may perhaps save us if attacked by an overpowering force. The Fort is very weak; but we shall do our best to hold out until reinforced.

I have etc.,

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.
B.
To His Highness The Maharaja of Indore.
Mhow, Fortified Square, July 3rd, 1857.

Raja Saheb,

You must be as well aware as myself of the occurrences at Mhow. After the disturbance at Indore, the native troops at Mhow mutinied, cut down their commanding officers, and marched upon Indore yesterday morning.

I understand, from many natives, that you have given food to the mutinous troops. I have heard also, but do not know whether to believe, that you have lent them guns and offered them irregular cavalry as assistance. These reports are probably very much exaggerated; I do not believe them. You owe so much to the British, and can be so utterly ruined by showing enmity towards them, that I do not believe you can be so blind to your own interests as to afford aid and show friendship to the enemies of the British Government. Let me understand therefore from yourself what your wishes are. From your not throwing obstacles in the way of the mutinous troops passing through your territory, and not punishing them, as a Power friendly to the British would do, many may suppose that you are not so much the friend of the British Raj as I believe you to be. Write, therefore, and let me understand your intentions. I am prepared for everything, alone and without assistance; but with the assistance I very shortly expect, I can act in a manner that you will find, I fear, very injurious to your interests; and if you will take my advice, you will write to me at once, and let me know what I am to think of the reports which have reached me.

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

C.

No. 425.

To The Adjutant-General, Bombay Army.
Mhow, 4th July, 1857.

Sir,

I request you will be good enough to communicate to the Adjutant-General, Bengal Army, the following:

1. I forwarded, on the morning of the 2nd instant, an electric telegraph message to the agent at Ackberpore, requesting that officer to report to the Bombay Government, and to Colonel Woodburn, commanding a field force, our position at Mhow, in the hope that reinforcements would be hurried on for our relief.

2. At 10 p.m., on the 1st current, a mutiny took place at this station of the native troops, consisting of the 23rd Regt. N.I., and wing 1st Light Cavalry. Colonel Platt commanding the station and 23rd Regt., Captain Fagan the adjutant of that regiment, and Major Harris commanding 1st Light Cavalry, were cut down by the mutineers. These officers were blindly confident of the fidelity of their troops, though repeatedly warned that the men are not staunch; and no precautionary measures for the safety of the station, I regret to say, were taken until the very last moment. At half-past 6 p.m., on the 1st current only, could I prevail on the commanding officer to allow me to occupy the Fort of Mhow, the only place where Europeans could take refuge in the event of a rise of the native troops.

3. At 11 a.m., on the morning of the 1st, Colonel Platt had called on me with a letter from Colonel Durand, acting Resident at Indore, begging that the battery under my command might be sent to Indore instantly. I marched my battery, therefore, at once on Indore; but, on getting half way, was met by a Sowar with a note from Colonel Travers, Commanding the Bhopal Contingent, stating that he was retreating on the Mundlasyir road. As it was impossible to know where Colonel Travers might be, and he was accompanied by Colonel Durand and the other British Residents of Indore, I returned to Mhow.
4. On the commencement of the Mutiny, I turned out my battery. Colonel Platt and his adjutant preceded me to the parade ground, and were shot down before our arrival. In arriving in the lines we were fired upon; but the lines were nearly deserted, and the men had marched en masse to Indore.¹

5. From the blown state of my horses in the morning, and the darkness of the night, which prevented our seeing anything, it was impossible to follow the mutineers; and as I had no covering party of any description, I returned to the Fort, after having fired several rounds of round shot into the lines.

6. During the last three days we have laid in ample store of provisions for some time, and are prepared to hold this position until relieved. We are threatened by an attack from the Raja of Indore or the mutineers, and are anxious and quite ready to meet them; but, as sudden retribution should reach the scoundrels who have shown such treachery and ingratitude to their benefactors, I trust that Colonel Woodburn may be ordered to hurry on a portion of his Dragoons, by the aid of whom we can amply avenge ourselves for what has been done.

7. Yesterday and to-day I have turned out a portion of my battery, accompanied by flanking parties of officers, to destroy the villages surrounding Mhow, in which many of the mutineers have taken refuge, and from whence they have turned out to burn and pillage the houses in the cantonments. Several villages have been burnt, much property recovered, and some Sepoys and troopers destroyed.

I have etc.,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE MASOOLAH BOAT IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In Vol. VI, Proceedings of Meetings, Indian Historical Records Commission, Madras, January 1924, Mr. J. J. Cotton, L.C.S., has a paper on George Chinnery, the Artist, who lived from 1774 to 1852. At p. 46 we learn that to a little slip of a book entitled "Views of Madras," published in 1807, Chinnery contributed six plates. Of these (p. 48), Plate II is of the Masoolah Boat, "One of the most extraordinary inventions that Navigation has to boast." The description attached to the Plate is quaint and accurate.

"To all appearance any other kind of vessel would be safer on the water. On the contrary no boat of any other kind dare venture over the violent surf, which breaks along the seashore at Fort St. George. It is unique in its construction, equally unlike the solid canoe and the European invention of caulked vessels. It is flat-bottomed, and the planks of which it is composed are literally sewn together with the fibres of the Kyar (coir) rope (rope made from the cocoa tree) and the stitches (if they may be so called) all so little connected that it should seem there could be no security against its leaking so much as to injure its safety. To prevent any accident of this Nature each Boat is provided with a Baler. These boats are used to convey Goods and Passengers to and from the ships in the Madras roads, and on their return from the ships they are sometimes thrown with so much violence against the shore, that if they did not by their singular construction yield to the shock they would be dashed to pieces. The steerer stands on the stem of the Vessel and the rudder is an oar simply. The dexterity with which he balances himself in the heavy sea is perfectly astonishing. The number of Boats used is 120 and they furnish occupation for upwards of 1,000 natives." - R. C. Temple.

BOOK NOTICE.

NABAKETARI KATHA, AN OLD-RAJASTHANI TALE, edited with notes, a grammar, and a glossary by CHARLOTTE KRAUSE; Verlag der "Asiatische." Leipzig 1925.

Some readers might think that by reviewing this I am carrying coals to Newcastle; but it is certainly not so. The superiority of the Westerners in the field of Old-Indian philology has been accepted by all, and that because of their scientific method. Their works about the New-Indian philology show this very method and hence their importance for the Indian scholar of his mother-tongue. The Aryan languages of modern India show some peculiar features as compared with their predecessors, various Prakrits and Sanskrit. The inflectional system was abandoned

¹ It was subsequently ascertained that the men were all in the lines, but fled precipitately as soon as we opened fire upon the huts.
in favour of the agglutinative one; and a vast number of more or less late tattana and tadbhava words was introduced in place of pure, regularly developed Prākrit ones. When, why and how this has happened, remains yet to be solved. Why and how can well be explained, but when is a difficult and no less important problem. This can be done only when we go direct to the original MSS. containing vernacular works instead of their corrected editions by Sanskritised scholars. The popular authors have been more or less modernised, and it is very doubtful whether they can ever be accessible in their original form. But there exists a large mass of unknown and little known works in MSS. to be found especially in Jain Libraries only they should be faithfully edited with complete apparatus for their study. The book under review will really serve as a model how this work should be executed.

It contains the text with its grammatical sketch and its glossary, with notes and an introduction. The last deals with the MS., the language of the text, the parallel text partly published by Tessitori, and its subject-matter. The text was found along with others in a MS. copied by a Jain monk Śivavardhāna in Jajāraṇa (not identified) in 1729 A.D. The authors had no access to this MS., but only to its copy taken by Prof. Hertel. The wording of the copyist is said to be good and complete and free from blunders.—There are some glosses which Dr. (Miss) Krause attributes to the source of Śivavardhāna, thus taking the archetype much further.

The discussion on the language of the text is very useful. It deals with its accidence, syntax, phonology and vocabulary. The authors show how the grammar offers us a mixture of various Rājasthāni dialects, but as Mārwāri forms preponderate, she seizes the text of the Mārwār, and finds Jaisalmer as such. The language of the Nānaketarā Kadā bears much resemblance to Mārwār, but I do not see anything of the sort with its Thāli dialect. The authors has not supported her statement by any substantial facts; and I find that all the Thāli peculiarities mentioned by Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, IX, II, 109 ff.) are conspicuous in this text by their absence. Whenever the Mārwār grammar does not agree with that of our text, the Jaipuri and Mārvī ones do, to mention the Rājasthāni dialects, or the Gujarāti, one does, to mention the language to which all Rājasthāni dialects belong in any way. In any case the text shows distinct phases of an earlier stage of linguistic development, as shown by the authors. She offers some remarks on the language of the Sanskrit passages occurring in the text. But really speaking only the introductory verses come in question, and these are not in Sanskrit but in the vernacular.

The third section deals with a similar text partly edited by the late Dr. Tessitori. A great part of the first Adhyāya from both versions has been printed in parallel columns, which enables us to see with the authors that the other version is younger, but I do not find it always inferior as she does both in form and contents. Besides, I see there some dialectical differences also.

As for the subject-matter, the authors is of opinion that it is a very short and rather bad abstract of the Nānaketarā Radhyodhyāna published by Belloni Filippi, adding that in some cases the Varāha-Purāṇa is its source. The text begins with an episode about the birth of the hero, which accounts for the name, Nānaketarā (born through the nose), and then follows the chief story. The plot is not without interest. The hero goes to the world of the dead to fulfill the curse uttered by his father in anger. The god of death would not take him into his power, as the boy's time is not yet ripe. The latter observes the conditions in various heavens and hells and returns to the world of the living. The description of good and bad deeds and of their corresponding rewards and punishments gives us some idea of everyday life and its ideals among the then Indians. The public and private recitation of the story is considered meritorious; and it has a moral purpose like its Persian parallel, Astāvi Vīrā Vānāry. I cannot omit to mention a curious coincidence that the latter, too, has its Old-Gujarāti version (vide Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parseis, Part V, Astāvi Vīrā Vānāry, where it has been taken from a MS. written in 1415 A.D.).

The text is printed in Nāgari script, and is punctuated in European fashion, the original punctuation also being retained. Mistakes like omissions, repetitions, etc., have been carefully noted. Thus we are given a fairly clear idea of the original state of the text. There are some cases—and they are very few, were I would read the text differently. I propose to deal elsewhere with this and other points and also with some mistakes in the translation of the text which has been so faithfully prepared by the same authors in Asia Major, vol. I. The notes contain very useful material, linguistic and otherwise, with discussions on parallel passages from Belloni Filippi, Tessitori and others. They will be found of much help for understanding obscure passages. A systematic grammatical sketch follows, to which is added a section under the heading Syntactical Remarks. A glossary with references to the text ends the volume.

The get-up of the work is excellent—though a couple of misprints are there. Let us hope that Dr. (Miss) Krause's example be followed by those Indians who love their mother-tongue and who are in a better position to prepare monographs of this kind.

J. C. Tavadia.
FORMATION OF A LIBRARY OF MANUSCRIPTS AT DACCA UNIVERSITY.

BY N. K. BHATTASALI, M.A.

In the Modern Review for December 1925, the Editor announces (p. 738) the discovery by Prof. V. S. Sukthankar of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, of a manuscript of the Adi Parva (1st Canto) of the Mahābhārata, dated in V.S. 1575 or A.D. 1519. Persons interested in Oriental Research know that this Research Institute is trying to bring out a reliable edition of the great Sanskrit Epic, Mahābhārata, by collating all important manuscripts of the epic from different parts of India and the world. The discovery of an early dated MSS. of an important Parva like the Adi Parva must be very important for the projected edition and will undoubtedly delight all lovers of Oriental Research.

The Dacca University, since its inception, has been trying to form a good Library of Sanskrit and Bengali manuscripts, and set apart Rs. 5,000 for the purpose in the very first year of its existence. The scheme, however, materialised only last year, when a strong committee for the collection of manuscripts was formed. The committee advertised widely, asking for offers of manuscripts, either for purchase or as presents, and their appeal has met with a wonderful response. Manuscripts poured in with such rapidity that more than 3,000 of them were collected, practically within the short period of one year. Indeed, the pressure on this honorary organisation has become so great that the authorities of the Dacca University are seriously considering the desirability of relieving the manuscript committee by employing very shortly a paid curator of manuscripts.

Not only have the Manuscript Committee of the Dacca University succeeded in securing valuable donations of manuscripts, sometimes amounting in number to more than 500 (the most notable donor being Babu Krśñagādās Āchāryya Choudhuri, Zemindar of Muktasachha, who presented the committee with 573 manuscripts), but the actual purchases contain books in Bengali and Sanskrit on all conceivable subjects. Manuscripts of all the Parvas of the Mahābhārata have been collected in duplicate, triplicate or more copies, and the Bhandarkar Institute will be glad to learn that Dacca University now possesses a complete manuscript of the Harivamśa, dated in 1426 Saka, i.e., 1503 A.D.; a manuscript of the Aranyā Parva of 1393 Saka, i.e., 1471 A.D.; a manuscript of the Sānti Parva of 1442 Saka i.e., 1520 A.D. That such early manuscripts of the Mahābhārata could be found in a damp country like Bengal, came indeed as a great surprise to the committee in the first days of its activities. As regards the manuscripts of the Rāmāyaṇa, the committee have succeeded in collecting duplicate and triplicate copies of all the Kaṇḍas, but the earliest of them does not date back beyond about 250 years. Manuscripts of the majority of the Purāṇas have been collected, in some cases in more than one copy; and the gem of the lot is a complete manuscript of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, dated in 1388 Saka (1466 A.D.), or twenty years previous to the birth of Chaitanya. A manuscript of the Padma-Purāṇa, dated in 1311 Saka, in the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Bengal, would have been a more valuable addition, but for its fragmentary character. The committee was practically overwhelmed by the number of MSS. on Nāya Nyāya that appeared, a few of them in palm leaf and dated in La Sam, and has stopped accepting any more of them, unless they be very old and well-preserved. Numerous MSS. of different Tantras have appeared, the most remarkable being a MSS. of Saradatilaka, dated in 1427 Saka or 1505 A.D. and a second MSS. of the same book, even older. A splendid manuscript of the Sakṛiṣaṭyama Tantra, complete in 334 folia, is also one of the notable collections of this line. MSS. of the other minor and major Tantras collected, some of them hitherto unknown, are too numerous to be mentioned.

The Committee made a special effort to collect genealogical works, and they have succeeded in collecting a number of MSS. of the works of Dhrūvānanda and Mahēśha, and some other genealogical works of the Vārendra and the Raṇji Brahmins. A most remarkable book in this line is a genealogical Kāvyā, dealing with the family history of the Rai Choudhuris of
Khalia in the District of Faridpur, giving a history of the notable members of this family during Mughal and Pre-Mughal times. It is needless to add that numerous other manuscripts on Śānti (law), Jyotisha (astrology), medicine, drama, poetics and poetry have also been found. A notable recent addition is a copy of Tikasvarasa, the famous commentary on Amarakosa by Sarvananda, son of Arthiara of the Bándyagahiya family (Banerji) of Bengal. It was published some years ago in the Trividram Sanskrit Series, but strange to say, no copy has before this been found from Bengal, its place of origin. The present Bengal recension will be a valuable corrective to the Trividram Edition.

The collection at present is comparatively poor in Bengali MSS., but in this line also remarkable successes have been achieved. Ten or more poets of the Manasa-mangala school are represented in the collection, and of the works of Narayan Dev, Dvija Vamsidhar, Vijay Gupta, Vaidya Jagannath, the collection includes in some cases more than fifteen copies of each work. Babu Satish Chandra Roy, the distinguished writer and authority on Vaishnava Literature, recently announced in the columns of the Journal of the Vaishnava Sahitya Parishat the discovery of a new work, namely, Harivinoda by Dvija Bhavabananda. The Dacca University collection contains three MSS. of this work. The lyrical pieces of the Vaishnava poets are well-represented in the Dacca University collection, and this line has been further strengthened by the donation by Babu Satish Chandra Roy of his life's collection of the Vaishnava lyrics. The gem of the Bengali collection, it will delight the hearts of all true Vaishnavas to know, is the manuscript of the translation of the Bhagavata (12th Skanda) by the great Vaishnava apostle Sanatana, at one time the minister to the famous Pathan Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal (1493-1519 A.D.). The book, as recorded in one of its chapters, was completed in 1564 A.D. and must have been the work of Sanatana in his mature old age, though he outlived his work by many more years. The manuscript itself is about 200 years old. It is written in a delightfully lucid style and will gladden the heart of even an unenthusiastic reader. Unfortunately, the remaining Skandas have yet to be discovered.

The Manuscript Committee is still busily engaged in the work of collection, and its agents are roaming from village to village in search of manuscripts. The irony of the situation is that the members have to work hard at the sacrifice of their scanty leisure hours, in an honorary capacity, in an atmosphere of cold neglect, if not of active opposition; and there are not wanting even Hindu members of the Dacca University Court, who can seriously table a resolution to cut down the Library grant and consign the manuscripts already collected to the flames.

THE MUTINY AT INDORE.
(Some Unpublished Records.)
By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A.
(Continued from page 119.)

C-2.

To Captain Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

My dear Sir,

I have just received your letter No. 424, dated 3rd instant. The accounts you seem to have received of my assistance to the enemies of the British Government are, as you supposed, not only exaggerated but entirely false. No one in the world regrets more than I do the most heart-rending catastrophe which befell at Indore and at Mhow. My troops, probably under the influence of the Mhow mutineers, mutinied openly on the morning of the 1st instant; and the very companies and guns that were sent to protect the Residency picked up a general quarrel with some one, and began at once to fire upon the Residency house. The mischief done was great; many lives were lost. No companies of the Contingent, etc., assisted the British officers; but it is cheering to hear that Colonel Durand, Mr. Shakespear and family, and others, went away quite safe. The rascals then plundered the whole Residency.
The next morning the Mhow troops, after committing similar brutalities, arrived here; the whole town was in a panic. A greater part of my troops were in open mutiny, and what remained could not be trusted. The Muhammadans raised a standard of "Deen," and the disorder was complete. Under these sad circumstances the mutineers exacted their own terms. They not only demanded the heads of a few Europeans, whom I had concealed in my own palace, but also of a few officers of the court who were supposed to be in the British interest. They prepared to plunder and destroy all, if I myself did not come out. I had no alternative left but to offer them my own person, but I would not allow the poor Europeans to be touched before being killed myself. After plundering the British treasury and the carriage from the town, and taking with them all the guns which had gone over to them in a state of mutiny, all the mutineers of this place and Mhow have marched off last night in a body towards Dewass.

The tale is a painful one, and will be described to you in detail by Rao Ramchunder and Bukhshee Khooman Sing, who are bearers of this to you. I have not, even in a dream, ever deviated from the path of friendship and allegiance to the British Government. I know their sense of justice and honour will make them pause before they suspect, even for a moment, a friendly chief, who is so sensible of the obligations he owes to them, and is ready to do anything for them. But there are catastrophes in this world which cannot be controlled, and the one that has happened is one of the kind.

(Signed) Tookajee Rao Holkar.

My dear Sir,

His Highness the Maharaja has learnt with great regret the astounding account of Captain and Mrs. Hutchinson and party's detention at Amjheera. He looks upon Mrs. Hutchinson as his sister, and the whole family as his own relations; and though not crediting that the Raja of Amjheera could be so blind to his own interests, he has, however, lost no time in ordering Bukhshee Khooman Sing, with three Companies of Infantry, two guns, and 200 sowars, towards Amjheera with orders to blow up the town, and bring in the Raja dead or alive, should he have proceeded to any extremities with the party. Amjheera, it must be recollected, is not a tributary to Holkar, but to Scindia; but in this emergency His Highness thinks hesitation as to its being a foreign State inadmissible.

His Highness has, however, been informed by the Amjheera Vakeel, on the strength of a letter dated Amjheera the 5th instant, that Mrs. and Captain Hutchinson and party have safely reached Jhabooa, and are quite well there. He has therefore started a runner to Jhaboaa, to ascertain the truth of the thing; and as the column detached under Bukhshee Khooman Sing shall be at Beitwa tomorrow, His Highness wishes to know whether at this crisis it will be any responsibility for Holkar's army to enter a foreign State and to proceed to extremities, should the emergency require it.

His Highness is overjoyed to hear of the safety of Colonel Durand and party at Sehore, and shall be obliged by your writing to him his best compliments. Pray let me know soon your opinion on the Amjheera subject, and oblige me.

I am, Sir,

Yours very truly,
(Signed) Ramchandra Rao,
By His Highness' order.

To Rao Ramchunder Rao Saheb, Indore—Mhow, 8th July 1857.

Dear Sir,

Your letter just received, dated the 7th instant, and written by order of His Highness the Maharaja, has given me much pleasure; and I hasten, through you, to thank the Maharaja for the promptitude he has displayed in taking upon himself, if necessary, the deliverance of
British subjects from enemies, and the punishment of such offenders. Such a proof of friendship is most gratifying, and will be the best proof to evil-disposed persons that the good-will and friendship that exist between the two governments will remain unchangeable for ever.

I am desired by Captain Hungerford to express his entire concurrence with the view taken by His Highness of this matter, with whom he thinks that in such an emergency as the present, no hesitation as to the offending state being a foreign state is admissible; but Captain Hungerford is further of opinion that, having marched to the borders of such offending state, an enquiry as to the truth of the report should be made, and, if true, followed by a formal demand for the kidnapped prisoners previous to entering the same; and if not complied with, you might then proceed to extremities, with the assurance from Captain Hungerford that the British Government will not fail to support you and accept the responsibility, should it be found necessary to compel the Amjheera Raja to restore these officers, ladies, and children to liberty; and I also fully concur in this opinion.

I trust the assurances of the Amjheera Vakeel are correct, and that Captain Hutchinson and party have safely reached Jhabooa, and this intelligence may be confirmed by the return of the runner you have despatched to make inquiry; but you will allow that the testimony offered us, as to the act of violence having been committed by people from Amjheera, was deserving of a certain amount of credit.

If Moonshee Dhurm Naraia could be spared to come here, he would be of great assistance in facilitating correspondence between us, as he could afford Captain Hungerford and myself much information as to the proper forms to be observed, and we should find his knowledge of official matters of much assistance to us.

I have, etc.,
(Signed) A. Elliot,
Asst. Govt. Superintendent in Malwah.

E.

To The Maharaja of Indore—Mhow, July 7th, 1857.

Maharaja,

A Sahookar has just brought me intelligence that your troops which misbehaved have returned to Indore; that they are much enraged with the mutineers from Mhow, and have either gone or are going on the road to Dewass; for the purpose of attacking them and recovering the treasure which has been carried off from Indore.

I understand also that you have made arrangements with the Raja of Dewass and others, to intercept and attack our mutinous troops simultaneously, and that it is your wish to destroy them, and that for this purpose you have assisted your troops with guns.

I trust that the above reports are correct. Your friendly feelings towards our Government cannot be better shown than by your punishing with the utmost severity the men who have been faithless to their salt. By acting in this manner it will be proved to the Government that the events at Indore have occurred contrary to your wishes; and by your taking the earliest opportunity of using your troops in a manner which will be beneficial to the interests of the British Government, you will prove that their former actions were not influenced by yourself.

Allow me to know whether the above reports are correct, as it will give me the greatest pleasure to report to Government how faithfully you wish to execute the duties that your friendship towards them lays upon you.

I shall feel obliged by your allowing Gunesh Shastree to come over and stay at Mhow for a short time, as there are many matters I wish to consult you upon, and he will be a better medium of communicating with your Highness than any other.

I have, etc.,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.
To Captain Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

Sir,

I am commanded by His Highness the Maharaja Sahib to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, and to inform you, in reply, that a few of those troops who were supposed to have mixed up with the mutineers have returned, and measures will at a proper time be taken to ascertain the extent of their guilt.

His Highness had ordered an attack to be made on the Mhow and Indore mutineers, as soon as the safety of the town was secured by their march from before it. The Komisdar of Teerana has now, according to orders, assembled about 1100 men, together with two guns, and was to attack them at or near Rajwas; an attacking column has also been in pursuit of a few stragglers towards Jamere; a third column, to the strength of 350 horse, was sent on yesterday; and a fourth column, of two guns of horse artillery, 100 sepoys, and 50 horse, has been despatched from Indore yesterday. Letters have also been addressed to Scindia's authorities at Shahjeanpore and Oojin, as well as to the Rajas of Dewass and Nursingur, to send succour, copies of which are enclosed for your information; and the result of these operations shall soon be made known.

Circular orders are also issued, offering a reward of Rs. 5,000 for any one bringing Saadut Khan the ring-leader's head, Rs. 500 for that of Bunsgopal, and Rs. 500 for that of Mahomed Ali, and smaller rewards of Rs. 150 for the head of each officer and man amongst them respectively.

Gunesh Ramchunder, an intelligent man, has been directed to wait on you as Vakeel at Mhow; and though Gunesh Shastree, having so much to do on his hands at this place, cannot be spared for a constant attendant at Mhow, he has, however, been directed to be going to and fro, and will wait on you every second day, or as occasion may require.

No means shall be spared on the Durbar's part to prove its usual sincerity and loyalty to the British Government; and His Highness rests assured they will find in him as staunch a friend as he hopes he has always proved to be.

Yours etc.,

(Signed) Ramchunder Rao.

July 8th, 1857.

Letter 428—Mhow, July 8th, 1857.

Sir,

Not having heard anything from Colonel Durand, and having received no authentic intelligence of his whereabouts, I beg to continue my report to the Bombay Government, as the nearest authorities, and beg that a copy of my letter may be forwarded to the Supreme Government.

1. My last letter forwarded was dated the 5th, and contained copies of letter to the Maharaja and his reply. I omitted to state therein that I had blown up the magazines in the cavalry and infantry lines which were full of ammunition, and which, being distant upwards of one mile from the Fort, I feared might fall into the hands of enemies.

2. On the 3rd July I proclaimed martial law throughout Mhow; and having suggested the advisability of such a step to the Maharaja of Indore, he has done the same throughout his territory.

3. By the evening of the 3rd a heavy battery was mounted and in position in front of the north gate of the Fort. The north battery consists of one 10-inch howitzer, one 8-inch, one 24 pounder, one 18 pounder, and two 12 pounders. The south battery, of four 18 pounders, was armed on the morning of the 5th. Ammunition for all these pieces, to the extent of twenty rounds per gun, has been made up by the Deputy Commissary of Ordnance; supplies of all descriptions are laid in for one month; two light guns are also mounted on each of the four corner bastions of the Fort, and small arms placed in the bastions, and every preparation made to resist any attack that might be made upon us.
4. On the night of the 4th the mutineers from Mhow, accompanied by some troops of the Maharaja, marched from Indore towards Dewass, having carried off nine lacs of treasure from the Indore treasury. The two parties quarrelled with each other, and Holkar’s troops returned to Indore on the 6th current. No portion of the treasure had been made over to them, I believe; and they were so enraged that they requested permission to follow up the Mhow mutineers and recover the treasure from them.

5. Thinking that an attack on the mutineers by the Raja’s troops would be advantageous in every way, I wrote the accompanying letter to the Maharaja (marked E, ante), and forward his reply.

6. The accompanying letters were received yesterday from the Bhao Ramchunder Rao and Captain Fenwick, an individual in the service of the Raja.

7. Yesterday evening also the remainder of the treasure from Indore was sent here by the Raja, consisting of four or five lacs of rupees in cash and twenty-four lacs in Government notes, which I have ordered Captain Elliot, Assistant Thuggee Superintendent, now in the Mhow Fort, to take charge of.

8. A Naik of my lascar company was brought in prisoner yesterday morning who had deserted and joined the mutineers; and, having been tried by court-martial and condemned to death, was hanged in front of the Fort yesterday by my orders.

9. The country around Mhow appears to be in a settled state and I am doing what I can to keep communication open both by Dak and electric telegraph. The electric telegraph wire has been cut near Indore, but a signaller is now bringing in the wires to this Fort; and as instruments will be here in the course of to-morrow, I hope soon to be able to communicate more rapidly any intelligence it may be necessary to send, than by letter Dak.

To the Secretary to Government, Bombay.

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

F.

From Lord Elphinstone to Captain Hungerford,
Telegraph Message, July 8th, 1857.

I have received your message of the 2nd. Captain Orr, with 3rd Nizam’s Cavalry, is on his way to Mundlayar, and will endeavour to communicate with you and assist you. I hope you will be able to send away in safety the ladies, women, and children under his escort. Unforeseen difficulties have prevented the advance of General Woodburn’s forces. A second column is now being despatched for your relief, comprising European infantry and cavalry, and a half troop horse artillery. It will be pushed on as fast as possible; but it will be at least three weeks before it can reach you, as the infantry are going from Bombay. If you can hold out at Mhow for a month, I think you should remain until relieved; but if you are unable to do this, you must fall back on Mundlayar, covered by Orr’s horse and any of the Bhopal Sikhs or Bhees who may be at hand. Send the names of the ladies and officers at Mundlayar, and inform me what they intend doing.

G.

To Lord Elphinstone, from Captain Hungerford—Telegraph Message, July 9th.

I request that your Lordship will not send any native troops for our relief. We will hold our own as long as we can. Hurry the European troops; cavalry, if possible. Holkar has shown by his actions that he is friendly to our Government; but he has been forced against his own inclinations to give way in some degree to his own mutinous troops and mutineers from Mhow. The whole of the mutineers have marched from Indore towards Delhi; but Holkar’s troops are still doubtful, and we are threatened with an attack by the Mehidpore Contingent. The whole country is in such a state of excitement that I think any native
troops will certainly be turned from their fidelity to Government; whereas the arrival of a European force at Mhow would tend immediately to establish tranquillity throughout Malwah, and would prove to Holkar that the Government are ready to assist him in his endeavours to quiet the country. A column to assist us should be sent to Mhow as quickly as possible, as it will tend more to tranquillize the country than anything else. I have no body here but my own company of artillery, and the officers who escaped from the 23rd Regiment N. I. and wing 1st Light Cavalry, and have been obliged to assume political authority to communicate with the Maharaja of Indore.

The Europeans, Captain and Mrs. Keatinge, Mr. Theobald, Mr. and Mrs. Naher and children, and a surgeon, have quitted Mundlaysir, in consequence of a dispute amongst some native officers, and have taken refuge in a small fort at Parnasa in Nimaur. Captain Keatinge talks of returning to Mundlaysir when things are quiet.

Pray telegraph strength of the column approaching, that supplies may be got ready on their line of march; also the route they will come by.

From Captain Hungerford, to Lord Elphinstone—Telegraph Message, July 9th.

The advance of Captain Orr's column has been reported, but it has not yet reached the Nerbudda. I have written to Captain Orr to carry out his orders concerning Mundlaysir, but not to advance to Mhow.

Malwah is in such an excited state, that no native troops can come here without injury. Holkar's troops have already joined in one mutiny, and have only just returned to a very slight degree of subordination; the arrival of fresh native troops would probably lead to renewed intrigue, and might cause incalculable mischief.

I beg therefore your Lordship to allow only European troops to advance on Mhow. We are safe; and a few European troops would tranquillize the whole country.

Letter No. 431.
Mhow, July 10th, 1857.

Sir,

I beg to continue my report:

1. I regret to say that both Captain Elliot and myself have written to Colonel Durand without reply; and that, although officers' servants and others have come in from Shore with letters, no communication has been received from Colonel Durand, whom we believe to be at that place. We have heard that the Bhopal Contingent at Shore is in a state of mutiny, but do not know whether the news is true.

2. It having been reported that Captain Hutchinson, assistant to Agent, with his wife, had been made prisoners by the Amjheera Raja, and carried to Amjheera, accompanying correspondence (marked D, ante) took place, and His Highness has despatched a force to Amjheera to act as circumstances may render necessary. The result shall be communicated to you as soon as known.

3. The officers of the Malwah Contingent, stationed at Mehidapore some time back, on an outbreak occurring at that station (wherein the cavalry murdered their officers), left Mehidapore, and took refuge at Jowra. The artillery and infantry were not led away by the example offered by the cavalry, but continued loyal. The commandant of the Contingent and some other officers were ordered back to Mehidapore; but, during the late disturbances at Indore, they again left their regiment, and at the present moment it is reported to me that the Contingent is without officers. The accompanying correspondence (marked 432 and 434, with letter from Durbar, dated 8th July) passed on the subject.

4. On the first outbreak at Indore, Colonel Durand's note to Colonel Platt stated that he was attacked by Holkar, and the general impression was that the mutiny of the Indore troops was at the instigation of the Maharaja. Since the departure of the mutineers from Indore, the actions of the Raja (which the correspondence forwarded will make known) have
been marked by the most earnest desire to assist to the utmost of his means in the tranquillisation of his country. Some of His Highness' troops (Mahomedans) are still in an excited and insubordinate state, and he is anxiously looking forward to the arrival of Europeans at Mhow, as the support it would afford him would enable him at once to disarm the disaffected and give him the control of his army.

5. Yesterday evening the Maharaja sent in two prisoners (Mahomedans), Sepoys of the 23rd Regiment N. I., who were tried by drum-head court-martial, sentenced to death, and hanged at once. The Bhaoo Rao Ramchunder, who paid me a visit last evening, reported that the giving up of these prisoners had caused great excitement amongst the Maharaja's troops, and that he had only been enabled to leave Indore under the protection of a strong guard.

6. The advance of Captain Orr's detachment was reported to me this morning, and I have written to that officer. I trust the circumstances will be considered sufficiently urgent to authorise my having written as I have done.

7. I have reported all that has occurred to yourself, and trust that what I have done will meet with support from the Government under which I serve. I am placed in a difficult position. The political authorities are all absent. Besides maintaining this post, now almost the only one left in Central India, I have been compelled to take upon myself some political authority to enable me to correspond with the Maharaja of Indore, and, through him, to prevent disorder from spreading throughout his territory. Should the Mehidapore troops march on Delhi, it will only add to the difficulties of our troops; and, therefore, if, with the Raja's assistance, the Malwah Contingent can be kept subordinate and faithful, I trust the Government will feel satisfied with the duty performed, though done in an informal manner. I feel assured that the Raja's feelings are loyal and staunch to the British Government, and that a sense of his own interests even, if gratitude were out of the question, would keep him faithful to his duties as their ally. I have received assistance from him, and am convinced that a small European force here would restore tranquillity to the whole country; if it were quickly sent, Malwah would be saved from any further disorder. I have, etc.,

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

The Secretary to Government, Bombay.

To Captain Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow—Indore, 8th July 1857.

Sir,

The circumstances of Major Timmin's departure from Mehidapore have already been reported to you. The whole of the infantry and the remaining cavalry with guns form a complete brigade, and is provided with ammunition. They told the Koowimisdar at Mehidapore that they had not mutinied, and that, after the misconduct of the Sowars under Captains Brodie and Hunt, the loyalty of the infantry had been praised by Colonel Durand, and an increase of pay and rank offered; also, that they had not misbehaved even now; and, as they were paid by the Durbar through the British authorities, they must now continue to draw their pay, without which they cannot remain. Should it be the intention of the Durbar to dismiss them, they must receive a decisive answer. Koowimisdar, having no force to coerce such a large body of disciplined troops, and fearing they would plunder Mehidapur and march on to Indore, which would play the mischief under the present state of things, addressed them a consolatory 'Purwannah' in the Durbar's name, which has stopped them there for the present. He has, in the meanwhile, requested instructions from the Durbar, and is afraid of great disorders, should a delay take place in the receipt of orders calculated to give them some confidence. His Highness has therefore directed me to ask your advice, as to what should be done in this emergent case keeping up, and the sooner you give it the better, for the sake of order.

I remain, etc.,

(To be continued.)

(Signed.) Ramchunder Rao, Minister.
MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA.
FROM THE COLLECTION MADE BY THE LATE DR. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.
(Continued from page 107.)

IV.

Nahachhu Songs.

These songs are sung at the ceremony of paring the nails of the bridegroom (mundan).

1. Nahachhu Song sung at the Nail-paring Ceremony.

This song comes from a village in the Mainpuri District, as recorded by a teacher in the School.

Text.

Hari dariái ko jájim jhálri bichháïye.
Baithe kuáwar to cháir, to nahanchhú hot hái.
Ghar ghar phiratí, nauníyá, nagar jagálïye :
"Ajú Rámjí ko nahanchhú sab ghar jálïye."
Káhú dino háth mundariyá, abharan, ratan járâïye.
Kekaí ne diyo háth ko kangan : Kaushalyá diyo pahiráwo : bahut aknog diyo.
Khus hoke ghar jálïye.

Translation.

Spread a green carpet : shake off the dust :
The four young princes have sat down and the nail-paring begins.
Go, barber’s wife, round all the houses in the city :
"To day is Rám’s nail-paring : come, every house."
So gave her finger-rings studded with ornaments and gems.
Kekaí gave a bracelet and Kaushalya an ornament, and many priceless gems.
Go happy to your homes.

2. Nahachhu Song attributed to Tulasi Das, and recorded by Rámgharb Chaube.

This is a popular version of a Nahachhu Song attributed to the great seventeenth century poet and reformer, Tulasi Das, which he is said to have composed for the women of the Bhadaini Maballa of Benares. It is very popular in Northern India and has been printed frequently by vernacular presses. It is in very fine spirited verse, and its popularity is probably due to the fact that it can be used as a memoria technica of the whole ceremony.

Text.

Adi sárdá Ganpati Gaur manáïya ho.
Rám lâlâ kar nahachhu gáy sunáïya ho.

1.

Jehi gáin sidhí hoyá ; param pad páïya ho.
Koti jánam ko pátak durí so jáiya ho.
Kotin bájian bájain Dasrath ke griha ho.
Deo lok sab dekháhi ánad ati híya ho.
Nagar soháwan lágat barani na játái ho.
Kaushalyá ke harkh na hriday samátaí ho.
Alehi báus ke mândo manigan prúan ho.
Motiúh jkâlar lági chahun disí jhulan ho.

The allusion throughout is to Ráma’s wedding with Sítá, and the ladies mentioned, Kekaí and Kaushalyá, belong to the legend.
2.
Gaṅgā jal kar kalas tān turat mangāiya ho.
Yubtinha mangal gāi Rām anhwāiya ho.
Gaj muktā hirā mani chauk purāiya ho.
Dei swaragh, Rām kahuśi le bahāhāiya ho.
Kanak khambh chahun or madhya sinhāsān ho.
Mānik dip barāy, baithi tehi āsan ho.
Banī banā āwat nārī, jānī gṛihmāyan ho.
Bihasatī āu lohāriṇī hāth barāyan ho.

3.
Ahīrini hath daheī sagun lei āwahi ho:
Unrat joban dekhī nipati man bhāwai ho.
Rūp salonī tanbolīṇī bīrā hāthehi ho:
Jāki or bilokahi man tehi sāthehi ho.
Darjiṇī gore gāt lihe kar jorā ho:
Kesāni parun lagāi sugandhan borā ho.
Mochiṇī bādan sakochiṇī hirā māgān ho:
Panahū lihe kar sobhit sun dar āgan ho.

4.
Batiyā kai sughar malinīyā sundar gātahi ho:
Kanak ratan mani maur lihe musukātahi ho.
Kati kai chhīn barinīyān chhatā pānīhi ho:
Chandra bādan, mīg lochiṇī, sah ras khanīhi ho.
Nān bāsāl nauniyā bhaunī chamkawai ho:
Dei gārī Rāṅtiśahū pramudīt gawāi ho.
Kausalyā kī jethi dīnī anusāsan ho:
"Nahachhu jāi karawāhu baithī singhāsan ho."

5.
God lihe Kausalyā baithī Rāmāhin bar ho:
Sobhit dulah Rān sīs par ānchar ho.
Nauṇī to ati gun khānī begi bulāi ho.
Kari sīnjār ati lonī tan bīhantsi āl ho.
Kanak chunīn so larī naharini liye kar ho.
Anand hiye na samāy dekhī Rāmāhin bar ho.
Kānē kanak taruṇā besari sohāi ho.
Gaj muktā kar hār kanthi mani sohāi ho.

6.
Kar kankan kati kinkin, nāpur bājahin ho.
Rānī kai diśhīn sāri tan adhik birājahī ho.
Kāhē: "Rām jīu sānwar, Lachhīman gor ho?
Ki dhahun Rānī Kausalyahū parigā bhor ho.
Rām ahaṁ Dārath kai, Lachhīman ānaka ho.
Bharat Satruhan bhai to Śrī Raghunāth kā ho."
Aju Awadhpur ānand nahachhu Rām kā, ho.
Chalahu nayan hārī dekhiya sobhā dhām kā ho.

7.
Ati bār bhāg nauniyān chhuai nakh hath son ho:
Nainānī karati, gūmān, taū Śrī Rāghunāth son ho.
Jo pagu nauṇī dhrawī Rām dhōwāwāhīn ho,
So pagu dhūri siddhi muni darsan pawāhin hoū.
Atisai puhapuk màl Rám ur sohanhī ho,
Tirachhi chitwani anand munimukh johanhi ho.
Nakh kātāt musukāhin barani nahin jātahi ho,
Padam-rāg mani månuhn komal gātahi ho.

8.
Jáwak rachit angūrianha mridal suthāri ho,
Prabhu kar charan prachhāli tau ati sukumāri ho.
Bhāi newachhāwar bahu bidhi jo jaou láyak ho.
Tulasi Dás bali jāun dekhi Raghunāyak ho.
Rājāū dinhāū hāthī : Rānū hār ho :
Bharige ratañ padārath sup hazār ho.
Bhari gāri newachhāwari nāu lei awai ho,
Parijan karahū nihāl asisat awai ho.

9.
Tāpar karahū sumauj bahut dukh khoāhīū ho.
Hrī sukhi sab log adhīk sukho soāhīū ho.
Gāwahū sab, raniwās dehī prabhu gāri ho.
Rām lalā sakuchhāhin dekhi mahtāri ho.
Hili mili karat sawāūgini sabhā ras keli ho.
Nauñī man harkhāi sugandhan meli ho.
Dulah kai mahtari dekñi man harkhāi ho,
Koṭinba dinhāūdān megh jāna bārhāi ho.

10.
Rām lalā kar nahachhu ati sukho gāiya ho.
Jehi gācū sidhi hoya param nidhi pāiya ho.
Dasarath Rāu sūhāsan baithi birājahin ho.
Tulasi Dás bali jāya dekhi Raghu rājahin ho.
Je yah nahachhu gāwahin gāi sunāwahin ho.
Rishī sidhi aru kalyāṅ muktī nar pāwahin ho.

Translation.

First let us invoke Ganesā and Pārbati;
Then let us sing the nahachhu song of Rāma.

1.
Who sings it becomes a saint and attains the highest place.47
The sins of countless lives will be washed away.
Countless instruments of music were played in the house of Dasrath.48
The kingdom the gods were overjoyed at witnessing [the ceremony].
The city appeared beautiful beyond description.
Kausalyā could not contain herself for joy.
The young bamboo columns of the shed were studded with gems.
Fringed curtains of pearls were hung on all sides of it.

2.
The pitcher of Ganges water was at once sent for.
Young and beautiful women, with husbands still alive, were sent for to bathe Rām.
A square throne was made with pearls and jewels;
And after libations to the gods, Rām was seated on it.
The seat on which he sat was surrounded by golden columns.
Lamps of gems 49 were lit and then he sat on it.

47 I.e., he attains bhakti or devotional faith.
48 The father of Rāma.
49 Mūnīk means red gems.
Decorated women came, knowing it to be a house of rejoicing. 
Came the blacksmith’s wife, chuckling over the box of iron lamp-black in her hand.

3.
The cowherd’s wife brought in her hand the vessel full of curd of good omen.
The king [Dasrath] was happy to see her breasts waving. 
The charming betel-seller’s wife came with her packet of betel.
Whoever she looked at was bewitched.
The fair tailor’s wife had brought a suit [of clothes],
Dyed with saffron and thoroughly perfumed.
The shoemaker’s wife came hesitatingly with diamonds in her hair-parting,
She entered the courtyard with a pair of pretty shoes.

4.
The beautiful sweet-tongued florist’s wife came with the golden crowns;
As she brought it studded with gems she smiled.
The leaf-dishmaker’s wife came with the calico umbrella: 
She had a slim waist, a moon-face and the eyes of a doe.
The barber’s wife made use of her large eyes.
She was chaffing the chief ladies and singing joyfully,
When a lady older than Kausalyā gave her an order: 
“Go and perform the ceremony of Nahachhu on him that sits on the throne.”

5.
Kausalyā sat with Rāma in her lap.
She cast her veil pleasantly round Rāma’s head.
She called the barber’s wife to come quickly,
And the latter came smiling and charmingly decorated.
She held the nail-parer studded with small gems.
She could hardly hold herself for joy at the sight of Rāma.
She had a taruana in her ears and a besarī in her nose,
And round her neck was a bewitching garland of large pearls.

6.
On her wrist the kankan, round her waist the kinkin, and round her ankles the nāpur were tinkling.
She wore the garment given her by the Rāni [Kausalyā].
She asked (in joke): “Why is Rāma dark and Lakshman fair?”
Perhaps Rāni Kausalyā has made some blunder.

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50 This shows Talasī Das’s powers of observation. Ahhrinis do not confine their breasts like most Indian women, and they are usually pendulous and wave out.
51 The term used is salant, salty. 
52 Because of her low status in society.
53 The ḍārī is the maker of dishes and cups out of leaves which are held sacred. Both the ḍārī and his wife the ḍhrinī work as menials in high-caste Hindu families.
54 This is a good omen.
55 To a Hindu, eyes to be beautiful must be large. The sense is that the woman used her eyes to attract attention.
56 Among high-caste Hindus it is not customary for the givers of the feast at marriages, investment with the sacred thread and similar ceremonies, to give orders to their servants. That is done by close relatives, male or female, while the givers do nothing beyond being civil to their guests. This explains the statement in the text.
57 These are special ornaments.
58 The kankan is a bracelet; kinkin, a bell: nāpur, an anklet.
59 This is the kind of chaff that is usual on such occasions.
Rāma is I think the son of Dasrath, and Lakshman of some one else.
Bharata and Shatrughana are brethren of Śri Raghunāth [Rāma]."
To-day Awadhur [Ayodhyā] is full of merriment over the paring of Rāma’s nails.
Let us go to see the beauty of his palace.

7.
Congratulations to the barber’s wife for being allowed to touch the nails of Rāma.
She rolls her eyes to attract the attention of Śri Raghunāth.
The feet that Rāma’s foot washer 60 is going to wash,
Are the feet that saints and prophets go to worship.
A very beautiful garland lies on Rāma’s breast.
His sidelong glance is anxiously awaited by saints and prophets°1.
While his nails are being pared, Rāma’s smile is indescribable.
His body is as soft and fair as the padam-rāg mani.°2.

8.
[With mehāwar] she dyed the soft feet that had no defect.
She dyed the feet after them with water.
Then the relatives and friends rewarded her according to custom and their means.
Saith Tulasi Das: great is the delight to behold Raghunāth.
Kings gave elephants and queens gave garlands.
Thousands of winnowing-fans filled with gems were given [to the barber’s wife].
The barber took them away in cart-loads.
The clansmen gave so much that he was satisfied.

9.
Beggars and servants were greatly rewarded and their troubles fled.
Everyone was made happy and slept without anxiety.
All the ladies sang and chaffed and joked°3.
Rāma, the babe, was a little shy with his mother°4.
While all the ladies were laughing and joking together,
And the barber’s wife threw perfumes over them with delight.
The bridegroom’s [Rāma’s] mother, seeing them, was delighted.
She gave away millions of gifts in charity, like a cloud showering gifts upon the poor.

10.
Sing the songs of Nahachhu for Rām, the babe, and be happy.
Who sings them attains his heart’s desire and real pleasure.
Dasrath, the king, sat on his royal seat with joy.
Saith Tulasi Dās: much pleased to see his son king of the Raghu clan.
Who sings this Nahachhu song himself or hears it sung,
To him will the prophets and saints bring riches, wealth, prosperity and salvation.

(To be continued.)

°0 That is the barber’s wife.
°1 That is to say, they anxiously await a glance of favour.
°2 A particularly beautiful gem.
°3 This is customary on such occasions.
°4 Children often appear shy before their mothers, when they find themselves suddenly turned into boys. They will throw themselves into their mothers’ arms after such ceremonies as this, and their mothers will say: “You are no longer a child, as you have been through such and such ceremonies. You must now go and live among the men and leave the women.”
THE NAME COCHIN CHINA.
BY M. LÉONARD AROUSSEAU.
TRANSLATED BY S. M. EDWARDS, C.S.I., O.V.O.

"The name Cochin China, which signifies to-day our Annamite colony in southern Indo-China, appears in European geographical documents at a date when the Annamites had not crossed the region of Qui-nho'n and when the Mekhong delta was still wholly Cambodian. Maps and records show also that this name was applied, as the years passed, to different territories. In short, it seems impossible to trace its origin to the geographical nomenclature of Indo-China, whether Chinese or Native. Let us first try and localise precisely the various regions called by this name at certain given dates, and then try and determine its derivation in the light of its oldest signification.

Before it acquired its present significance, the name of Cochin China was applied by foreigners to the central and southern parts of modern Annam, in which the ancestors of the dynasty of the Nguyen had founded in the 16th century a prosperous kingdom, long distinct from the Annamite territories in the north of the peninsula. Up to the present it has generally been supposed that the word had no older meaning, and that therefore it could not itself be older than the middle of the 16th century. But we know that Nguyen Hoang, the earliest of these ancestors of the Nguyen to set out for Thuan-hoa, left the court of the Lé at Thang-long between November 10th and December 10th, 1558. The commencement of the kingdom of the Nguyen cannot then have preceded the arrival of Nguyen Hoang at Thuan-hoa; and the name of Cochin China, if from the first it signified this kingdom only, could not have come into use before 1558. But, as a matter of fact, there is evidence of the use of the name long before that date, and this is proved by certain important records which I have collected in the course of a hurried inquiry, and which I mention below, to indicate the scope of my enquiry.

1. The earliest mention of the name Cochin China that I know is in A.D. 1502, in the Portuguese chart of the Genoese Albert Contino, where it appears in the curious form Chinacochim. This chart, the original of which is in the library of Modena, has been reproduced by Tomaszek in a work published on the occasion of the fourth centenary of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama. Contino places Chinacochim, in the character of a sea-port, at the mouth of a river which must be the Red River. Further south, about the level of the modern Central Annam, Contino notices another port named Champanochim.

In this particular form, Chinacochim, which, reversed, gives us Cochimchina, the name Cochin China in 1502 refers to a spot in the Tonkinese delta. At that date and up to 1515 Portuguese navigators (or foreigners in the Portuguese service) had no direct acquaintance with the coast of Indo-China. Such information as they possessed came without doubt from Arab accounts and charts, or perhaps was furnished orally by Mnhammadan sailors. Contino's statements must have been drawn in garbled form from one of these sources.

2. The same remarks may apply to the form Chinacochim, which appears on a chart of 1503 approximately, prepared by another Genoese, Nicolo de Caneiro, and preserved in the Hydrographic archives of the Ministry of Marine in Paris. Caneiro seems, so far at least as concerns this point, to have copied his compatriot's chart.

3. The ordinary form of the name appears for the first time, and twice running, in a letter addressed from Malacca on January 8th, 1515, by Jorge de Albuquerque to King Manoel of Portugal. At the beginning of the letter occur the words "das mercadorias que vem da

1 The original article appears in the Bulletin de l' École Française d' Extrême Orient, Tome XXIV, 1924. I have omitted M. Aroussseau's numerous references in footnotes from considerations of space.
chyna e quachychnyna, syam, illegivos i. e., "merchandise coming from China, from Cochin China, Siam, the islands Licou-K’ieu..." The second mention occurs on page 137, where the writer speaks of "junks from China or from Cochin China," in the phrase "os junquos da chyna e quachychnyna." The name of Cochin China is easily identifiable under the spelling Quachychnyna and Quamchynyna.

I may here mention that the writer of the letter, in including this name among those of countries like Pegu, China, Siam, etc., certainly intends to specify a particular kingdom. This kingdom unquestionably was Annam, subordinate at that date to the Lê dynasty, with its capital at Trung dò phu, which extended from Lang-so’n to Qui-nho’n.

4. In August 1516 Fernão Perez enters the "gulf of Concambina" i.e., the Bay of Tonkin.

5. Duarte Coelho, who sailed the first time along the Annamite coast between 1516 and 1518, was sent during the year 1523 to eastern Indo-China by Jorge de Albuquerque, to obtain detailed information about the country named Cochin China and the bay of that name. A letter from Jorge de Albuquerque to the Portuguese King, dated January 1st, 1524, runs as follows: "Mandem duarte coelho a descobrir cauchimchyna." Barros, writing about 1550, gives the following account of this occurrence: "Vindo este Fenduca Raja no fim de Abril de quinhentos e vinte e tres com estas quarenta lancharas, em se recolhendo para dentro do rio de Muar quasi sobre a noite, houve vista delles Duarte Coelho, o qual hia em hum navio sen descubrir a encosa de Cochinchina per mandado d’El Rey D. Manuel, por ter sabido ser aquella encosa cousa de que sabiam mercadorias ricas. A qual terra os Chijs chamam Reyno de Cacho, e os Siames, e Malapos Cochinchina, á differença do Cochij do Malabar..."

There can be no doubt that this mention in 1523-24 of the country and gulf of Cauchimchyna (Cochin China) is meant to denote the Annamite Kingdom of that epoch and more particularly the Tonkinese delta.

6. The chart of Diego Ribeiro, published in 1529, includes the name Cauchechina, to denote the Tonkinese and Annamite districts of the peninsula, and therefore the whole country of Annam from the opening of the sixteenth century.

7. Numerous references of later date—1535, 1543, 1549, 1550, 1572, 1588, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1603, 1604, 1606, 1613—all prove that the word Cochin China,—under a variety of spellings, Cauchenchina, Cauchichina, Cauchichinhina, Cachenchina, Cauchimchyna, Cauchichina, Cocoincina, etc.—signified in every ease the whole of the kingdom of Annam.

8. One has to turn to the year 1618 to find the name of Cochin China used in its secondary sense; namely to signify quite clearly the particular principality ruled by the Nguyén. The word appears for the first time with this meaning in the Relazione della nuova missione della P. P. della Compagnia di Gesù al regno della Cocinina, compiled by the Milanese Jesuit Christopher Borri. The translation of the pertinent passages is as follows:—

"Cochin China, so called by the Portuguese, is styled in the native tongue Anam,—a word signifying "western," as this kingdom lies in the west relatively to China. For the same reason the Japanese call it Coci, which has the same meaning in their language as Anam in the Cochinchinese tongue. But the Portuguese, introduced into Anam for trade through the agency of the Japanese, formed from this Japanese word Coci and the other word Cina a third name Cocina, which they attached to this kingdom, calling it, so to speak, Cocin of China, in order to distinguish it from Cochin in India, which they also visited.

If Cochin China appears as a rule in maps and atlases under the name of Cauchincina or Cozchina or some similar form, that is merely due either to the corruption of the real name or to the fact that the mapmakers wished to indicate that this kingdom was on the borders of China.
"In the south this kingdom borders on Chiampa (Champa), at an elevation of eleven degrees from the pole ; in the north, but slightly to the west, it borders on Tunchim (Tonkin) ; on the east lies the China sea; and on the west, towards the Northwest, it borders on the kingdom of the Lai (Laos).

"As regards its extent, I speak here of Cochin China alone, which is a portion of the great kingdom of Tonkin . . . .

"Cochin China is divided into five provinces. The first, bordering on Tonkin, where the king resides, is called Sinuu (Thuăn-hoa); the second, Cacciam (Ke-cham), where the king's son resides as Governor; the third, Quanguya (Quang-ngai); the fourth, Quiquin (Qui-nho'ın), which the Portuguese call Pullucambi (Poulo Gambir); the fifth, which borders Campa, is named Renran."

"Despite the errors it contains, this passage from Borri's account is interesting and shows clearly that in the view of the author and his contemporaries the Annamite kingdom of the Lê was, towards the middle of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, divided into two parts:—(a) Tonkin (Tunchim), lying between the Chinese frontier on the north and the river Linh-giang on the south; (b) Cochin China (Cociùina, Cauçinaça, Cauchina) or the Nguyen principality, which extended from the river Linh-giang on the north as far as Cape Varella in the south.

"We thus obtain evidence in the account of the Milanese Jesuit, written between 1618 and 1630 and published after 1631, of the earliest use of the name Cochin China in its limited sense of a single portion of the Annamite kingdom, namely that lying between Dong-ho'i and Cape Varella. Borri could not have been aware that the name had previously been used to designate the whole of the Annamite country; he says nothing about it indeed, and seems on the contrary to believe that the usual name applied by foreigners to the kingdom of the Lê, prior to the independence of the Nguyen, was Tonkin.

"But what is the starting-point of this use of the ancient name of Cochin China in its new signification?

"According to Father de Rhodes, who arrived in Cochin China in December, 1624, the first Jesuit missionary to enter the country was the Neapolitan Busomi, who landed at Tourane on January 18th, 1615. Father Borri arrived three years after Busomi. On the other hand, there were no Jesuits in Tonkin at that date, as the Tonkin mission was not established until 1626. The missionaries in Central Annam were the first therefore to find the need of describing by a separate name the country which they proposed to evangelise, and which enjoyed a separate political existence under the powerful Nguyen rulers. They were acquainted with the names Tonquin and Cochin China from the narratives mentioned above. The former clearly signified the northern part of the kingdom of the Lê; the latter had a wider, less exclusive, meaning. Did the missionaries actually blunder over the latter meaning, as I suspect, or did they decide to apply the name Cochin China exclusively to the southern portion of the Annamite kingdom? It is not easy to decide which of these two solutions is correct. Whichever it be, however, it is quite clear that it was the founders of the first Christian missions in the Annamite country who, on their arrival in 1615 in the principality of the Nguyen, used the name Cochin China for the first time to designate that principality and nothing more. Consequently one may assert that the name with this special significance attaching to it cannot be earlier in date than January 18th, 1615.

"9. This new value accorded to the name of Cochin China was invested by the reports of the missionaries with an authority rendered all the greater by the fact that no need was felt to preserve the name in its ancient significance: for the missionaries, as we have seen, did not establish themselves till ten years later in the northern portion of the Annamite kingdom, a country which they continued to designate by the name of Tonkin.

"In fact the various references to Cochin China from 1618 onwards indicate quite clearly that the name preserved its secondary meaning (i.e., the southern portion of Annam, starting
from the Dong-ho’i district) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and part of the nineteenth. The most important of these references, viz., those of Father de Rhodes in 1624 and 1627, of Father Baldinotti in 1628, and the charts of 1640, 1650, 1666, 1705, and of later year ranging from 1721 to 1882,—suffice to establish this fact.

"One finds the name Cochin China preserving its secondary meaning during the whole period from 1615 to 1882, but with this constantly changing significance, that the country to which the name is applied extends ever further in a southerly direction, in proportion as the Annamites descend from the north.

"During that period the country becomes unified. The conquering Nguyen have welded together the Annamite lands by the opening of the nineteenth century. The name Annam, on the other hand, which was used by Europeans from the seventeenth century onwards to signify the whole of the kingdom (comprising Tonkin in the north and Cochin China in the south), preserved this meaning as late as 1882.

"It must be added that in 1861 disorder was introduced into the geographical nomenclature of the country by a new factor, the French occupation. From that date the necessity of distinguishing the occupied from unoccupied territories led to the former being styled "Lower Cochin China" or "French Cochin China," and to the latter keeping, according to their actual situation, the name of Cochin China or Tonkin.

"10. Finally, in 1883 the nomenclature tends to become fixed and is finally settled in 1887. Tonkin retains its name. Cochin China, properly so called, loses its name and receives the special title of Annam, which on the other hand ceases to signify absolutely the whole of the Annamite lands; Lower Cochin China or French Cochin China receives the special name of Cochin China. Thus we arrive at the third meaning of this name, which has lasted to the present day.

"To recapitulate, the name Cochin China, in various phonetic forms, has in the course of history possessed three distinct meanings in the geographical literature of Europe:—

(a) from 1502 to 1615: Cochin China signifies the whole of the Annamite kingdom, comprised between China in the north and Champa in the south.

(b) from 1615 to 1882: Cochin China is the name of the portion of the Annamite country, situated to the south of the Tonkin of that epoch and lying between the Dong-ho’i region on the north and the southern frontier of Annam (this frontier assuming a more southerly location as the Annamites advanced).

(c) from 1883–1887 to the present day: Cochin China signifies the French colony in the south of the Peninsula, while the central portion of the Annamite country, lying between Cochin China in the south and Tonkin in the north, receives the name of Annam.

"If, then, we would inquire into the etymology of the name Cochin China, we have good ground for taking as the starting point of our inquiry the geographical value of the name in the opening years of the sixteenth century, at the moment when it was employed to signify the whole of the Annamite kingdom. At that date the country included the modern Tonkin and Annam as far as the Qui-nho’én district: but one must bear in mind that Annamite sovereignty was by no means firmly established to the south of the Col des Nuages, and that the kingdom was properly organized only in the twelve trdsn to the north, from Lang-so’ón to Thuân-boa.

"The earliest references to the name Cochin China almost invariably connect it with the so-called Gulf of Cochin China (the modern Gulf of Tonkin, though extended considerably southwards). The only Annamite ports which were accessible and certain to provide an opening to traders in the sixteenth century were in fact those of the Tonkinese delta. There the first Portuguese sailors who ‘discovered Cochin China,’ and the foreign travellers before them who came to trade in the Annamite country, must have disembarked. One may therefore conclude that the name Cochin China, while signifying from the outset the whole of
the kingdom of Annam, was specially applied from 1502 to 1515 to the country entered by way of the Bay of Tonkin.

"When Jorge de Albuquerque wrote his letter of January 8th, 1515, no Portuguese, no European, was yet properly acquainted with the Annamite country; and this must have been still more the case, thirteen years previously, when Contino prepared his chart of the Far East.

"The name of this country must therefore have been passed on to the Portuguese by travellers in the Far East before the end of the fifteenth century. These travellers can only have been Chinese, Annamites, Chams, Malays, Javanese, Persians, Arabs, or Turks. Chinese, Annamite, Cham and Javan geographical nomenclature supplies, so far as I am aware, no term which could have given use to the full name Cochin China. The Malays spoke of Kuchi or Kuchi-china, neither of which terms can be explained in the Malay tongue. The problem thus remains unsolved. It remains to investigate the puzzle from the Persian, Arab, and Turkish standpoint.

"Prior to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope (November 22, 1497), the existence of the Annamite kingdom had already been announced to Europe by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century. The Venetian had given this kingdom the name of Caugigii, in which one must recognise the words Kiaotche Kouo, "the land of the Kiaotche (Giao-chi)," by which the Chinese had been accustomed to describe the Tonkinese regions fifteen hundred years before the date of Marco Polo.

"The same name in a slightly different form is found at the opening of the fourteenth century in the History of the Mongols by the Persian Rasid-ud-din, who speaks of the country of Kafechewo (=Kiaotche Kouo).

"The name Kiaotche was thus already in vogue in the fourteenth century in non-Chinese lands, European and Muhammadan, to designate Tonkin, the most important part of the Annamite country, and also—by a natural extension of the term—to designate the Annamite kingdom regarded as a whole.

"For a long period, indeed, the great Moslem navigators (Persian up to the ninth century, followed by Arabs up to the commencement of the sixteenth century) sailed across the Indian Ocean and the China seas; they maintained relations with the ports on the east coast of Indo-China and learned to know the country of Kiaotche (the Annamite kingdom).

"But these navigators had a special geographical notion about these coasts and about the countries in the south of Eastern Asia. A scrutiny of the records of maritime journeys, of the itineraries and sailing instructions, discloses the fact that Muhammadan sailors gave the name China a widely extended meaning.

"Thus in 1224 the geographer and sailor Yakut (1179—1229) writes in his Mu'jjam al Buldan.—Ma'bar (Coromandel) is the last country in India. Next comes China, of which the first (region) is Djawa (Java or Sumatra); thence one enters a sea which is difficult of access and fertile in disasters. One arrives at length in China proper.'

"In the thirteenth century the botanist Ibn al Baytār, in his Traité des simples, notes that the northern areas of China are styled in Persian 'Chin Má-Chìn (i.e., China of great China; cf. Sanskrit Śrīna Mahāśrīna), equivalent in Arabic to Chin al-Chin, China of the Chinas, for the Persians call China Śrīn (Chin).'

"Kazwini (1203—1283), in his Kitāb ajāb al-makhluqāt wa gharaib al-maudljudāt, speaks of the islands of the China Sea, and includes among them Java, Sumatra, Nias, etc. The same author in his Kitāb afghar al-bulūd wa akhbār al-ībād further states that Java and Sumatra are parts of China.

"In the thirteenth century Ibn Said clearly distinguishes 'China' (Chin or the countries on the east coast of Indo-China) from 'China properly so-called' (Chin al-chin'), or the regions situated on the north side of the straits of Hai-nan. He shows the town of Manzi as the capital of Chin al-Chin or of China properly so-called. Now one knows that Manzi, derived
from Chinese Man-tseu, is the name employed by the Arabs to designate southern China, subordinate to the southern Song (1127–1279). It follows from this that the countries called Chìn (China) by Ibn Said had nothing in common with China proper, as they lay to the south of the Chinese empire and actually were independent of it.

"Rasid-ud-din himself (1310) extends the Chinese area as far as the island of Lakawaram (Nicobar) and the continent named Champa (the Champa of the opening of the fourteenth century, that is to say, roughly the parts of Annam situated to the south of the Col des Nuages)."

"Dimaqi, who wrote just before 1325, speaks also of Champa 'situated on the coast of China.' Abulfidā (1273–1331) states that 'the frontiers of China in the south-east touch the equator, where there is no latitude.' He reports similarly that the island of Sribua (Srivijaya = Palembang) is given as a dependency of China.

"I omit several other analogous references of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which betray the same misconception and are therefore superfluous, and I pass on to extracts from the treatise entitled Muhit ('the Ocean') by the Turkish admiral Sidi 'Ali Chelebi (1554):

'The sea-routes to the coast of Chìn and Mächin resolve themselves into the following itinerary. First from Singâpur (Singapore) . . . to Kanbusā (Cambodia); from Kanbusā to Sambah (Champa) . . . from Sambah to the Gulf of Kowchi (Kiao-tche =the gulf of Tonkin), etc.'

'The port of Kowchi in Chìn (Kiao-tche in China) . . .

'The gulf of Kowchi in Chìn (=the gulf of Tonkin in China) . . .

'Kowchi in Chìn.'

'Sambah in Chìn (Champa in China) . . .

'Laghur in Chìn'. 'Cape Kanbusa (Cape of Cambodia, in the present Cochin China in Chìn).'

'Lung-sakâ (Tenasserim) at the extremity of the coast of Chìn (China).'

'Kalân dan (Kelântan on the east coast of the Malay peninsula) on the Coast of Chìn (China) . . . etc.

'These examples suffice to show that from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century Muhammadan geographers divided the coasts of Eastern Asia into two large areas, distinguished by the following names:—

(a) Chìn (China), comprising Indo-China, from the Malay peninsula to the Hai-nan straits, and

(b) Mächin (Great China or China proper), extending to the north of the "Gates of China," i.e., north of the Hai-nan straits.

"In those days all the countries of the Indo-Chinese coast, lying between the Malacca and Hai-nan straits, were, in the view of Arab sailors, situated in Chìn (China). These sailors, as the passages above-quoted show, had consequently to follow the general practice of adding to the name of each of those countries the word Chìn, which indicated their general situation. This is precisely what happened in the case of the name of the Annamite country, Kiao-tche; for the Muhit of Sidi 'Ali Chelebi mentions several times Kawchi of Chìn (Kiao-tche of China).

'Sidi 'Ali Chelebi wrote about 1554, but it is well-known that he was a compiler, rather than an original composer, and that his Muhit is largely composed of earlier Arab texts, amongst the latter being a translation of the Nautical Instructions of Suleiman al-Mahri (beginning of the sixteenth century) and translations of the chart-books and essays on navigation of Ibn Majid, who was Vasco da Gama's Arab pilot across the Indian Ocean and who composed his treatises between 1462 and 1490.

"The Tonkinese delta, one might even say the whole Annamite kingdom, was thus certainly styled by the Arabs "country of Kawchi of Chìn" at the close of the fifteenth and the opening of the sixteenth century, that is to say, at the time when the Moslems entered into relations with Portuguese navigators and taught the latter the main sea-routes and the names
of the principal lands washed by the Indian Ocean and the China seas. The Portuguese, whose earliest charts are based upon Arab sailing instructions, had no alternative but to register purely and simply (and before they had themselves discovered the Gulf of Tonkin) the name which the Arabs gave to the Annamite country.

"We may here remark that of all the countries situated on this coast and described as "of Chin," Kawchi is the only one of which the name has continued, after Arab and Portuguese times, to bear the distinctive affix 'of Chin.' All the rest, Champa, Laghur, etc., have lasted without being linked for any great length of time with this distinguishing affix, which no doubt disappeared directly people realised that it embodied a radical geographical error. It is possible that the exception allowed in the case of the name we are discussing arose from the fact that there existed in India a practically identical and widely known place-name, that of the port of Kochi (Cochin). It was doubtless necessary to retain the affix ' of Chin,' in order to distinguish Kawchi of Chin from Kochi in India.

"Such must have been the origin and use of the name Cochin China. The Arab expression 'Kawchi of Chin' in fact corresponds in a wholly conclusive manner with the earliest normal Portuguese forms of the word Cochin China. The two first readings, those of January 8th, 1516, Quachynamynha and Quachynhymynha, are almost identical; for I regard the m in Quam as a copyist's error for n, an error which appears again (n for u) in certain unusual forms at the beginning of the sixteenth century, e.g., Concachina (1516), Concachimynha (1524), and disappears entirely after 1529. The most ancient ordinary Portuguese form of the word is therefore either Quachynhymynha or Quachynhymynha, the first half of which (Quachy or Quachy) is an exact transliteratation of the Arab Kawchi and, through the Arabic, of the Chinese Kiao-teke and Cantonese Kay-chi.

"The examples chosen by M. G. Ferrand from the Arabo MS. No. 2559 in the Bibliotheque Nationale appear to indicate that, in order to translate the expression 'Kawchi in China' or 'Kawchi of China,' the Arab would have to say either Kawchi min el Chén, which exactly represents 'Kawchi of the China,' or, by suppressing the superfluous article, Kawchi min Chén or 'Kawchi of China.' I may be pardoned for venturing here upon ground which is unfamiliar to me, but it seems to me quite likely that it was in the latter simplified form that the name was ordinarily spoken by the Arabs and was heard by the Portuguese. The Arab phrase Kawchi min Chén (or, in a single word, Kawchimin(chen)) is in the closer to the earliest Portuguese forms of the name Cochin China, in that the central syllable min, which means 'of' and is of secondary importance in the name, must have been pronounced quickly, so as to leave a clear mark of nasalisation. This Arab form therefore explains fully the earliest Portuguese renderings: it also explains the nasal sound in the middle of the word, which is universally present in every mention of the name in all languages, and which has survived to our own times in the central n of the word Cochin China.

"We thus have a group of sound historical, geographical and linguistic reasons for deriving the name Cochin China, through the Portuguese Quachynamynha, from the phrase by which the Arabs, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, meant to designate the Annamite kingdom, and more particularly the Tonkin sea-board. This expression Kawchim(in) chin signified that the kingdom was that of Kawchi (Kiao-teke), the traditional Chinese name for Tonkin, known in Europe since the time of Marco Polo, and that it was situated on the eastern coast of Indo-China, that is to say, on the coast of Chin (China), according to the geographical nomenclature in vogue among Arab navigators and travellers.

"Thus the fair fortune and the meaning of this simple name, Cochin China, which bears to-day the impress of French renown, are accounted for by the brilliance of Moslem power and the still more radiant glory of the Portuguese navigators in the Indian Ocean, more than five centuries ago."
GOVERNOR JOSEPH COLLET OF MADRAS ON THE HINDU RELIGION IN 1712.

By Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.

In the *Proceedings of Meetings*, vol. VI, of the Indian Historical Records Commission, January 1924, pp. 29 ff., occurs an informing paper by Miss Clara E. J. Collet, Fellow of University College, London, on the excellent private letter-books of Joseph Collet of Madras (1717—1720), as preserved in her family. They contain the observations of a very capable man, anxious to learn all he could about the natives of the countries in which he travelled or had to work. We consequently obtain from them valuable views on the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro, of Bencoolen in Sumatra, and of Madras.

Amongst the extracts given by Miss Collet (one cannot but hope that she will some day publish the whole collection of letters) is one of great interest, as it shows how an English enquirer, full of his own religious views, looked on Hinduism as he thought he learnt about it. Incidentally it shows also how an educated Indian attempted to expound his religion to an interested and educated European. Collet writes as follows:—

"The first time I arriv'd in this place was in the year 1712. I soon found a great variety of religious profess'd here, Christianity of severall sorts, Popish, Protestant or Arminian [native Christians], besides Mahometanism and above all Paganism [Hinduism], which has much more numerous disciples than all the rest together. They are divided into the right-handed cast and the left-hand cast, and these again are sub-divided into eighteen several castes or Tribes."

"Here are Churches of all the several Religions I have named, but the most magnificent structures are the Pagan Temples, called the Pagodas. Passing by one of them a few days after my arrival, I made up to the Gate, which was open, with a design to see what sort of Gods dwelt there, but the priests were too quick and shut the Gate before I could enter."

"I asked one of the Religion with me why they would not permit me to see the Pagoda. He told me they did not care to admit Christians, and seem'd to insinuate that the Priests thought that the presence of a Christian would defile their Temple. I told him I rather believed they were ashamed to expose their Gods to our View. He reply'd: 'We are not such fools as to think the Images in our Pagodas are Gods. We know very well there is but one Supreme God, Creator and Preserver of all things. The Images in our Temples are no other than symbols and representations of the several perfections of the one Supreme Being. An Image with many hands, holding Arms and Mechanicall Instruments, represents his infinite power; another with an elephant's joynd to a Human Face signifies his infinite wisdom, the Elephant being esteem'd the most sagacious of all Brute Animals.' He added several others.

"I smiled and was about to reply, but he prevented me and went on as follows:—'There is no greater Difficulty in all this than in your Christian Religion, for you say with us there is but one God, and yet you say, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are each of them God, by which you must mean that the one God is call'd the Father as he is the Maker of all things, and he is called the Son as he is reconciled to Sinners, and he is called the Holy Ghost as he

1 This statement shows that Collet had grasped that Hinduism is divided into an enormous number of sects, which he thought were castes, although, of course, his view thereof is very vague. He evidently thought that the most prominent among them were the Right-hand (Daksinachārl) and Left-hand (Vāmāchārl) divisions of the Shāktas, worshippers of the female energy in life (Shakti). The statement is a comment on the hold that Shaktism had on Hinduism, when the latter first came under Western observation.

2 Here we have a hint of the difficulties that Brāhmans must have had in dealing with Europeans of importance. Neither side had any idea of the notions or religious feelings of the other."
inclinates men to do Good. So with us, our many Images represent to us the various perfections 
of that one God, whom both you and we worship.' Here he stopped, expecting my Answer, 
which I was in no condition to give him, but stood for some time perfectly confounded. 3

' I knew very well the explication he had given of the Trinity was the Sabellian Scheme, 4
which I could not assent to, and on the other hand I durst not say that there are three 
distinct persons equally God, lest he should charge me with Polytheism, which is as plain a 
violation of the first Commandment as the Adoration of Images is of the Second. 5

' In short I was glad to change the Discourse by asking what representations those were, 
pointing to the monstrous figures at a little distance. He told me one of them was a transfor-
mation of the God (Vishnu), and the other was the Devil, before whom on a certain day 
every year a thousand goats were sacrificed. This gave me a large Field of raillery on his 
Religion and the opportunity of my concealing my Ignorance of my own Religion. 6

' When I came home and reflected on the passages of the day, I blush'd for shame that 
I had not been able to give a rational Account of my own Faith to a heathen, and resolv'd 
to lay hold on the first opportunity to examine a Doctrine I had been taught to believe was a 
mistery and note to be pry'd into. It happened the next Sunday the Athanasian Creed 
was read in Church.' 7

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3 I take it that the "one of the Religion" with Collet was an educated Brāhman, who knew English 
well and had studied Christianity. His exposition of the use of images in Hindu Temples and of Hindu 
monothelism goes to show that he must have been a Bhāgavata, which sect is essentially monotheist, with 
devotional faith in one Personal God as its main doctrine. Bhāgavatism is very old — pre-Christian in fact 
—and has long been the faith of the educated Hindu, permeating both the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva forms of 
their religion.

4 At the end of the Second Century there was a great controversy between the Adoptivists and the 
Modalists, holding respectively that Christ was the chosen Man of God and that Christ was a manifestation 
of God Himself. In the Third Century the protagonist of the Modalists (Unitarians) was Sabellius, a Libyan, 
whose doctrine created a great controversy (the Sabellian Heresy) and lasted till the end of the Fourth 
Century. The "Sabellian Scheme," with various modifications as time went on, was that the Father, 
Son, and Holy Spirit are the same person, three names being thus attached to one and the same Being. 
The three forms of the One God in the Sabellian view were the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Giver of Life. 
It will be seen that Governor Collet was right in remarking that the Hindu's "explication of the Trinity" 
was the Sabellian Scheme," and why, as a strict Trinitarian, he could not assent to a strictly Unitarian 
view.

5 Collet evidently was not aware of the Hindu Trinity (Trimūrti), which is the three-fold manifestation 
of the Supreme Brahman, the Incomprehensible, with unity of Brahmā, Vishnu and Shiva, the three 
prominent, and to the people equal, Gods of the Epics, as the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer. The 
Hindu and the Christian Trinity are not, however, philosophically identical. The former Religion holds 
that there is one God and three manifestations of Him, and the latter that there are three Persons in one 
God.

6 The first image must therefore have been that of one of the avatāras or incarnations of Vishnu. What 
the other image represented, it is impossible to say, as Collet apparently did not wait to enquire if it was 
male or female. It was probably an image for 'the people,' and did not belong to the "religion" of his 
informant, on whom, therefore, his "raillery" was lost.

7 Collet had very strong and free views on religious practice, and the Schism Act of 1714 roused him 
to much wrath and to a desire to fight it as soon as his government in India was over. Inter alia the 
Athenasian Creed was abominable to him.
THE CAPITAL OF NAHAPÂNA.

By V. S. BAKHLE, M.A., LL.B.

The date of Nahapâna, the Kshatrâpa of the northwestern provinces, is still disputed. There is, however, a question of no less importance, viz., the capital of his kingdom; and scholars are not agreed on this question also. We propose in this article to show that the capital of the kingdom of Nahapâna was situated at Junnar, a view which was first put forward by the late Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar.¹

The controversy about the capital of Nahapâna was, to all appearances, finally set at rest by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the pages of this journal where he stated, relying mainly on the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and the Geography of Ptolemy, that the capital of the kingdom of Nahapâna was Dashapura or the modern Mandosar. The Periplus mentions Minnagara as the metropolis of the kingdom of Mambaros and of all India, and Ptolemy in his geography mentions a Minnagara, which lies 2° N. and 2° E. of Broach, a place which roughly corresponds with the modern Mandosar, known in ancient times also as Dashapura. The mention of this place, in Mr. Bhandarkar’s opinion, as one of the places of Ushavadata’s benefactions fully corroborates this view. “I have often thought it was impossible for Ushavadata not to have made any benefactions at the capital town of Nahapâna, and consequently one of the four cities (Dashapura, Sopârâga, Govardhana and Bharukachchha) must have been his capital. But Ptolemy’s Geography no longer leaves the point in doubt.”²

Before we proceed to discuss this identification, it is necessary to ascertain the extent of the dominions of Nahapâna. Nahapâna, we know, had a daughter named Dakshamitra, who was married to Shaka Ushavadata, son of Dinika. We have inscriptions of this Ushavadata at Karli and Nasik, in which he records his benefactions at various places. Some of these benefactions are grants of land and villages, construction of rest-houses, erection of drinking places, etc. The nature of these benefactions and especially his land grants show that Ushavadata was not an ordinary donor. We could hardly expect a private person to grant lands and villages and to arrange for the comforts of people in so many different places. It is obvious, therefore, that Ushavadata exercised some authority over the provinces, in which the places of his benefactions are situated. “The localities at which the benefactions were made,” observes Rapson, “may be supposed to lie within the province of which Ushavadata had special charge. They indicate generally the extent of that part of Nahapâna’s dominions to which the political influence of Ushavadata was restricted.”³ From the enumeration in his inscriptions of the places of benefactions we may infer that the provinces under Ushavadata included Ajmer, Kathiawar, Gujarat, Western Malva, North Konkan, from Broach to Sopara, and the Nasik District. But this is not all. “The place names in the inscription of Bâlåshri seem undoubtedly to indicate the provinces which her son Gautamiputra wrested from the Kshaharatas.”⁴ Of these Suratha, Kukura, Avanti, and Aparanta were provinces under Ushavadata. There only remain Akara, Asaka, Mulaka and Vidarbha. It seems highly probable that Nahapâna himself ruled over these provinces. The generally accepted view, however, is that his rule stretched as far as Ajmer in Rajputana, and included Kathiawar, South Gujarat, Western Malva, North Konkan, and Nasik and Poona Districts. But these were mainly the provinces to which the political influence of Ushavadata was restricted. Over what province or provinces then did Nahapâna rule? Or had he consigned all his territory to the charge of his son-in-law? Nahapâna, we think, must himself have ruled over Akara, Vidarbha, Asaka and Mulaka. The mention of these countries in the inscription of Bâlåshri at Nasik implies that they were wrested from the Kshaharatas by Gautamiputra; it is not in the least probable that

² Indian Antiquary, 1918, pp. 77-78.
⁴ Ibid., p. cxi.
they were inherited by him. A glance at the map of India would show the improbability of the assumption that these provinces were held by the Sātavāhanas, while the Kshaharātas were in ascendency. It seems, therefore, that these provinces were included in the dominion of Nahapāna and were further under the direct rule of the Mahākshatrapa.

This being then the extent of Nahapāna’s dominions, we can now look for his capital amongst the provinces over which he himself ruled. The mere fact that so many of Ushavadata’s benefactions are recorded at Nasik is not sufficient justification to warrant the inference that Nasik was his capital. It is not possible at the same time to place his capital so far distant as Dashapura or the modern Mandasor. Various objections can be raised against this latter identification. Mr. Kennedy has shown that the Periplus was written in about 70-71 A.D., and that the identification of Mambaros with Nahapāna is wrong. It may be, however, that the Periplus refers to one of the successors of Nahapāna, of whom there were many, as evidenced by the varying effigies on their coins. And since the capital of Nahapāna must have continued to be their capital also, the Minnagara of the Periplus must have been the capital of Nahapāna himself. The question remains, however, whether it was the modern Mandasor. An inscription of Nahapāna’s minister is found at Junnar, a large collection of his coins was found at Nasik, while Mandasor or Dashapura was more or less on the borders of his kingdom. It seems hardly probable, therefore, that this place, though in all probability known as Minnagara in ancient times, was the capital of Nahapāna.

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar is wrong in holding that “it was impossible for Ushavadata not to have made any benefactions at the capital town of Nahapāna.” It has been generally admitted that the place-names in the inscriptions of Ushavadata indicate the provinces that were consigned to his charge by Nahapāna. In the provinces that were in his charge, Ushavadata was free to make any benefactions he liked; but not in the capital city of his lord. This view will be confirmed also by the nature of Ushavadata’s benefactions. We can certainly understand Ushavadata granting lands and villages and erecting quadrangular rest-houses at places which were within the provinces consigned to his charge; but it is difficult to see how one of the places of Ushavadata’s benefactions must be regarded as the capital of Nahapāna.

It was Sir Rāmkṛishna Bhandarkar, who first suggested the probability of Junnar being the capital of Nahapāna. “The capital of Nahapāna was probably Junnar, since the inscriptions of the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have record there of the gift of his minister.” Junnar was a very important town. It was on the Nana Pass route and thus occupied an important position. There are nearly one hundred and fifty caves round about Junnar and as many as thirty-two inscriptions, all of which have been dated on paleographic grounds between 150 B.C.—150 A.D. It was as great and flourishing a town as Nasik, Dashapura or Bharukachchha. If we do not find any record there of Ushavadata’s benefactions, the only explanation is that it was outside the territory which was in his charge.

Even at Junnar the visitor is pointed out the remains of an old city; and the name may mean either ‘the old city’ or, like our modern Junagadh, ‘the city of the Yavanas’! Very likely it means ‘the city of the Yavanas’ and the name is a corruption of the old name, Minnagara. “In support of this suggestion it may be noticed that at the head of Ptolemy’s Nana-guna (which apparently is the Nana Pass, though Ptolemy makes it a river) to the south of Nasik and to the east of Sopara, is a town called Omenogara which, as the Yavanas were called Mins, may be either Minnagara or Yavanagana, that is, Junnar.” The latitude and
longitude degrees of Omenogara, according to Ptolemy, are 114; 16.20; and the name Nanaguna, at the head of which this town was situated, is probably due to the fact that by the side of the Nana Pass there is another less useful pass, which is known even to this day as the Guna Pass. The Nana Pass is to the north of the bare thumb-like pinnacle of rock, locally known as ‘Nana’s Thumb,’ and the Guna Pass is to the south of the Thumb. We must, therefore, regard Ptolemy’s Nanaguna as referring to the Nana and the Guna Passes; and the latitude and longitude degrees given by Ptolemy fully support us. At the head of Nanaguna there is Omenogara, which obviously corresponds to our modern Junnar. Not far from Junnar there is a river known as the Mina, and the valley watered by that river is still known as Minner. Furthermore, Ptolemy mentions two Minnagars, and Mr. Bhandarkar has not assigned good reasons for identifying the Minnagar mentioned in the Periplus with the Minnagar in Ptolemy, which corresponds with modern Mandasor. We must, therefore, conclude that Minnagar mentioned by the author of the Periplus is the Omenogara of Ptolemy and Junnar of modern times. It was the capital of Nahapâna, from which he ruled over the Eastern possessions, while Aparanta, Gujarât and the Northern possessions were in the charge of Ushavadata.

PIHUNDA, PITHUDA, PITUNDRA.¹

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

Translated from the French by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O.

"The Jain Uttarādhayāyana Sutra (XXI. 1–4, translated in Sacred Books of the East) relates the story of a merchant named Pālīta, who departs from Champā, the capital of Aṅgā on the lower course of the Ganges, on a journey by boat to the city of Pihūnda, whither his business summons him. There he marries, and later returns to his own country. While on the sea, his wife gives birth to a son, who is called Samudra-pāla "the sea’s ward."

"The Jain sutra is written in Prakrit; the name of the city, Pihūnda, leads one to infer that the original form of the name contained an indistinct aspirate between vowels, which was changed in Prakrit to a simple aspirate.

"The Hāthigumpha inscription of king Khāravela of Orissa appears to supply the word for which we are looking, corresponding to the Prakrit form Pihūnda. Lüders, indeed, in his List of Brahmi Inscriptions (Epig. Ind., X, vii) under No. 1345, writes in his analysis of this difficult but important inscription: 'In the eleventh year he had some place founded by former kings, perhaps Pithuja, ploughed with a plough . . . . . . . Pithuja may legitimately be read as Pithuṇaḍa, which would become Pihūnda in Prakrit; the inner nasal in no case presents any difficulty. But unfortunately the mutilated text of the inscription affords no clue to the situation of Pithuda. We find that in the following or 12th regnal year, Khāravela 'makes the kings of the North tremble' (vīsāyānto Utarāpadhvarājano); one must therefore look for Pithuḍa elsewhere than in the North. The East is likewise excluded, for the sea lies on that side. There remain the West and the South. In the passage above-quoted Lüders has adopted the reading proposed by the late Bhagvanlal Indrāji, who was the first to decipher the inscription scientifically (Proceedings of the Sixth Congress of Orientalists at Leyden, Part III, sect. II, 1885). Bhagvanlal read as follows:—

pravrajānivesitam Pīthudāṁ gadaṁbhānagalaṁ kasyati.

Lüders alters Pāthudam into Pithudam on the strength of impressions of the inscription.

"Since then Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has taken up the study of the whole text, the numerous lacunae in which are to him an additional attraction. In the third volume of the Journal

³ McCrindle; Ptolemy, pp. 175-76 where the editor observes that nothing is known about Omenogara.

¹ This article is No. II of "Notes Indiennes", by M. S. Lévi, which appeared in the Journal Asiaticque, Tome CCVI, Jan.—March, 1925.
of the Behar and Orissa Research Society he has published for the benefit of epigraphists an excellent impression of the inscription. His reading and translation differ from those of previous scholars in a surprising and disquieting manner. He believes that the passage as a whole describes a procession in honour of a king, who lived thirteen centuries earlier, which had been established by the former kings in the City of Prith-udaka-darbha and which is pleasing to the country.' A note informs us that the city in question must have been in Kaliṅga. Finally we are told after a discussion (p. 437) that the passage refers to the statue of a certain king Ketu, installed at Pydhūdakadarbha, 'the city abounding in water and darbha grass.' This rendering is based on a new reading of line 11,—puvārdhā-nivesilam Pitudaga-dabha-nagala nekāsyaati.

"It is at once obvious that the difference in the interpretation of the passage depends rather upon the method of splitting up its component words than upon any novelty of reading. The differences of reading are confined merely to the following syllables:—Pt (Bhag. Pā; Lüders, Pi); da (Bhag. dā; Lüders, da); le ne (Bhag. and Lüders, lena); and they are concerned purely and simply with certain accessory signs, attached to the clear outline of the consonants and regarded somewhat arbitrarily as either script-signs or chance-marks in the stone. Mr. Jayaswal neither explains, nor thinks it necessary to explain, the difficulties which form the stumbling-block of the general body of inquirers, viz., the vowel e in the syllable ae of nekāsyaati, which he doubtless equates with niś-karaśyaati, as he translates it 'he leads out'; and this being so, the absence of an aspirate in the ka (always and in all places nikkha); and thirdly and above all, the amazing construction of the sentence, viz., epithet in the accusative, locative, verb, epithet in the accusative, a bunch of six words forming a compound noun in the accusative—and what a compound, calculated to be the despair of the schools of grammarians! terasa-vasa-sata-ketu-bhada-tit amara-deha-saṅghātam, which signifies, it appears, '[he leads out in procession] the nim-wood formation of the immortal body (i.e., statue) of His Highness Ketu who (flourished) thirteen centuries before'. One thinks involuntarily of the scene of the Bourgeois Gentilhomme with the son of the Grand Turk.

"For the purpose of record I reproduce here the translation of the same passage proposed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the same journal (vol. III, 496 et seq.): 'He caused the reputation of the feet (i.e., the worship) of the Jina to expand in the city of Pithudaga-dabha founded by former kings.'

"On the other hand, the first interpretation (of Lüders and Bhagvanlal) requires no special effort for its justification. The sense follows normally from the meaning of the verb karahiti. The verb kāsar is applied properly to ploughing, and therefore evokes by natural association of ideas the name of the plough, naṅgala (here nagala; cf. Pitudaga-Pithunda), this being the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit lāṅgala. Godabha-nagala seems to refer to a plough drawn by an ass. I do not remember in the texts any case of this kind, in which, in order to destroy a city, the conqueror causes the soil of it to be ploughed. But such action is by no means unlikely or inconceivable.

"Ptolemy, describing the towns in the interior of the country of the Maisūlai (VII. 1. 93), calls the capital Pitunda mētropolis. The country of the Maisūlai, or Maisūlia (VII. 1. 15), takes its name from the river Maisolos, which signifies the whole extent of the mouths of the Godāvari and the Kistna. The Periplus speaks of Massalia, instead of Maisūlia. This word has been for a long time connected etymologically with the first part of the well-known name Masulipatam. Maisūlia extends northwards to Paloura, or more precisely to the cape of the apheiron close to Paloura. The coast-towns Kontakosinya, Kodoura, Allosynē, and the inland towns Kalliga, Bardamana, Koroungkala, and Pharuta have not yet been identified. Ptolemy places Pitunda in the hinterland, between the mouths of the Maisolos and the Manadas, or in other words, between the deltas of the Godāvari and Mahānadi, at an equal
distance from both. We must therefore look for the site of the city between Chicacoel and Kalingapatam, if Ptolemy's information approximates to the truth. That being so, we are once more restricted to the tract of country, in which we have sought for the site of Dantapura, in the direction of the course of the Nagavali river, which is also named Languliya or 'the river of the plough.' The Imperial Gazetteer of India itself points to this derivation of the name: 'langula (Sanskrit), nágula (Telugu), a plough.' This designation, when associated with the memory of Pitunda, recalls the passage in the inscription, in which Khāravela boasts of having 'ploughed the soil of Pitunda with the plough.' Is it not possible that one of the names of the river perpetuates the memory of that unusual punishment?

"The transliteration of the Indian name Pitunda(m)da in the form Pitunda, used by Ptolemy, is normal. The Greek has a tendency to represent the actual sound of the Indian cerebrals by the addition of an ρ, as, for example, in the name of the Arašṭa of the Panjab, which is written Aratrioi in the Periplus (p. 47), and in the name of Kulindrinē in Ptolemy, which clearly corresponds with a form Kulinda, intermediate between Kulinda and Kuṇḍa.

"We remark, however, that Lassen, who dealt with an important collation of variants, always writes the name in the form Pitunda and not Pitunda (III. 202 and 281).

"The name Pitunda-Pitunda seems to be connected with the name of a people, of whom we obtain a glimpse in the Mahābhārata. In the seventh book, adhy. 50, the poet describes Yudishthira's army; on the left wing the Southern recension mentions the Tuhunda between the Agniwêśas and Mālavas (Agniwêśa Tuhunda cha Mālavah. . .). But this line is not found in the Calcutta and Bombay recensions. On the other hand, the Calcutta edition, three verses earlier, mentions among the rear-guard contingents the Hūndas, between the Paśaccharas and the Pauravakas: in this place the Southern recension and the Bombay text substitute the more familiar Paundras for the Hūndas. If the form Hūnda is correct, one ought clearly to find it in verse VI, 50, 52 of the Southern edition; and this we actually do, if we divide the words as follows:—Agniwêśa tu Hūnda cha. The name Tuhunda, however, appears elsewhere in the Mahābhārata, but as a personal name—the name of an Āsura, son of Danu (I. 65, 2533) who becomes incarnate on earth as king Senābindu (I. 67. 2655). Tuhunda is also the name of one of Dhitarāṣṭra's sons (I. 186. 6983 C; 201, 3 Southern).

"Pitunda had been founded by a king of old time for his abode (pavardjanivesita); it was a royal seat. Pitunda in Ptolemy's account is a metropolis, a capital. The agreement is complete. If Pitunda was really destroyed by Khāravela, it is natural that the name should not appear in later texts and passages. The mention of the name in a Jain canonical work would seem to offer fresh proof of the antiquity of Jain tradition. But in this case one necessarily feels some surprise at finding the name in Ptolemy's work, which is two or three centuries later than the date of Khāravela. One can only conclude in these circumstances that Ptolemy, in constructing his Tables, made direct or indirect use of original materials appreciably older than his own age. That is a point to be borne in mind, when one uses information embodied in Ptolemy's works."
THE MUTINY AT INDORE.
(Some Unpublished Records.)
BY H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.
(Continued from page 128.)
No. 432.
Mhow, July 8th, 1857.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of this day’s date, asking for advice regarding matters connected with the Malwah Contingent.

As I am in complete ignorance of what has already occurred at Mehidpore, may I beg that His Highness will inform me under what circumstances the men of the Contingent demand increased pay;—whether such demand was made known to, or sanctioned by, Colonel Durand;—what number and description of men still remain firm at Mehidpore;—what officers are with the Contingent;—and what amount of arrears of pay are due to the men. If His Highness will be good enough to order this information to be sent to me, I will gladly give him the best advice in my power.

I have etc.,

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

To Bhaoo Rao Ramchunder Rao.

No. 434.
Mhow, July 9th, 1857.

Sir,

On reconsidering the purport of your letter of the 8th instant, regarding the Malwah Contingent, I beg to offer the following advice to His Highness the Maharaja.

1. From what I have heard of Colonel Durand’s desire to benefit the condition of the men of the Contingent, I believe that the Acting Resident has applied for the sanction of Government to place them on the same footing as the native regiments of the line, with regard to pay, for the good behaviour of the artillery and infantry during the disturbances at Mehidpore. This application is, I think, certain to be attended to; but as no demand can be sanctioned if made by the Contingent in any other but a respectful and subordinate manner, I hope the men will well weigh the great advantages they will gain by continuing the conduct which has already met the approval of the Resident, and refrain from actions which will cause them to forfeit what they have so well earned.

2. As it is impossible that the good men of the Mehidpore Contingent can continue staunch without officers to encourage and support them, and as the whole of the officers of the Contingent have apparently at this time left Mehidpore, I think it would be very advisable, if the Maharaja would try and persuade Captain Fenwick to take command of the Contingent at the present moment.

3. Were Captain Fenwick to take this step at this crisis, maintain a proper state of discipline and subordination in the corps, and hold Mehidpore until properly reinforced at that station, I think the good service he would do the British Government would be thoroughly appreciated, and highly rewarded by it, and such service would also redound greatly to the credit of His Highness the Maharaja himself.

I have etc.,

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

The Bhaoo Rao Ramchunder Rao.

H.

Telegraph Message from Lord Elphinstone.

Directions have been sent to Captain Orr to move along the left bank of the Nerbudda to Barway, and join the advancing column from Aurungabad.
Maharaja Sahib,

I regret to hear from Oomed Sing that your Highness is under apprehension that your conduct will be misconstrued by the British Government. I have reported to the Bombay Government, for the information of the Supreme Government, everything that has occurred at Indore and Mhow since the lamentable outbreak on the 1st; and I feel assured that the simple record of your actions, showing your sincere desire to tranquillize your country, will be proof sufficient to Government of Your Highness' loyalty and good faith to your friend and ally.

I deeply regret that Colonel Durand should have left Indore under so mistaken an impression, as that your troops (over whom you had lost your control) were acting in accordance with your orders. Should Colonel Durand have, under this impression, reported to Government the attack on the Residency as instigated by yourself, I feel certain that your Highness' actions, as subsequently reported both by Captain Elliot and myself, will dispel the error, and prove convincingly to the Government that your wish is now, as it has always been, to be their firm friend and supporter, under whatever difficulties may beset you. Trusting that the expression of my firm convictions may allay your Highness' apprehensions.

I beg to subscribe myself,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

K.

To Colonel Durand,
Offg. Agent, Governor General, Central India.
Mhow Fort, July 12th, 1857.

My dear Sir,

Both Captain Elliot and myself have written to you, detailing events at Indore and Mhow; but, from your not having replied to our letters, I fear they must have miscarried.

I regret exceedingly your having quitted this part of the country, the more so, as you appear to have been under a mistaken impression regarding Holkar's intentions. Holkar was as helplessly under the control of his mutinous troops as we have ourselves been under that of ours. Since the mutineers from Mhow, joined by some of Holkar's troops (the whole headed by Saadut Khan, who attacked you), left Indore on the 4th, the Maharaja has done everything in his power to aid us in our efforts to tranquillize the country, and has shown by his actions his earnest desire to fulfil faithfully his duties to the British Government. Copies of correspondence which has passed between the Durbar and myself have been forwarded to you, which will prove the truth of what I state. The whole country is now in a tranquil state in the neighbourhood of Mhow. At Indore some of the Mahomedan troops are still in an excited and insubordinate state, and the Maharaja cannot yet control them; but as soon as the European troops advancing from Aurungabad reach this, it is the intention of the Maharaja to disarm all those on whom he cannot place dependence, and to punish severely those who have been implicated in any way in the late disorders. On my first telegraphing to Bombay the events at Indore and Mhow, a detachment of native troops, consisting of 400 Nizam's cavalry and a company of infantry, was pushed on by forced marches, under Captain Orr, for the relief of Mhow. But this fort, thanks to the hard labour of the Europeans, has been placed in such a state of defence, and we are so well provisioned, that it would take an army to attack it. The advance of native troops alone, would, in the excited state of the Maharaja's troops, do certain injury to the latter; and perhaps the relieving troops themselves might have suffered from coming within the influence of the religious excitement prevailing...
here. Under these circumstances I requested fresh orders regarding them; and Lord Elphinstone has ordered them to remain on the left bank of the Nerudda, until the arrival of the column from Aurungabad. On the 11th one column left Aurungabad, and another column left Bombay on the 9th. Two or three hundred dragoons here would be sufficient to place the whole of Malwah in as tranquil and peaceable a state as it was in, six months ago.

The Durbar report that some of their troops in the district have shown signs of disaffection, and several of the vakeels of petty States, who used to be in attendance at Indore, have left Indore. The impression that their superiors will receive from the absence of all political authorities from the seat of your agency, would have been so injurious that I have, during your absence, assumed political authority here, so far as to be able to communicate with the Maharaja, and advise him on subjects which were of much importance, and regarding which, in your absence, he was at a loss how to act. These matters I have reported in detail to Lord Elphinstone, and trust that, under the circumstances, I shall be borne out in what I have done.

My position here has been a difficult one; but I have acted to the best of my ability for the good of the service. Captain Elliot has been most kind in assisting me; and, had it not been for his advice and assistance in many matters, much would have been unthought of, which has been of great use and benefit. I trust that what I have said will induce you to return to Mhow. Your presence would restore confidence. The country itself is tranquil. A few European troops would enable Holkar to disarm those who were implicated in the late outbreak; and a small moveable force, to punish those tributaries of Holkar who have taken advantage of the disturbances at Indore to cause dissensions in their own petty districts, would be sufficient to bring the whole surrounding country under complete control.

The mutineers from Mhow and Indore are to-day at Pachore, moving as expeditiously as they can, on Agra or Delhi.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain.

L.

Telegraph Message from Lord Elphinstone, for delivery to Holkar.
13th July 1857.

I have received your Highness' 'Khureeta,' dated the 1st. The assurance of your regret at the part taken by your troops in attacking the Residency, and at the late unfortunate occurrences at Mhow and Indore, is very gratifying to me, and I trust that the Governor-General's Agent will soon return to Indore. General Woodburn has been obliged, from ill health, to give up command of the troops that are advancing to Mhow, but Colonel Stuart, who has succeeded him, is fully impressed with the necessity of using all practicable speed. I hope that your Highness will be able to maintain the tranquillity of the country until the reinforcements arrive.

M.

Answer to above.
July 14th, 1857.

Your Lordship's message has been delivered to Holkar; and he is most grateful for the manner in which his explanations have been received. A long letter has been forwarded by him for delivery to your Lordship, expressing his feelings of loyalty and attachment to the Government, and sorrow for what has occurred, which will be sent by letter Dak.

Captain Hutchinson, assistant to the Resident, with his wife, Mr. Stockly and family, and others, were taken prisoners, and Bhopawar burnt down and pillaged, by order of the Raja of Amjheera. Holkar, although Amjheera is a tributary of Scindiah, immediately
marched a force towards Amjheera, caused all the prisoners to be released, and they are expected here to-morrow. The responsibility of this step I have taken upon myself.

The Malwah Contingent still continues at Mehidpore. The Maharaja, at my suggestion, sent a confidential native officer to take command of the Contingent during the absence of its own officers. The men are yet in a very mutinous state; but it is hoped that they may be restrained from open outbreak, and kept at Mehidpore until other troops arrive there.

Holkar's troops are still excited and mutinous, but have as yet been kept quiet.

Colonel Durand has been written to, and Holkar's feelings and position explained to him.

N.
No. 28 of 1857.

To Major Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

Sir,

I have the honour, by desire of His Highness, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 440, of the 19th instant, with the annexed copy of a message from the Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay, and to express to his Lordship and to yourself His Highness' high sense of the obligations for the kind consideration shown to him in his peculiar situation, and the support you have throughout afforded him.

I have etc.,

(Signed) Ramchunder Rao.

[True copies,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.]

Indore, 21st July, 1857.

No. 439.

Mhow, July 17th, 1857.

Sir,

I have the honour to report for your information that the Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay, having ordered me to make over all correspondence with Holkar to Captain Hutchinson, who arrived at Mhow last evening, I have done so this day.

The Malwah Contingent, I am happy to say, still remains at Mehidpore. The Raja's Contingent, it is reported, has mutinied, and marched on Gwalior.

The situation of the Garrison at Saungor, and the straits, they will probably be reduced to, unless very quickly relieved, I reported to the Government of Bombay last evening and this morning, by telegraph.

No communication of any kind has been received by the Indore Durbar, or by me, from Colonel Durand. The accompanying letter will prove to Government the tranquillity which prevails at the present time throughout Holkar's territories; but there are many disaffected throughout the country, and it is urgently necessary, for the safety of Central India and the whole of Rajpootana, that a large body of Europeans should be sent to Mhow, to form a moveable column, as quickly as possible.

Having used my best endeavours to restore the confidence of the Maharaja of Indore, and to maintain order at Mhow, and through the surrounding country at a dangerous crisis, when the political authorities had relinquished their posts, I trusted that the Government would have had sufficient confidence in me to have allowed me to continue the work successfully commenced and carried through, until I could make it over to Colonel Durand. I regret
that this could not be permitted; that what I have done has been appreciated by the Maharaja and his Ministers, I trust the annexed letter will prove.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.

To the Secretary to Government, Bengal.

Palace, 14th July 1857.

My dear Sir,

It is, with the highest gratification, I read your yesterday's letter, together with the message from the Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay, to His Highness' address; and I offer my sincere thanks to you for the trouble you have taken in restoring the confidence of the two Governments. What I know from the feelings of His Highness, I can assure you that the assistance you have so kindly rendered to our Government at this crisis shall always be gratefully remembered, and the whole credit of smoothing the difficulties will always rest with you.

I remain, my dear Sir,
Yours very sincerely,

Captain T. Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.
(Signed) Ramchunder Rao.

[True copy,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding Bengal Artillery, Mhow.]

No. 883 of 1857.
Secret Department.

From H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay.
To Captain T. Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.

Dated 16th July 1857.

Sir,

I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 431, of the 10th instant, with accompaniments, relative to your further proceedings at Mhow, and to forward copy of a resolution thereon, passed by Government, under date the 15th instant.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) H. L. Anderson,
Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 16th July, 1857.

Resolution of the Board, Dated 15th July, 1857.

Resolved:
That receipt be acknowledged, and copies forwarded to the Government of India.
That Captain Hungerford be requested to continue his reports, which are perused by this Government with very great interest.
That officer may further be informed, that as far as this Government is able, in the absence of all local knowledge, to judge of his proceedings, they appear to have been characterised by judgment and resolution.
The Right Honourable the Governor in Council will feel the greatest pleasure in expressing to the Supreme Government his opinion that, in a most difficult position, Captain Hungerford has shown himself equal to the emergency.

[True copy,
(Signed) Elphinstone,
(Signed) J. C. Lumsden,

15th July, 1857.

(To be continued.)

(Signed) H. L. Anderson,
Secretary to Government.
MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

From the Collection made by the late Dr. W. Crooke, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

(Continued from page 133.)

V.

Songs at various ceremonies.

With Explanations by Rámgharb Chaubé.

1. A Kangan Song.

Recorded by Kaunhâyá Lál, a School-teacher of Kasáoli, District Agra.

Explanation by Rámgharb Chaubé.

The ceremony of untying the bride’s kangan is a survival of a custom of marriage by abduction, when there was a struggle between the bride and her husband, afterwards ceremonially represented by a mimic struggle.

Text.

Kangan ki ghuri gai gāññhī : kholo mērē Rāmjiwōnā.
Raj lāgat urī gai Ahālyā : tum Mārīch subhāvhanā.
Toryo dhanuk Janak ke dware : kahan gayo so zor ghenā ?
Kangan ki ghuri gai gāññhī : kholo mere Rāmjiwōnā.
Boli leu Kekai Sumitrā, tumhāre āp matā.
Kai bolo Kaushalyājī kūn : jānai dhari garab janā.
Kangan ki dhuri gai gāññhī kholo mere Rāmjiwōnā.
Hāri jāu kai Janak sutā son, jātej tihāro pran thanā.
Karo nhoro kai bhanjini ko, den kaho kachhā āp dhanā.
Kangan ki dhuri gai gāññhī kholo mere Rāmjiwōnā.
Pāti Rām ; Rām sakuchāne chit man lagyo dharanī tanā.
Khulatī nā gāññhī bhāi ghuñ gahi Janak Kuāwar ko prem sanā.
Kangan ki dhuri gai gāññhī kholo mere Rāmjiwōnā.

Translation.

The Bride’s party sings:—

The kangan knot is tied perfectly : open it, Rām of my life.
Like a flock of dust Ahālyā flew away, and you conquered Marīch. 66
You broke the bow at the door of Janak : whither has gone that power now ?

The kangan knot is tied perfectly : open it, Rām of my life.
Call Kekai and Sumitrā, your own mothers, 66
Or call Kaushalyā : she’ll be so proud to have borne you.

The kangan knot is tied perfectly : open it, Rām of my life.
Or be defeated by the daughter of Janak, with whom you are now contending,
Or fawn upon thy sisters-in-law and give them some money. 67

The kangan knot is tied perfectly ; open it, Rām of my life: says Pāti Rām 68:
Rāma felt ashamed and cast his glance upon the earth. 69
The knot was not opened as it was well fastened, till the daughter of Janak was awakened to love. 70

The kangan knot is tied perfectly ; open it, Rām of my life.

65 All the personages mentioned in the song are those in the story of Rāma and Sitā.
66 All the elderly women of a family are ‘mothers’ to the younger people. The inference is that if the bride-groom can’t untie the kangan, his “mothers,” the old women, might be able to do it.
67 Rāma’s sisters-in-law would be Sitā’s sisters.
68 The name of the composer of the song.
69 He thought that Sitā was the daughter of Mother Earth and hence he felt that he could not win the victory and hung his head for shame.
70 The daughter of Janak is Sitā, the wife of Rāma.
2. The kingdom of Bāsuk.

*Recorded by a School-teacher in the Village School at Datāwālī, District Agra.*

*Explanation by RāmghARB ChāUBE.*

This song comes from a high-caste Hindu family, and like others of its class, it complains of the dark skin of the bridegroom, the inference being that the "twice-born" Hindus came into India from a country where the skin of the people was fair. Hence the love of fairness on the part of the Hindu population of India.

*Text.*

Bābul, ek pachhitayo man raho:
Bābul, ek pachhitawo man raho.
Bābul, ham gori, bar sāmaro:
Bābul, ham gori, bar sāmaro.

2.

Beti, man pachhitawo janī karo:
Lālī, man pachhitawo janī karo.
Dhartī ke Bāsuk sāmaro:
Dhartī ke Bāsuk sāmaro.
Gokul ke Kanhaiyā sāmaro:
Gokul ke Kanhaiyā sāmaro.

3.

Kākul, ek pachhitawo man raho:
Kākul, ek pachhitawo man raho.
Chāchā, ek pachhitawo man raho.
Chāchā, ham gori, bar sāmaro.

4.

Beti, man pachhitawo mat karo:
Lālī, man pachhitawo janī karo.
Dhartī ke Bāsuk sāmaro:
Gokul ke Kanhaiyā saśāware.

5.

Beti, ghar hū pitā tihāre sāmaro.
Lālī, ghar hū chachā tihāre sāmaro.
Beti, ghar hū bīrn tihāre saśāware.
Lālī, ghar hū māñši tumhari sāwali.

6.

Lālī, aśi pachhatawā janī karo:
Lālī, aśi pachhatawā janī karo.
Beti, karam likho, so pāiye:
Lālī, karam likho, so pāiye.

*Translation.*

1.

*Father, there is one trouble in my mind:*

Father, there is one trouble in my mind.
Father, I am fair, my husband dark;
Father, I am fair, my husband dark.

2.

*Daughter, make no trouble for your mind:*

Darling, make no trouble for your mind.
Bāsuk, king of the Earth, is always represented as dark.

71 Vasuki, the Nāga king of the Lower World, is always represented as dark.
Básuk, king of the Earth, is dark.
Kanhaiyā72 of Gokul is dark:
Kanhaiyā of Gokul is dark:

3.
Uncle, there is one thing on my mind:
Uncle, there is one thing on my mind.
Uncle, there is one thing on my mind:
Uncle,73 I am fair, my husband dark.

4.
Daughter,74 make no trouble for your mind:
Darling, make no trouble for your mind.
Básuk, king of the Earth, is dark:
Kanhaiya of Gokul is dark.

5.
Daughter, in your very home your father is dark:
Darling, in your very home your uncle is dark
Daughter, in your very home your brothers are dark.
Darling, in your very home your uncle75 is dark.

6.
Darling, make no such trouble in your mind:
Darling, make no such trouble in your mind.
Daughter, what is written in one's fate doth one receive:
Darling, what is written in one's fate doth one receive.

3. A Mangal Song.

*Sung by a Brāhmaṇ of Chhivārā, District Farrukhabād, and recorded by Dr. W. Crooke.
Explanation by Rāmgharbā Chaube.*

This song illustrates the great chase taken by the maternal uncle in the marriage of his niece.

*Text.*

1.
Kāhe kāran bhai supāriyāū? Kāhe kāran kusum?
Kāhe kāran jeh dhī upjīn? Sajan, karō byōhār.
Pān chāban ko boin supāriyāū: rang ko boge kusum.
Nem dharam ko e dhī upjīn. Sajan, karō byōhār.

2.
"Dhāo, re nauā: dhāwo, re baiyā: dhāy khabarī lai āyo.
Aggim dhundho: Pachchhim dhundho: dhundo dhur Gujārāt.
Ketik log barātī aye? Ketik nautik hār?"
"Assi piyāā: sau aswār: barātī or na chhor."

3.
Itani jo sunī bābul mere kampe, "Ab, dhī, rahāhu kuāārī.
Bhāt rāādh mere māmā dihain: chāchul karāhū biyah.

72 Kanhaiyā = Krishna, who as king of Gokula, is also always represented as black.
73 The bride addresses both maternal and paternal uncles in the vernacular.
74 All girls in a family are "daughters" to the older generation.
75 Māāsi is mother's sister's husband: uncle-in-law.
4.
Vyâhi chalo Darsath ke betâ : lai chalo rath baithay.
Unche unche gai palakiyâ : nihalen gaye aswar.
Bâgh tale hoyâ nikari, palakiyâ, koyal shabd sunây.

5.
"Ab ka bolai, pyari koilîyâ?
Chhârâ bâbûl ko âtan ; pâtân nirn mal kokh
Chhârâ bhâway ki râm rosot.
Yâ biran ki abhilakh dhumâi.

Translation.

1.
"Why was born the betel-nut ? Why was born the saffron-flower ?
Why was born this little girl ? Son-in-law, perform the marriage ceremony.
Betel-nuts were born for making pân : the saffron-flower for dying.
This little girl was born for virtue : Son-in-law, perform the marriage cere-
mony.

2.
"Run, ye barbers : run ye leaf-dish makers, and bring us news.
Search the East, search the West : search ye for Gujârât.
How many have come to the procession ? How many have come as guests ?"[76]
"Eighty on foot : a hundred on horse-back : the procession is innumerable."[77]

3.
Hearing this my father trembled. "Now, my daughter, remain a virgin."
"Be not afraid, my father : my father, grieve not : make arrangement for
lodging the procession.
My maternal-uncle will feed them with rice : my uncle will see we married."

4.
Darsath’s son[78] started on the marriage procession : he took his bride in a
chariot.
The bride’s palanquin went on the high-road ; the riders went on the paths
beside it.
When the palanquin passed out of the garden, the koil sounded his note.

5.
"What sayest thou[79], dear koil ?
I am leaving now my father and my mother’s pure lap[80].
I am leaving the food cooked by my brother’s wife,
And my brother for whom my heart will always burn.

4. Chhand Pârhnâ Verses.

Recorded by Râmgharb Chaubâ from the lips of Pandit Jorî Lâl of Sahâranpur.

Explanation by Râm Ghârib Chaubâ.

These verses (dohâs) are repeated by bridegroom to the women of the bride’s family.

Text.

1.
Lat lâgat chhutat nahin ; jibh chönch jari jat,
Kyâ Kachhu mithâ agni mû ? Kyoû chakor chung jât ?

2.
Pâwak chungat arek rit ; bhasm kasang ko ang.
Sheo bhûthi nastak charhai, tan pûûn satsang.

[76] So far the father has been speaking.
[77] This is the messenger’s reply.
[78] I.e., Râma, the typical bridegroom.
[79] The bride is again speak.
[80] kâkh = kûkh ; lit. stomach, womb.
Translation.

1. A habit is not left, though tongue and beak be burnt. What sweetness is there in fire? Why does the partridge eat it?

2. It is right to eat fire, to get the body burnt. Shiva puts ashes on his body, then he has the company of the well-behaved.

3. Arani rati karan pai, ta daddi sat dhar din
Bhanu yoti parbad hah; tab kirne chug lin?

4. Haśśa chhor, chakor chug; Karanyahi Jamal?
Haśśa janyo agni hai; lawar swet hai kah.

Translation.

3. A woman painted her hand red and placed a pearl in it. When the sun shone brightly: who picked it up?

4. The swan left it, but the partridge picked it up: Jamal asks why?

The swan thought the red hand was fire and the pearl its burning flame which meant death.

5. Going to the Bridegroom’s house.

Sung by Râm Kishn, a Brâhma, and recorded by Hriday Râm, a Brâhma of Dehrâ.

Explanation by Râmharib Chauhe.

The interest of this song lies in the fact that firstly, it shows that marriages were formerly celebrated in the winter, E.g., Râma himself was married in Aghan. Secondly, it shows that the bride has a great dislike to her husband’s unmarried sisters. This last is a common situation.

Text.

Bârambar maâi puchho, meri babal; kis ritu karoge byah, ji?
Sawâno howai, beti; Bhâdon no howai: Kâtik men karengi byâh, ji.
Sât shakal ka bâbi mandwârachwâo, unehe chunâwô chatsâl, ji.
Am tab Korî merâ dolwâ re nikasâ: koyal shabad sunawai, ji.
Tum kyoâ bolai, harîyâli re koyal? Maiû chhorâ bâbal ko desh, ji.
Agar bhi chhorâ; bagar bhi chorâ; chhorî nagar ki sâm, ji.
Ki ham âwaî, bâbi, kâ prayojuan? Ki ho ham chhakî chhamâs, ji?
Ham hain, meri bâbi, châmak chiriyâ; urî kar par ghar jâyangî, ji.
Pahile manri meri ghar phuawâ; pher manri susurâl, ji.
Mâyâr rowar, meri pîlki bhijai; bâbul ghar ganbhî, ji.
Bairî rowawera mera mukh dhar ancha; bhâwaj ânand badhâwâ, ji.

Translation.

Continually I ask, my father: when shall I be married?
Not in Sawai, daughter, not in Bhâdon: in Katik will you be married.

There shall be built a marriage-shed of six kinds, and also high throne, my dear.

My palanquin was placed by Koris under a mango tree, and the koil raised its voice.

O koil of the greenery, why dost thou sing? I am leaving my father’s country.

81 These verses are clearly a riddle and its answer. The chakor or partridge is asked the riddle in the first stanza and it replies in the second: he who burns himself or is burnt, is reduced to ashes and these ashes are rubbed on the forehead of the image of Shiva (Mahâdeo).
82 Jamâl is the composer’s name and he asks the question, because the pearl is the swan’s food (mythologically) and not the partridge’s.
83 Here again we have a riddle and its answer, both being conventional.
84 That is not in Summer, not in Autumn, but in Winter.
I have deserted my home; deserted my country; deserted my village precincts.

Shall I return, dear, for kaj prayojan ceremony? Shall I return after six months?

I am a wandering bird, my dear, destined to fly to another’s home.

First my father’s sister waves the lamps (round my head), and then it will be my father-in-law’s sister.

When my mother weeps, my palanquin is wetted (with her tears) and my father’s home is heavy.

(Even) my enemies weeping catching at my veil: but my brother’s wife rejoices (to see me go).

6. The Bridegroom comes.

 Recorded by Tulshi Rám, a teacher in Lālpūr, District Alīgarh.

 Text.

Bhino barnā awai.
Bharat Shatrughnā sang haiū jāke: galiān dhūm machāwai.
Gāwat guni; muni jan nāchat; Indra nishān bajāwaiū.
Janam suphal jo kinho chāhō, yā meh manhi lagāwai.
Jo tero man yāmeē āwai, Yam ke jāl chhurāwai.
Ram-sakhī ko pyārā barnā rahase, rahāsī gun gāwai.

Translation.

The young bridegroom comes.

Bharata and Satrughna are with him: there is noise in the streets.
The skilled are singing: the saints are dancing: Indra plays on the drums.
If you would make life profitable, attach your heart to him.
If you attach your heart to him, you will be freed from the share of Yama. 85
Ram-sakhī 86 loves the bridegroom with delight, and sings a song of delight.

7. An Arati song.

 Recorded by Rāmgharib Chaube.

Explanation by Rāmgharib Chaube.

This is a song sung when lamps are waved round the head of the bridegroom or bride.
It has many points of interest in it. For instance it, with other marriage ceremonies, has
reference to the matriarchate and descent through women, as it is the bridegroom’s (or
bride’s) sister or father’s sister that must wave the lamps in preference to any other relative.
In this song, too, it is sea-water that is most propitious and more lucky than “sacred earth”
or “cow-dung,” and this is an important point to observe. So also is the way in which the
use of betel is mentioned.

Text.

Eri gobarū, gobari matiyajo milai; bidhi mulai samundar ko nīr. Mere au Paṇḍit,
kara ārto.
Eri Paṇḍit, Paṇḍit phir ghar jaṭhu; meri au phuphū kara arto.
Eri phuphu, punchhaingī, punchhai athaalāh bát betī kā har lāgo arto.
Eri, lāgai haï; lāgai hain pān pachās; rupāi lāgai hain deh sau.

Translation.

O the cowdung, the cowdung and the earth is found: it would be luck to find the sea
water. Paṇḍit, wave the lamps.
O Paṇḍit, Paṇḍit, go home again: my father’s sister will wave the lamps.
O my father’s sister will ask many questions of the articles for the daughter’s lamp-
wavering.
O they are ready: fifty (birdūs) of betel are ready; and rupees are ready, a hundred
and a half.

(To be continued.)

85 The god of death.
86 The author.
THE FAIR AT PAKPATTAN AT THE TOMB
OF BABU FARID SHAKARGANJ.

The great attraction at this annual Fair is the opening of the Gate of Heaven. Many are the stories current of the wonderful powers of the great saint Babu Farid Shakarganj, the most authentic being one of which the guardians of the tomb produce proofs. The Baba, so the story goes, was sitting on the roadside outside the town, when a caravan of merchants with their camels loaded up with fruit passed him. The Baba asked for some of their fruit, and, on being refused, warned the merchants that on their arrival at the town, they would find their fruit turned to stone. The merchants laughed and passed on, not knowing who it was they had offended. When, however, they unloaded their camels, to their dismay they found the curse had come true, and their fruit been turned to stone. Are there not specimens of these stones bearing the shape of apples, pears, &c., to be seen at the holy man’s tomb!

When eventually the Baba went the way of all flesh, it was published far and wide that whoever passed through his tomb between sunset and sunrise on the new moon in August, would be forgiven the sins of the past year, and the Fair became established for the benefit of the town and the faithful attending it.

The fame of this Fair spread as far as the Northwest Frontier and down to the United Provinces; consequently it was attended by the burly Balseh with his large turban and flowing white robes, the stalwart Pathan with kulla (conical cap) and tightly-tied payri (headdress), and the Punjabi and down-country Muhammadan, all bent on the fun of the Fair, the forgiveness of sins, and the renewal of old acquaintanceships. The Hindu population, though they could not pass through the door, made the most of the opportunity to sell sweetmeats and other delights, and make new and look up old customers who were worth cultivating.

On the final night of the Fair, when the Gate is to be opened, all the gates of the town are closed, and the pilgrims collect at them, waiting the signal from the guardians of the tomb that the sun has set. On the signal (a rocket) being given, the Gates are opened, and a struggling mass of sweating humanity passes through and up the narrow street of the town till it reaches the tomb, and goes through it in single file. No women are allowed through the tomb, so the menfolk have to go through for their mothers, sisters, cousins, and aunts, and a continuous stream of pilgrims passes through till dawn. At sunrise the door is shut, and the chance of forgiveness of last year’s sins ends.

They are an orderly lot, these penitents, and look upon the whole thing as a huge joke, the greater number of them; others take it more seriously, and so it was that one year when the crowd were moving very slowly the police used the light switches they had in their hands to hurry them up. Instead of resenting this attention, the people rather courtesied being hit, and on making inquiries it transpired that among a certain class of Muhammadans the belief exists that between earth and Heaven there is a bridge composed of naked sword blades with gaps in it, and below Hell the faithful cut their feet, but they get across; the bad lots fall through the gaps. The police switches represented the sword blades, and the people who got hit considered they had cut their feet, and so were doubly sure! So, having got rid of last year’s sins, why not start a fresh account? And if on the way home a stray buffalo gives a young man the opportunity of purloining it, and thus proving himself “a man” (for in these cattle-lifting areas no young fellow is a man till he has lifted his first head of cattle), why neglect the chance?

R. R.

BOOK-NOTICES.


Malabar is specially fortunate in foreign sources for its history. From the time of Vasco da Gama’s arrival, and the Portuguese settlement at Cochin, there has been a large mass of official and non-official records in European languages dealing with social and political conditions in Malabar. The Dutch sources are particularly valuable, and have been left practically untapped by students of South Indian history. They vary from important state papers, a great mass of which has been analysed and classified in the Madras Secretariat Press List, to occasional memoranda and gossip letters like the text of the work before us. Visscher’s Letters from Malabar, whose value as a secondary document of Kerala history is considerable, has for sometime been a very rare book. Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon has rendered a distinct service to South Indian historical studies in republishing Visscher’s text together with explanatory notes and criticism.

Jacobus Canter Visscher was a chaplain at Cochin between 1717-1723. He was a keen and generally unprejudiced observer, and his impression of Malabar and description of events of which he himself had direct knowledge are extremely valuable as a contemporary source. But unfortunately Visscher did not confine himself to narrating contemporary events. As he himself observes, he was moved to write on “the manners and customs of the people, their laws, rites and ceremonies, the description of their kingdom, as well as their origin and their modes of government and other similar subjects.”
On this rather extensive catalogue of subjects our author is necessarily a very unsafe guide. The social customs, usages, and political institutions of Malabar are so peculiar that even those who have taken special pains and devoted a lifetime to their study are liable to be led into serious mistakes; and Visscher, whose experience of Malabar extended only to five years of stay at the Dutch settlement, could hardly be expected to do anything more than repeat the vague notions current on these subjects among his countrymen. Nor is he particularly reliable when he describes matters affecting the Portuguese, the traditional enemies of his state. Yet, his letters are not without value to the careful student, as giving a picture of the political and social conditions of Malabar as it appeared to an educated and observant foreigner.

The value of these "Letters" was first recognised by Major Heber Drury, who was assistant Resident at the Court of Travancore in the fifties of the last century. Major Drury translated and edited the book, and the present edition is based on it. Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, who is the author of the voluminous Notes published along with the text, was a scholar of some aptitude and great application, and published in Malayalam a "History of Cochin" in two volumes. The present volume, though called by the editor the History of Kerala, has no such pretensions, as Mr. Padmanabha Menon himself refers to it as his "Notes on Visscher's Letters."

The Notes and discussions which form the body of the work are of varying merit and interest. Mr. Padmanabha Menon's method of historical discussion is rather an old fashioned one and consists mainly in quoting the contradictory views of previous writers, without discussing either their reliability as historical material or the conclusions to be drawn therefrom. On every question, however unimportant, Mr. Menon makes a display of extracts from old travellers, and navigators, without arriving at any kind of a definite conclusion. For this kind of scholarship the publications of the Hakluyt Society afford ample scope, and Mr. Menon seems to have depended entirely on them. Whenever he ventures on an independent conclusion, he goes astray, sometimes even in most elementary things. Thus the discussion on the origin of the word Malabar leads him to the conclusion that it is derived from Mala-varam, the valley of the hills, into which conclusion he was evidently misled by a similarity of sounds. Malabar is a name which the Malayalis have so far refused to use for their country except in English. The indigenous population call the land Kerala, or Mala nad or Malayalam, but never either in literature or in common parlance Malavaram. The first use of the word Malabar is by Al-Beruni, and following him the Muhammadan travellers and geographers used its variants. That the suffix 'bar' of Malabar has nothing to do with 'varam' is clear from other Muhammadan geographical names like Zanzibar and the Soubah of Mu'bar (constituted by Mahomed Tuglaq). The origin of the word is clearly Arabic.

Many of the Notes included in this volume are entirely unconnected with history and could by no stretch of imagination find admittance in a volume purporting to deal with the history of Kerala. Full 16 pages are devoted to the details of rice cultivation, the kind of soil required for it, the varieties now in use, and a discussion as to whether the grain was known to the Greeks—subjects which may be of interest to the student of agriculture, but are out of place in a historical work. Almost a whole chapter (34 pages) is devoted to a description of indigenous diseases, and about 12 pages are taken up with a description of the mud-banks in certain places. "Customs at deaths and coronations" take about twenty pages, and about 10 pages are devoted to a discussion as to whether animal food is permitted to the Hindus according to the Vedas.

The reader who, misled by the name, opens this "History of Kerala" to know something of the political evolution of that country, will thus be greatly disappointed. Even so far as ordinary editing is concerned, the book leaves much to be desired. Many inaccuracies of an obvious character have crept in, which do not reflect credit on the editor. The Rt. Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali is alluded to as Sir Amir Ali. The names of books cited are incorrectly put down and the spelling of places and names has no uniformity. Vasco da Gama is spelt Vasco de Gama in certain places. It is to be hoped that in the two more volumes which are promised, the editor will take greater care about these matters, and also use his discrimination in the selection of Notes likely to be useful to the historical student.

K. M. P.

A Sketch of the Life of Sarmad, by Khan Sahib Maulavi 'Abdul-Wali. JASB, N.S., vol. XX, 1924, No. 3.

In this Journal, vol. XXXIX, Maulavi 'Abdul-Wali published a preliminary account of the Sufi Saint known as Sarmad, and in vol. LII, a letter of Dārā Shikoh to him. In this pamphlet he gives us a more detailed account of the saint. He has in fact hunted up all the authorities. Sarmad seems to have been a Jew converted to Islam, and to have become a nude ascetic and a poet with very important influence. He was a personal friend of Dārā Shikoh and is said to have prophesied the succession of that prince to the Mughal throne at Delhi. He would clearly then come under the ban of Aurangzeb, and on enquiry, under that Emperor's orders, by orthodox divines, he was put to death for heretical opinions soon after Aurangzeb's accession in A.H. 1071 or A.D. 1661-62. He is an important poet, and his tomb in Delhi is still venerated with offerings of flowers and lighted candles. The Khan Sahib has done well to put together all that is known of him.

R. C. Temple.
TWO TAMIL HYMNS FOR THE MARGAZHI FESTIVAL.

TRANSLATED BY A. BUTTERWORTH AND PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

The two Tamil hymns which appear below have not, I believe, been previously translated into English prose, though a loose, metrical paraphrase of the first appeared in the Viṣṇuśāstravaiṭṭi, edited by A. Govindāchārya, in 1906, and Dr. G. U. Pope’s Tiruvellakāram contains a good and close poetical version of the second. The hymns bear the titles Tiruppaṇai and Tiruvambāṇai respectively, and were written for the purposes of a ceremony performed by young women in the month Mārgazhi (December–January).

The first hymn is the work of the poetess Kōdai, better known by her religious name Āndāl, and may be assigned to about the eighth century. It is a curious medley of the devotional and familiar styles, and is raised out of the ranks of the commonplace by some natural touches, such as are too rare in Indian literature. Each verse ends with an invocation of Śrī as ‘the Lady,’ coupled with the words ēl or which may be taken to be a mere refrain, although some attach a meaning to them. The hymn is supposed to be sung by a bevy of girls living in a village belonging to the caste of cowherds.

The first verse may be regarded as addressed to the Gopīs of Kṛṣṇa or to the girls of the village, and in it the singers profess confidence that they will obtain Salvation.

Verses 2, 3 and 5 give the nature of the ceremony and its consequences. Verse 4 is an interjected prayer for rain addressed to Kaṇṇan, an elemental God. Verses 6 to 15 show the band of girls, bathed and ready for the ceremony, going round at dawn from house to house waking up other girls who have overslept themselves. In verse 16 the party reach the temple, which is regarded as inhabited by Kṛṣṇa and his divine and semi-divine associates, and verses 10 to 23 are occupied with requests that the temple door may be opened and that Kṛṣṇa will awake and appear. Verses 24 to 29 are addressed to Viṣṇu in his various forms, and the last formal verse contains the name of the author of the poem.

The second of the two hymns is the work of the not inconsiderable poet Mānikka Vāsagar, who may be assigned to the ninth century or thereabouts. It deals with the same ceremony, but from the point of view of a Śaiva. The band of girls is presented singing in front of the temple. In the first eight verses they implore the spouse, or female counterpart, of Śiva to open the temple door and the God to awake. The professional devotees of Śiva are also asked to show favours to the suppliants. Verse 9 describes the sort of husbands the girls want. Verse 10 is in part addressed to the dancing-girls attached to the temple. Verses 11 to 14 are descriptive of the bathing in the sacred tank. Verse 15 contains a reference to an ancient female devotee of Śiva, known as the Mother of Karaiñkaḷ, whose legend is given in Dr. Pope’s Tiruvellakāram. Verse 16 consists of a prayer for rain and a comparison between the appearance of the goddess and the accompaniments of the monsoon storms. Verses 17 and 18 are eulogistic of the God. Verse 19 is a prayer for pious hearts and husbands. Verse 20 is the final cry of adoration. The poem is somewhat obscure in parts.—A.B.

Hymn (1).

1. In the month of Mārgaḷi, on the auspicious day of the full moon,

O ye the bezewelled ones, come those of you who wish it, let us go and bathe.

O ye, the dear young maidens of the prosperous herdsmen’s village,

He, the son of Nandagōpan who doth stern deeds with his lance.

1 There is no direct evidence in the works of Āndāl for her date. It depends upon that of Periyālvār. The historical reference to a Pāṇjya Tēr-Maran Vallabhadēva will have to settle it.

2 Attention is invited to a supplementary note of mine at the end. The following notes are intended to elucidate points about which some ambiguity is possible—Ed.

3 The expression madimigninda māṇai—literally, the good day when the moon is full.

4 The second word in the line means—those who wish to go and bathe; the last term is vocative.

5 The sharp spear is that of the father Nanda, and not of the sun Kṛṣṇa.
He, the lion whelp of Yasódai of the long and beauteous eyes,
He, dark as a cloud, fiery-eyed, with countenance effulgent with the lustre of sun
and moon,
That Nárāyan HImself, shall upon us bestow “Service unto Him”?
Come, let us go to bathe that the world may praise us. El Or, Our Lady.

2. O ye who dwell prosperously on earth, hark ye the ceremonies
Which we perform for our Lady. After hymning
The Supreme who within the sea of milk softly slumbereth,
We will not take ghee, we will not take milk. After bathing at dawn,
We will not paint our eyes (with collyrium), we will not bind our hair with flowers.
Things not meet to be done we will not do. We will not go astray to talk evil of others.
Charity and alms we will tender to the utmost of our ability,
And take joy in meditating upon the Way of Life. El Or, Our Lady.

3. If, chanting the name of the Best who towered aloft and measured the earth
And in the name of our Lady, we do bathe,
Without fail over all the land thrice a month the showers will fall;
In the midst of the tall, tawny rice the carp will leap;
In the opening buds of the blooming kuvalai the mottled bees will sleep;
From the great cows of generous yield we shall receive milk in potfuls,
When their dripping teats are pressed by tireless hands;
Unending prosperity we shall be endowed with. El Or, Our Lady.

4. O Kaṇṇa (Krishṇa) controlling clouds charged with heavy rain, abate not in your
generosity.
Let the rain-cloud plunge into the Deep, suck and drink up and rise again,
Grow dark of body as the form of the Primal First,
Like the war-quoit in the hand of broad-shouldered Parpanāban (Padmanābhaha)
Flash, like his right-handed-conch reverberate,
Like the rain of arrows unceasingly discharged by the Śārgam (the bow of Vishṇu),
Pour down upon the earth and make it prosper. We, too,
Shall rejoice in the Mārgaḷi bath. El Or, Our Lady.

5. The Great Enchanter, the son of abiding northern Madura,
The Lord of the pure, great waters of the Yamunai ghat,
The jewelled lamp which shed lustre on the herdsmen’s caste,
Dāmādaran, who illumined his mother’s womb,
Him, if we in purity approach and worship with scattering of pure blossoms,
If we unto Him sing with the mouth and upon Him meditate with the mind,
Sins already committed and those to which the roads of entry lie open
Will verily be as cotton in fire. Do ye therefore recite His name. El Or, Our Lady.

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8 The face had the brilliance of the sun, and the pleasant light of the moon.
9 The word parav is not here the drum. It is a derivative meaning from the original “announcement by beat of drum”, here promise of salvation, or whatever else may be desired by the devotee.
10 The idea underlying the whole is that the bathing and worship of the image of the goddess is intended as a prayer for rain. In the guise of celebrating this festival the young maidens of the cowherd settlement pray for the attainment of the company of Krishna. This old festival is a device, by which the authoress exhibits her devotion to Krishna and enjoys in imagination the company of, and service to, God.
9 The word Sārī implies giving the name of the Supreme to the image as an excuse, and has the sense of reciting the holy scriptures on festivals as the finishing ceremony. “Dedicate” would perhaps come nearest in sense.
10 The first two words of line 6 have to be construed with drawing milk.
6. Hark how the birds chirp! Heard ye not the roar,
   In the temple of the king\textsuperscript{11} of birds (Garuḍa the carrier of Vishnu), of the white
   summoning conch?
   Child, wake up! Holding in their hearts Him
   Who drank the poison from the Demon's breast,
   Whose foot aloft the guileful Śagadam (Cult) all shattered sent,
   Who, the Primal Cause of all, doth lie tranquil on the serpent in the flood,
   Him, the gently awakening sages\textsuperscript{12} and devotees call 'Hari';
   The pleasing sound of this great name was balm unto our hearts. El Ór, Our Lady.

7. Deluded girl,\textsuperscript{13} do you not hear everywhere
   The chirping cries of Ānaich-chōttan (the lark), sounding in all their mingled notes?
   Do not you hear the rustling of the clotted milk
   Swished about by fragrant-haired dairymaids with tireless arms,
   As they churn to the jingle of the coins and gold on their necks?
   O queen of maids! hearing them sing of Nārāyaṇa
   In the form of Kēṣava, would you still lie in bed?
   Open the door, you of divine radiance. El Ór, Our Lady.

8. The eastern sky whitens and, look, loosened for a spell,\textsuperscript{14}
   Buffalo have scattered to graze. Girls eager to go,
   We keep them from going and wait here,
   Because we have come to call you. Wake up dear young\textsuperscript{15} lady,
   Dearest to Him. Singing and serving,
   If we but go to worship the great God of Gods
   Who ripped the steed's mouth and wrecked the Strong Ones,
   Pitying, His grace He will give. El Ór, Our Lady.

9. O daughter of my mother's brother slumbering upon cushions
   In the mansion fairly bejewelled, where lamps burn around
   And smoke smells sweet, draw back the bolt of the bejewelled door.
   Aunt, has dullness indeed fallen on your daughter,
   Or deafness or drowsiness, or is she under a spell of deep, enchanted sleep?
   Will ye not wake her up with the names "Great Māyān", "Mādavan", "Vaikunthan",
   El Ór, Our Lady.

10. O you, Madam, who seek to enter Heaven through service!
    Should not those who will not open their portals at least give an answer?
    Has that Kumbakarṇa, who one day of old
    Fell into the mouth of Death, bestowed on you his own prolonged slumbers,
    Vanquished though he was? That Nārāyaṇa, who is crowned with scented basil,
    Will to us the Message send, if we but worship Him.
    O you exceedingly drowsy person, O you precious jewel!
    With unaltering steps come and open to us. El Ór, Our Lady.

\textsuperscript{11} It is not the Bird that is King, but it is the King whom the Bird serves.
\textsuperscript{12} The sages hold Him in their hearts and utter the name Hari in consequence. The sound of this
   utterance, going into our ears, relieves our pain and gives us pleasure eternal. The word Hari must be
   uttered three times as one gets up from bed in the early morning.
\textsuperscript{13} The literal meaning is a girl possessed, but the feeling is one of pity, not of anger or disgust.
\textsuperscript{14} Siyu Vīḍu means literally 'letting out for a short while,' and refers to the habit of sending out
   buffaloes for early grass.
\textsuperscript{15} Kōdākula, Sans. Kutāhala, eager joy; joy in being acceptable to him.
11. O golden tendril among the blameless herdsmen
   Who milk many herds of cows with calf at foot,
   And march to war upon foes whose valour perishes in the fight!
   O you whose Mount of Desire is (shaped like the hood of) the snake from the anthill,
   O peafowl of the dry-waste! come out.
   When all the girl-friends of the tribe have come,
   And in your courtyard are singing the name of Him whose colour is that of the cloud,
   What means it that you, the cherished wife,
   Unmoving and speechless sleep on? Él Ór, Our Lady.

12. O dear young sister of the rich man, whose bellowing buffalo with young calf,
   Her longing thoughts fixed on the calf, stands with trickling udder and the oozing milk
   Wets the house floor and turns it into mud.
   We cling to your outer gate, our heads wet with dew,
   Singing of Him, dear to our hearts, who in wrath destroyed
   The king of yon southern Ilangai; even so you open not your lips.
   And now at least arise. How deep your sleep has been!
   And those who live around are awake. Él Ór, Our Lady.

13. All the girls, singing the fame of Him
   Who tore the bird's mouth, who crushed the heads of, and destroyed, the evil-doing
   Râksasa (Râvana),
   Have reached the place where the images are set up.
   Venus has risen and Jupiter has gone to rest;
   Listen how the birds sing, you whose eyes are like the bee in the bud.
   Joining us not in the cool water,
   Will you still be lying abed, my lady dear? On this holy day
   Have done with your tricky ways, Él Ór, Our Lady.

14. In the pond amid the garden in your backyard
   The red water-lily has opened its mouth, and the āmbal has begun to close.
   Even the penitents, with their teeth clear white, their garments coloured red with ochre,
   Are going to do worship in their holy temple.
   Ah, you madam, who promised to wake us first,
   Ah, you shameless one so ready with words, get up.
   Let us sing to the Lotus-eyed who with stout hands
   Upholds the conch-shell and the war-quoit. Él Ór, Our Lady.

15. "Oho, young parrot, are you still asleep?"
   "Oh do not scream so, girls, I am coming."
   "Sly one! we know your promises and talk of old."
   "You are good at talk yourselves; let me be that."
   "Be quick and come, what else have you to do?"
   "Have all come?" "Yes, come and yourself count."
   "They have all come to sing of Him who killed the strong elephant, who is strong
   To overthrow and destroy His foes, the Great Enchanter." Él Ór, Our Lady.

16. O guardian of the mansion of Nandagópan, our liege-lord,
   O guardian of the festooned portico under the flagstaff,
   Draw back the bolt of the bejewelled door.

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16 This expression refers to the habitually white teeth of the mendicant celebrants, as opposed to other men whose teeth require to be cleaned because of the use of betel, etc. Mendicants are forbidden the use of this. Hence the name bhadana for certain classes of these from this peculiarity.
To us, the neatherds' maidens, even yesterday
The Great Enchanter of sapphire blue gave us promise of the message.
And so, all pure, have we come to sing the Awakening.
Spoil not all with a word of refusal at the very beginning, dear one. Do thou
Draw back the friendly door from the post. Él Ór, Our Lady.

17. O Thou who dost bestow freely in charity, clothing, water, rice,
Our Prince Nandagópanal, rise thou up.
O thou, the loveliest amongst all the lovely ones, lamp of thy caste,
Our Princess Yasodáy, return to consciousness.
O Thou who, towering aloft, pierced the sky and measured the earth,
King of the gods, slumber not but rise Thou up.
O Blessed One, O Baladéva, with feet encircled with anklets of ruddy gold,
Thou and Thy younger brother too, sleep ye not. [Él] Ór, Our Lady.

18. O Nappinnáy, daughter-in-law of Nandagópanal,
The rider of the bull-elephant in full mast, the dauntless, strong-shouldered one;
O Lady of the fragrant-smelling hair; open the portal.
Hark how the assembled cooks are crowing.
Hark, the flocks of cuckoos have more than once, on the bowers of mádávi, called.
O Thou with finger-tips deft at holding back, while we chant the name of Thy cousin,
Come, and with red-lotus hand, thy golden bracelets all tinkling,
Joyfully open. Él Ór, Our Lady.

19. Upon the bed supported on elephants' tusks and all ablaze with lamps,
Raised aloft on the soft, five-fold couch,
Reclining on the bosom of Nappinnai whose hair is twined with flowers,
O Thou broad-chested One, open Thy mouth.
And Thou with the large, black eyes!
Lo, how long hast Thou refused to let Thy husband arise from sleep?
If, even for a moment, Thou art not able to bear separation,
Surely such conduct is not in keeping with your nature or your feelings. Él Ór, Our Lady.

20. O Strong One! who, standing before the three and thirty Immortals,
Removest their fear,17 arise from sleep.
Possessed of righteousness, possessed of courage, O Holy One
Who visitest Thy foes with affliction, arise from sleep.
And Thou with soft rounded breast, red lips and small waist,
O Lady Nappinnai, O Tíru (Srí), arise from sleep,
And bringing fan and mirror18, this instant
Do Thou send us to bathe with Thy spouse. Él Ór, Our Lady.

21. O Son of him who is owner of herds of great, generous kine
Which pour out milk unceasingly, so that the copious yield
Doth make the upheld pots brim over, wake up;
O Thou, the wise One, the great One;
O Brilliant One, who standeth conspicuous in the world; arise from sleep.
Just as Thy foes, their strength all perished, unable to endure Thy valour,

17 Kappam is here Sans. kampa = shaking through fear, hardened for euphony.
18 These are auspicious articles presented at awakening.
Come to Thy threshold and adore Thy foot,
So have we come, praising and glorifying. Él Ór, Our Lady.

22. Like as kings of the fair, great earth, losing all their pride,
Come and, beneath thy couch of rest,
Assemble in crowds, so we approach Thee and await Thy Grace.
And, like lotus-blossoms, forming mouths of bells
Will not Thy red eyes open on us in ever so slight a glance of Grace?
If on us should light the full glance of those two beauteous eyes,
Like the very moon and sun arising,
The curse of life would for ever slip from off us. Él Ór, Our Lady.

23. As in a cavern of the deadly mountains a glorious lion,
Lying motionless and asleep, waketh up and glareth like fire,
Then with bristling mane, convulsed and quivering,
Riseth in his might, roareth and issueth forth,
So do Thou whose colour is that of the Pávai flower,
From Thy palace graciously come forth, and from Thy seat on the splendid,
Glorious throne graciously ask the cause
Of our coming. Él Ór, Our Lady.

24. Of yore Thou didst measure out the world; praise to Thy foot.
Passing over yonder to the South, Thou didst destroy Ilangai; praise to Thy prowess.
The Śāgaṇam Thou didst spurn to death; praise to Thy glory.
The calf Thou didst throw as from a sling, praise to Thine anklet.
The hill Thou didst lift like an umbrella, praise to Thine Excellence.
Praise to the spear in Thine hand, which by overcoming destroyeth hatred.
Repeatedly in such words extolling service unto Thee, to win Thy Grace
To-day have we come. Have pity. Él Ór, Our Lady.

25. Thou wast born one night the son of one matchless woman,
The selfsame night didst Thou grow concealed as the son of another.
Intolerant of this, Kaṁsa did harbour evil thought,
Setting the which at naught, Thou didst lie in his belly
A consuming flame, O lofty Māl!
Praying to Thee and begging have we come; if Thou but grant one wish,
Singing of Thy wealth, worthy of Śrī, and of Thy valour,
All our suffering past, we shall rejoice. Él Ór, Our Lady.

26. O Thou in colour like the dark jewel, if Thou wilt hear
What the ancients did and what we need for the Mārgalī bathing;
Conches which resemble the Pānchajanyam, milk-like in hue,
Whose sounds make the whole earth shake;
A multitude of great drums, known for resounding din;
Chanters of benedictions; beauteous lamp; flag; canopy;
O Thou who didst sleep in the banyan leaf,
[These things] graciously grant. Él Ór, Our Lady.

27. O good Gōvindā who overcomest Thine enemies,
Thyself praised and the boon obtained,
The rewards are these most approved of the world;
Bracelet, armlet, earrings, flowers for the ear,
Anklet and many other like jewels; these will we wear;  
Clothes we will put on. After that, pouring ghee  
On outspread rice cooked in milk until it runs over the elbow,  
We will, with delight, take our food with Thee. Êl Òr, Our Lady.

28. Following the milch cows, we reach the woods and eat our meal.  
How great is the blessing we enjoy in owning Thee Thyself  
As born within our caste of neatherds ignorant of all.  
O sinless Gòvindâ, betwixt Thee and us  
Be kinship, which never here can be cast off.  
If, as children knowing naught, and in love of Thee,  
We little folk have called Thee by unworthy names, chide us not.  
Lord Paramount, grant Thou the Boon (of salvation). Êl Òr, Our Lady.

29. Listen unto the reason why, coming in the very early morning,  
We minister unto Thee and worship Thy golden-lotus foot.  
Born in a caste which liveth by grazing kine,  
That Thou shouldst accept us in service is not our present prayer.  
Lo, Gòvindâ, it is to gain this our eager desire (that we come),  
That for ever, for seven times seven births, shall we be Thy kinsfolk;  
To Thee will we render service, to none else but Thee.  
Our desires, to aught else do Thou not transform. Êl Òr, Our Lady.

30. How richly bedecked women, fair of face as the moon, went and worshipped  
Mádhavan-Këśavan who churned the sea, whose surface is covered with ships,  
And obtained of Him the promise, Kôdai of fair Puduvai,  
The daughter of the Chief of Brahmans who wear the cool garland of beautiful  
lotuses,  
Set in a garland of verse three times ten [to be sung in choir].¹⁹  
Those here who sing in faultless form,  
By Grace of Mál, rich in love, with broad and shapely shoulders,  
Red eyes of gracious look and face benign,  
everywhere shall enjoy His bounty and live in happiness. Our Lady.

(To be continued).

¹⁹ The text has the word ángam used attributively to Tamil, and ordinarily would mean language acceptable to the “Tamil Academy.” The Commentator takes it in the sense of ‘intended to be sung in chorus,’ which seems rather uncommon.—Ed.
THE MUTINY AT INDORE.
(Some Unpublished Records.)
By H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.
(Continued from page 102.)

No. 995 of 1857.
Secret Department.
From H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay.
To Captain T. Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.
Dated 25th July 1857.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter with enclosure, dated the 20th instant, No. 443, reporting on the state of affairs in your neighbourhood, and to convey to you the thanks of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

2. Copies of your letter and of its enclosures have been forwarded for the information of the Government of India.

I have etc.,

(Signed) H. L. Anderson,
Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 25th July 1857.

No. 3173.
Foreign Department.
From R. Simson, Esq., Offg. Under-Secretary to the Government of India.
To Captain T. Hungerford, Commanding at Mhow.
Dated Fort William, 10th August 1857.

Sir,

With reference to your letter to the address of the Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated the 20th ultimo, No. 442, regarding the preservation of the bazaar and station of Mhow from pillage, owing to the exertions of Gokul Pursad Kotwal and Captain McMullen, Offg. Cantonment Joint Magistrate, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to communicate to you, as well as to Captain McMullen, the thanks of the Government for your exertions in preserving order in Mhow. I am desired also to request that you will present to Gokul Pursad a sword, with a bag of Rs. 500, in token of approbation of Government.

I have etc.,

(Signed) R. Simson,
Offg. Under-Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Fort William, 10th August 1857.

No. 3183.
Foreign Department.
From R. Simson, Esq., Offg. Under Secretary to Govt. of India.
To Captain T. Hungerford, Artillery, Commanding at Mhow.
Dated Fort William, 10th August, 1857.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters No. 438 and 439, dated 17th ultimo, containing a detailed account of the late occurrences at Indore and Mhow, and reporting that, having been left at Mhow without any political officer to consult, you had assumed political authority to communicate with Holkar.
2. In reply, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to state that your conduct calls for commendation. In a position of much difficulty and uncertainty, you have discharged the duties which fell to you with excellent judgment.

3. His Lordship in Council appreciates the courage with which you assumed responsibility that was new to you, as well as the tact and discretion which secured a generally successful result to your proceedings.

I have etc.,
(Signed) R. Simson,
Offg. Under-Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Fort William, 10th August, 1857.

No. 941.
Adjuant-General's Office, Head-Quarters.
Calcutta, 12th October 1857.

Sir,

I have the honour, by direction of the Commander-in-chief, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 641, of the 20th ultimo, with copies of documents enclosed therein, and to express the satisfaction with which His Excellency views the judgment and decision which have marked your conduct, and so deservedly called forth the recorded approbation both of the Government of India and that of Bombay, in which Sir Colin Campbell very cordially concurs.

I have etc.,
(Signed) W. Mayhew, Major,
Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.

Captain Hungerford, Bengal Artillery, Mhow.

No. 114-A.
To Captain T. Hungerford,
Comg. 2nd Com. 6th Battalion Bengal Artillery, and No. 8 Light Field Battery, Mhow.
Camp, Cawnpore, 12th February 1858.
Office of Assistant Adjutant-General, Artillery.

Sir,

I have had the honour to receive and lay before the Major-General commanding the regiment your letters Nos. 486 and 487 of the 8th ultimo, with their several enclosures: the former relative to the outbreak of the native troops of the Bengal army at Mhow, and those of the Maharaja at Indore in July last, and the measures you took in consequence; the latter detailing the part taken by the battery under your command in the operations against the Fort of Dhar in October last.

2. Sir Archdale Wilson, in reply, has directed me to inform you that he has perused these documents with pride and pleasure, testifying as they do to the judgment and determination with which you took upon yourself and exercised at a very critical period, the political functions of the Resident at Holkar's Court, and the vigour and professional ability with which your conduct was marked in the exercise of the military command at Mhow, and he trusts that the services you rendered to the State, of which such important results were the consequence, will meet with their just and appropriate reward.

3. It is a subject also of much pride and gratification to the Major-General to find how honourably the name and reputation of the regiment has been sustained by the company and battery under your command, under the very trying circumstances in which you have been placed; and he desires you will communicate these sentiments to all concerned, and
especially to Lieutenant Mallock and to Serjeants Potter and French, and to assure them of his cordial appreciation of their admirable conduct and good services.

I have etc.,
(Signed) E. B. Johnson,
Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery.

No. 438.

The Secretary to Government, Bengal.

Mhow Fort, 17th July 1857.

Sir,

Details of the occurrences at Indore and Mhow, written hurriedly, have been sent at different times to the Bombay Government, for transmission to you. I beg now to send a more connected account for your information.

1. When the news of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi reached Mhow, I requested permission from the commanding officer, Colonel Platt, to place a guard from my European Company of Artillery at the Fort gateway, instead of the guard of the 23rd Regt. N. I. The Fort contained many heavy guns, much ammunition, and valuable stores of various kinds, which, falling into the hands of mutineers, would have much strengthened them. Colonel Platt considered that the change of guards would show a want of confidence in his own men, and would not permit it; but I was authorised to dismount and disable the heavy guns.

2. On the news of the Neemuch mutiny reaching Mhow, I wrote to the commanding officer a letter, dated June 6th, 1857. My guns were then in their sheds, 200 yards from the barracks, and the men could not have turned out in battery under half an hour. A portion of my letter is as follows:

"One hundred men, placing themselves in front of the gun-sheds armed, would deprive the company of its means of offence and defence.

"Precautionary measures have been taken, in almost all stations of the army, to prevent an outbreak of the native troops, although the latter were perfectly loyal. The Commanding officer appears to think that precautions taken here may lead to the result it is desirous to avoid. With my battery at command, and guarded from sudden seizure, I believe that I could quell and crush any disturbance that might arise at Mhow from the native troops; and I request, therefore, that I may be permitted to take such precautions (by having my battery drawn out on open ground, where it can easily be manned) as may render my guns ready for action when required. Should the commanding officer deem any precautions inadvisable, such as I have suggested, and should it be my misfortune, in the event of any disturbance occurring, to meet with difficulty in arming and turning out my battery, I trust that this letter will be convincing proof that I have used every endeavour to avoid such a result."

3. I was directed, in reply to this letter, to draw out my battery in front of the gun-sheds on Monday morning the 8th June (two days after the above letter was written); but instead of waiting until Monday morning, an opportunity offered for turning out on the 6th. The horses were harnessed, guns turned out, and the battery and company made ready for service at a moment's notice.

4. On the 8th June I received a letter from Colonel Durand, Acting Resident at Indore, which contained the following:—"You and your men cannot be too much on the alert. Your readiness with your horses, the day the Neemuch news reached cantonments, prevented a rise."

5. From the 6th June to the end of the month my battery was parked in front of the barracks; the horses stood harnessed every night; the men were warned never to be distant from the barracks; and, in the event of any rise at Mhow, the battery could have turned out to crush it in less than a quarter of an hour, night or day.
6. Many applications were made to the commanding officer for some precautions to be taken for the safety of the wives and families of officers and men; but Colonel Platt placed such implicit confidence in his men, that nothing was done beyond placing a guard of Sepoys of the 23rd Regiment N. I., every night, over the houses of the officers of that regiment.

7. On the morning of the 1st July, about half-past 8 or 9, guns were heard firing in the direction of Indore; at 11 a.m. Colonel Platt called at my house with a note from Colonel Durand. Colonel Durand wrote:

"Send the European battery as sharp as you can. We are attacked by Holkar."

I rode down to the barracks and turned out the battery, escort was ordered to accompany the battery for its defence; two men were therefore told off for each gun and waggon, and mounted on the limber boxes, armed with muskets. The battery was trotted to Rhow, half way to Indore. There a Sowar rode up to me with a note in pencil from Colonel Travers, commanding the Bhopal Contingent, saying "We are retreating on Simrole, on the Mundlaysir road from Indore."

The Sowar added that Colonel Durand and the officers and ladies from the Residency were with Colonel Travers, that Colonel Durand had not retired on Mhow, as Mhow was in Holkar's territories, and would be attacked by Holkar's troops either that night or the following morning. There being no road to Simrole which I could follow, the battery was brought back to Mhow as quickly as possible.

8. Colonel Platt met me on re-entering cantonments. I gave him Colonel Travers' note, and told him what the Sowar had said, requesting permission at the same time to take my battery into the Fort, as the Fort could be defended for any length of time. Colonel Platt would not hear of it. At the artillery barracks all the wives and families of officers and men had taken refuge. The barracks could not be well defended, from their extent and position. I urged repeatedly on Colonel Platt, during the afternoon, the advisability of defending the Fort; but only at the very last moment could he be persuaded to allow me to enter it. At half-past 6 p.m. Colonel Platt rode down to the artillery barracks, and told me to enter the Fort. He had strengthened the guard at the gateway to fifty men from his own regiment.

9. I afterwards learnt that, about 6 p.m., Sepoys had been sent round to all the cantonment guards to warn them, and the guards at officers' houses, that there would be a rise of the whole of the troops that night.

10. At dusk, the mess-house of the 23rd Regiment N. I. was observed to be on fire; and before 10 p.m. several other houses were in flames. About 10 p.m. shots were heard in the direction of the cavalry and infantry lines; and immediately afterwards several officers of both corps ran into the Fort, stating that both regiments were in open mutiny, and that they had been fired upon both by troopers and Sepoys. I ordered the guard within the Fort to be disarmed, and their muskets were taken from them. Colonel Platt rode into the Fort about 10 p.m., and ordered me to turn out my battery. There was a little delay in doing this, from the horses being knocked up, and from several of the drivers having already deserted; and before we were ready, Colonel Platt, accompanied by his Adjutant (Captain Fagan), rode out of the Fort. We followed them in about ten minutes; but did not see them again. On advancing up the infantry parade (the lines being more than half a mile from the Fort) we were several times fired upon, but saw no one. The infantry parade ground was illuminated by the blazing bungalows, but the huts of the men were in darkness. When opposite the centre of the infantry lines I halted, expecting to be joined by Colonel Platt or his Adjutant. My staff sergeant, bugler, and myself rode up to the bells of arms, but no one could be seen. Whilst thus halted the battery was again fired upon. I unlimbered, and fired several rounds of grape and round shot into the lines. There was some groaning and noise, but nothing visible; and in a few minutes everything was perfectly quiet.
11. I was told the next day that, on my opening fire the whole of the cavalry, in regular files, had left their lines at a hard trot, and taken the road to Indore. The infantry who were in their lines took to flight at the second round of grape, and, running out by the rear of their lines, fled in the greatest disorder across country towards Indore. The next day their lines were found full of their clothes, cooking-vessels, etc., and many muskets, coats, etc., were found scattered for a great distance all over the country.

12. Colonel Platt and Captain Fagan, I learnt, had ridden straight to the quarter guard of the regiment, and, whilst the Colonel was there speaking to the men, the guard fired a volley at the unfortunate officers, and they fell riddled with ball. A party of troopers was told off to murder Major Harris of the 1st Light Cavalry, who waylaid him near the cavalry mess. A volley was fired, which killed his horse; and Major Harris, in attempting to escape, was shot and cut down by his own men.

13. In mentioning the deaths of these officers, I cannot help expressing my deep sorrow at the infatuation which possessed Colonel Platt with regard to his own men. Nothing could persuade him to believe that they could act as their comrades all over the country have acted. Numerous circumstances occurred before the regiment mutinied, which should have warned him against over-confidence; but when reported, they were all thought to be exaggerated, and he would not believe that his men could show signs of disaffection. So blindly confident was he of their fidelity that at 9 o'clock on the night the mutiny took place, he commenced a note to Colonel Durand in these words:—"All right; both cavalry and infantry very 'khoosh' and willing." Whilst writing he was interrupted and called away, to be shot down by the very men regarding whom he was so lamentably mistaken.

14. Several of the officers had very narrow escapes; the cavalry more particularly, as their lines were furthest from the Fort, and they had to run the gauntlet of the Sepoys after escaping from their own men. Captain Brooks, Lieutenants Martin and Chapman, ran on foot, pursued by troopers, to within a few hundred yards of the Fort, and were drawn into the Fort over the walls of one of the bastions. Had the ladies remained in their own houses, instead of taking refuge in the Fort, the massacre would probably have been as dreadful as at Indore.

15. On the morning of the 2nd July we became acquainted with the lamentable deaths of the three officers before mentioned. All the officers who had escaped voluntarily offered their services to me as commanding the only troops in the Fort, to be put on any duties I might think necessary. They were all armed and horse, and divided into two divisions, with all the other Europeans in the Fort (road serjeants, clerks, etc.) and placed under the command of Captain Brooks, 1st Light Cavalry, and Captain Trower, 23rd Regiment N. I., to act as flanking parties to the guns when necessary, to move out of the Fort, and to assist in sentry duties at night. Parties of artillery-men were employed the first thing in the morning to throw up entrenchments before the northern gate of the Fort, to mount the heavy guns and howitzers on their carriages, and to place light guns on the four corner bastions. Men hard at work all day. Mr. Postance, the Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, employed in making up ammunition for the heavy guns; and Mr.'Madras, the commissariat officer, in laying in stores of all descriptions for men and horses. During the night, the whole of the driver company, with the exception of five men, all the lascars, all the syces but eight, and the whole of the grass-cutters, deserted. All the artificers but three also made their escape from the Fort. A detachment, consisting of two guns, ridden by gunners (Europeans) and escorted by volunteers, was sent out under Captain Brooks to search for the bodies of the missing officers. Their bodies were brought in before noon, much mutilated; and they were buried in the afternoon, in the south-east bastion of the Fort. (Report sent in, Marked A.)
16. 3rd July.—Proclaimed martial law this morning throughout the station of Mhow. Parties of troopers and Sepoys having been reported as still in their lines and harbouring in the villages in the vicinity, I moved out two guns escorted by volunteers. We first marched through the Sudder Bazar, recovered a large quantity of muskets from the Kotwallée, and disarmed those men not belonging to the police. Then went to the cavalry lines. Several troopers were seen skulking about the lines, and two cavalry horses saddled broke out of a neighbouring village, and galloped past the guns. The troopers were driven out and followed by several officers; they ran down to the nullah in rear of their lines, and then turned and fired. Corporal Potter, of the Artillery, cut one man down. Fired the village in rear of the cavalry lines from whence the horses broke out; fired another village in rear of the infantry lines, in which, and in the lines, several Sepoys were seen. As many more were supposed to be hidden in the houses, fired several round shot into the lines. Wrote this day to the Maharaja (letter B), as it was reported to me that Holkar’s troops, accompanied by the mutineers from Mhow, meant to attack the Fort. By the evening of the 3rd July two light guns were mounted on each of the four corner bastions of the Fort. A heavy battery of one 10 inch howitzer, one 8 inch howitzer, one 24 pounder, one 18 pounder, and two 12 pounders, was formed and armed outside the northern gate of the Fort. Small arms and ammunition were placed in the bastions, and every preparation made to repulse any attack made by Holkar or any portion of his army. Men and officers worked unceasingly and uncomplainingly. By this evening, too, Mr. Madras had laid in stores for a fortnight.

17. As the magazines of the cavalry and infantry regiments were full of ammunition, and might fall into the hands of enemies, a party was turned out on the 4th under Captain Brooks, 1st Light Cavalry, the guns under Lieutenant Mallock, Artillery, to blow them both up; both magazines were blown up successfully. A hole was blown through the southern curtain of the Fort, and preparations made to arm another battery for the protection of that side of the Fort. (Report sent in to the Adjutant-General of the Bombay Army, marked C.)

18. On the morning of the 5th another heavy battery of four 18 pounders was placed in position to protect the southern face of the Fort. About 10 a.m. two of Holkar’s principal men, his minister the Bhaoo Rao Ramechunder, and his Buxee Khooman Sing, accompanied by Captain Fenwick, an East Indian in the service of the Maharaja, came to the Fort with a letter from the Maharaja (marked C 2). They stated the Maharaja had been quite unable to control his mutinous troops and expressed on his part deep regret at the occurrences at Indore, a detailed account of which was handed to me by Captain Fenwick. They offered also to send over the remaining treasure from the Residency to Mhow, and were prepared to carry out any measures I might advise for opening up communication through and tranquillizing the country. The minister also stated that the mutinous troops from Mhow and Indore had marched the preceding evening towards Dewas, having carried off with them nine (9) laces of rupees from the Residency treasury, and having seized at Indore every horse, bullock, camel, and cart that they could find for the transport of their baggage. They had taken also with them nine guns belonging to the Maharaja. By evening of the 5th Mr. Madras had laid in stores of all kinds for one month. The station was perfectly quiet; the inhabitants of the Bazaars carrying on business as usual; burning and thieving in Bungalows put a stop to; and night alarms at an end. On the night of the 5th thirteen elephants were sent in by Holkar for the use of General Woodburn’s column, and forwarded at once to Mundlaysir.

19. On the morning of the 6th July a general court-martial was assembled, for the trial of a gun lascar of my company for mutiny and desertion. The prisoner was sentenced to fifty lashes, but the punishment was commuted to dismissal. The troops from Indore who accompanied the mutineers from Mhow, not being allowed to share in the treasure, returned to Indore last night, and, having received some assistance from Holkar, marched immediately in pursuit to try and recover the treasure.
20. An express was sent on the morning of the 7th to Colonel Durand. Captain Hutchinson, Assistant to the Resident, was reported on the morning of this day to have been taken prisoner by the Amjheera Raja. Captain Elliot was written to by the Durbar on the subject, and the correspondence is annexed (marked D.). The Maharaja was written to this day; and a request made that he would follow up and attack the mutineers from Mhow and Indore (letter marked E.). Another gun lascar was brought in this morning, tried by court martial for mutiny and desertion, sentenced to death, and hanged by my orders in front of the northern gate of the Fort at 6 p.m. Whilst the execution was taking place, the whole of the treasure remaining in the Residency treasury, sent in by the Maharaja, arrived in the Fort, and Captain Elliot was ordered to receive charge of it. The amount of treasure is Rs. 4,16,690, besides nearly 23½ lacs in Company’s paper. The country round Mhow perfectly tranquil.

21. On the morning of the 8th a letter (No. 428) was forwarded to the Secretary, Bombay Government, detailing what had occurred, forwarding correspondence with the Durbar, and reporting receipt of treasure. A memo. was also forwarded of the persons murdered at Indore (this letter is attached). On the 8th July a correspondence took place with the Durbar regarding the Malwah Contingent, and it will be found attached to letter 431. A telegraph message was received this day from the Governor of Bombay (attached, Marked F.).

22. On the 9th two messages were despatched to Bombay regarding the troops marching on Mundlaysia under Captain Orr (marked G.). Two prisoners, Sepoys of the 23rd Regiment N. I. (Mahomedans), were sent in by the Maharaja of Indore. They were tried by drumhead court martial on arrival at Mhow, sentenced to death, and hanged in front of the northern gate of the Fort. Much excitement had prevailed amongst the Maharaja’s troops on his giving over these prisoners, and an anonymous letter was found in his Durbar Hall, accusing him of not being a Hindoo, and being under the influence of ministers who were Christians.

23. Letter No. 431 (attached) written to Secretary, Bombay Government, on the 10th. Everything perfectly tranquil at Mhow and its neighbourhood. Telegraph message received from Bombay regarding Captain Orr’s detachment (Marked H).

24. Oomed Sing and Ganesh Shastree came in from the Maharaja, to say that the latter was in great alarm about the two columns advancing from Bombay: he feared that his actions had been misconstrued, and an erroneous impression of them conveyed to Government. It was with great difficulty that they had prevented the Maharaja from starting immediately for Bombay to offer in person an explanation of the disturbances at Indore. Wrote to the Maharaja a letter (annexed, marked I). Breastworks were completed in front of both heavy batteries this day, and the Fort so much strengthened that it would take a native army to attack it.

25. On the 12th an express was again forwarded to Colonel Durand (marked K). On the 13th the telegraph wire was brought into the Fort at Mhow, an office established, and communication opened with Bombay. Dak communications to Bombay, and all places to the southward, open; also to Neemuch; but the road to Schore and Sangor has been and continues closed from the 27th ultimo. The Durbar report that their troops are still mutinous and excited, and they look with anxiety for the arrival of European troops, to enable them to disarm the disaffected. On the 13th a telegraph message was received from Lord Elphinstone, for delivery to Holkar (marked L), and an answer returned on the 14th (marked M). A report also was forwarded to Bombay on the 14th.

26. I have, in the foregoing, brought up my report of everything that has taken place at Mhow to this date (15th July). Troops are marching to our relief, whom we expect to see on the 26th instant. Colonel Durand has been written to, and may probably return to Mhow immediately. The country is perfectly quiet, the Maharaja of Indore most anxious for opportunities to prove his friendship and fidelity to the Government. This Fort is strengthened and provisioned in such manner as to enable us to hold it for any length of time
against any native force; trade and business are carried on as usual in the towns in Holkar's States. The Maharaja's tributaries having discovered the mistake they first fell into, of thinking Holkar inimical to the British, have suppressed all disorders in their own districts, and are willing to assist in maintaining order. Some of the Maharaja's troops alone show a bad spirit, and are still mutinous and disaffected; but they will, I think, be restrained from any further excess, and on the arrival of European troops the Maharaja will at once disarm and punish them.

The Company's rupee has fallen to a discount of one rupee per cent. at Indore, and three per cent. at Oojain.

27. In closing this report I trust that, should the Government deem that our duty at Mhow has been performed to its satisfaction, I may state how much I have been indebted to the untiring exertions of officers and men for everything that has been done. At this trying season the non-commissioned officers and men of my company, under the orders of Lieutenant Mallock, have worked cheerfully and laboriously night and day, in mounting heavy guns, throwing up entrenchments, and other duties, and have shown throughout a willing and ready spirit, which no praise of mine can do justice to. The officers of the 23rd Regiment N. I. and 1st Light Cavalry, and other volunteers under Captain Brooks and Captain Trower, have always been ready to turn out at any moment for duties which they have never before been accustomed to, and have taken regular Sentry duties every night since our occupation of the Fort, to enable the artillery men to get some sleep after their heavy duties in the day. Mr. Madras, the Commissariat Officer, has worked most efficiently in laying in stores of every description for the artillery, Europeans who have taken refuge in the Fort, horses and cattle, for six months; and the fact that six months' supplies have been laid in, in little more than a week, will speak for itself. Mr. Conductor Postance, too, has been unwearied in his exertions in making up ammunition and other duties, which have occupied every moment of his time, and which he has fulfilled to my entire satisfaction. To Captain Elliot I am deeply indebted for support and assistance; his knowledge of the country has enabled him to aid me with advice in many matters of which I should otherwise have remained ignorant. Besides supporting me in my communications with Holkar's Durbar, he has readily taken upon himself a share of all the duties the other officers have been employed in.

28. I trust it is needless to repeat what I have said so often regarding the fidelity of the Maharaja of Indore;—his actions will best prove his feelings. The anxiety he laboured under, lest his conduct should be misconstrued, has been dissipated since the receipt of the message from the Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay; and yesterday I received the annexed letter (marked N) from the minister on this subject.

29. Having been left alone at Mhow, without any political officer to consult, I trust, if I have acted in an irregular manner, by assuming political authority to communicate with Holkar, the advantage which has been gained in keeping the country tranquil, and restoring the confidence of the Maharaja in the friendship of the Government, may form my excuse for the informality. I have acted with a zealous desire to serve Government, and trust my actions may not meet with disapproval.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) T. Hungerford, Captain,
Commanding at Mhow.
SÔMA.

BY PROF. G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRANCE BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

DR. VINCENT SMITH, in the Oxford History of India, 1919, p. 23, wrote as follows: "The Parsees of Yezd and Kirmân in Persia, as well as those of the Deccan and Bombay in India, who still occasionally offer Sôma sacrifices, identify the plant with one or other species of Asclepias . . . But the real Sôma plant may have been different, and has not yet been clearly identified." And in a footnote he said: "Kautîlya prescribes that Brâhmans shall be provided with forests for Sôma plantation (Arthasastra, Book II, ch. 2)."

Mr. E. B. Havell in an article in JRAS., Feb. 1920, asked "What is Sôma?" And in the same article he suggested that it is Eleusine, "the common millet still used in the Himâlayas." Prof. A. A. Macdonnell seemed to support this theory.

In 1922 I published a little pamphlet in popular style, entitled Vedic Antiquities, in which I drew attention to the district of Malabar, which seems to have remained sheltered from the invasions and changes which are apparent in the rest of India. I said, p. 24, in speaking of that very high caste of Brâhmans, the Nambudris: "But they do not only adore the Vedic divinities and sing the Vedic hymns, they practise also pure Vedic ceremonies . . . . Those who practise the Sôma sacrifice are called Sômayagis or Chomatisis."

In acknowledging a copy of my pamphlet, Mr. Havell asked me, also speaking of the Nambudris: "What do they use for the Sôma rite?" And very appositely, Mr. Havell wrote to me with reference to the above question: "You speak of Hindus who have preserved the Vedic tradition. It is here that we have the greatest opportunity in the world of discussing the mystery of Sôma. Try then to find out exactly what it is that the Nambudris of Malabar use."

I went at once to a great temple, which is the centre of the Nambudris in the village of Taliparamba, where are the best specimens of the agnidiyas—the temples of the Vedic fire. The Nambudris Brâhmans received me very courteously. I told them that I wanted the plant which produced the Sôma. They replied: "The Sômavalli plant does not grow in these parts. It is a rare plant found in the mountains. When we want to make a sacrifice with Sôma, we write to a Râja who lives at Kollangod (ten miles south of Pâlgâhat) at the foot of some very high mountains, where the mystic plant grows."

For a long time I tried to obtain the sacred plant. My efforts remained abortive, till I had the happy thought of writing to a powerful official at Calicut, Mr. P. V. Gopalan. He obtained the plant from the Râja and sent it to me.

I at once showed it to a learned botanist at Pondicherry, the Rev. Brother Fancha, who found it to be a climbing plant, having a stem—green, bare, round and woody, and containing a milky liquor. A point characteristic of this creeper is that it is absolutely without foliage. Beyond doubt, it is certainly a plant belonging to the genus asclepias.

Therefore, the Parsis of Yezd in Persia and the Nambudris of Malabar make their sacrifices with the same plant, an Asclepiad. There can thus be no doubt that the two names, Haôma of the Iranians and Sôma of the Indians, designate the same liquor. In short, it seems to me that we have here no mystery concerning the plant which is used to manufacture Sôma. It is incontestably an Asclepiad.
A NOTE ON BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN’S DATE.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

On pages 220-3 of volume LI, ante, Mr. K. N. Daniel had been at great pains to prove that there were two Chēra kings of the name of Bhāskara-Ravivarman, that on account of certain paleographical and linguistic reasons they should be considered to have lived almost within the same century, and that “it is unquestionably proved on astronomical grounds” that these two kings, Bhāskara-Ravi I. and Bhāskara-Ravi II., should have respectively reigned in the first and second half of the sixth century A.D.

Messrs. V. Venkayya, T. A. Gopinatha Rao and K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, however, attributed the Vaṭṭeluttu script of Bhāskara-Ravivarman’s records to the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.; and Diwan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, M.A., LL.B., I.S.O., of Madras, who had worked at the astronomical details furnished in a few of this king’s records on this assumption, had arrived at the tentative date of A.D. 978 for his accession. He was also the first scholar to propound the theory that there may have been two kings of that name (T.A.S., II, pp. 45-6); because, in his opinion, the positions of Jupiter given in some of the records were found to be irregular and could not agree uniformly with this initial date of the king. Mr. K. N. Daniel has attempted to reconcile the apparent discrepancies of these details, by assuming that “the years are sometimes age, and sometimes regnal years, and sometimes current, and sometimes expired.”

However this may be, I propose to examine them in detail elsewhere. I have discovered a record of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, which fixes his date beyond the possibility of any doubt to be the end of the tenth century A.D. This inscription is found engraved on the narrow upper surface of the lowermost upama of the stone base of the Adi-bhutanārāyana temple at Tirukkaḍittṭāgam (Travancore), which contains many other records of the same Chēra king. The stones composing the basement having become slightly disturbed in position on account of age, the top portions of the letters in the first line of this epigraph are hidden by the next superposed thin champa stone-member supporting the kumuda-moulding, so that the writing could be deciphered only by tracing the visible lower portions of the letters. Although I had realised the importance of this record for Chēra chronology more than a year ago, I could not make it public, as I could then produce only an eye-copy in support of my statements and could not substantiate them by an authoritative facsimile. I have now managed after some trouble to get a fairly satisfactory estampage prepared; and this piece of indisputable epigraphical evidence is surely entitled to much greater consideration than the debatable arguments based merely on astronomical, paleographical, or linguistic data.

This record is dated in the year (here one stone is much defaced) opposite to the 2nd year of the reign of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, and mentions that while Gāvaddhana (this portion is mutilated) Mārttāndavarmaṇa was governing Naṟṟulai-nādu, Śrīvallabhaśkōdaivarmāṇa, the ruler of Vēṇādu (Vēṇāduḍaiya), made a gift of lands for the conduct of the Uttravilā-festival, beginning from the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha. This record is incomplete, but with the details of the festival we are not much concerned. The important synchronism that the inscription furnishes is that Vēṇāduḍaiya Śrīvallabhaśkōdaī was a feudatory of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman.

Fortunately for us, we know this Vēṇādu ruler from his Māmballī copper-plate (T.A.S., IV, pp. 1-11) and his two Tiruvannandūr stone inscriptions (T.A.S., II, pp. 22-5); of these three, the copper-plate is dated in Kollam 149 and the astronomical details give the English equivalent—A.D. 973, November 10. As we do not know how long this Vēṇādu ruler reigned and in what part of his reign Kollam 149 fell, we can only premise that Bhāskara-Ravivarman, his suzerain of the Tirukkanaiṭṭāgam record, must have been reigning in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D.; and as Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai has, by calculating the details furnished in the Tirunnelli plates (T.A.S., II, pp. 30-1) of the latter, independently

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1 The inscription was examined in April 1925.
arrived at A.D. 978 for the king’s accession, this is necessarily the correct initial date of this Chêra king. From another record, which has been edited in the Travancore Archaeological Series, we learn that in the 2nd + 12th year of the Chêra king Bhâskara-Ravi, Gôvarddhana-Mârîttândavarman, who was ruling over Nârulai-nâju, was put in charge of Vênapu also. This would therefore indicate that Sûrvallakahâkodai may have governed Vênapu till about the fourteenth year of Bhâskara-Ravi, i.e., till A.D. 992, and that after his death Gôvarddhana-Mârîttândavarman may have succeeded him in the Vênapu administration, and continued in that capacity till at least A.D. 1016, when he figured as a signatory in the Cochin plate of Bhâskara-Ravivarman’s 2nd + 36th year of reign—(Ep. Ind., vol. III, pp. 66-9).

Thus we can accept it as proved that the Chêra king Bhâskara Ravivarman flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D., that the date of his accession to the throne was A.D. 978, and that he could not, under any circumstances, be assigned to so early a period as the sixth century A.D. The questions as to whether there were two kings of that name and, if so, how long each of them reigned, require more careful examination.

THE KSÂHÂRAÎTAS. WERE THEY EXTERMINATED OR HAVE THEY LEFT ANY TRACES IN THE POPULATION OF THE DECCAN?

BY Y. R. GUPTA, B.A., M.R.A.S.

It is a well-known fact that Nahapâna, the Satrap who was reigning in A.D. 124, in the Nasik district at any rate and most probably in the Poona and Thana districts of the Bombay Presidency as well, was ousted or killed about that year by Gautamiputra of the Andhrabhṛitya family. (Cf. Rapson’s Andhras, p. xxvii.) In an inscription in cave No. III at Nasik, called the Åkâsayâna, Gautamiputra boasts that he exterminated the race of the Kshaharâtas (prâkrûta Khaharâtas) to which Nahapâna belonged. (Khaharâtas-vasa-niravasakarasa1.) That Gautamiputra succeeded Nahapâna is borne out by a good many coins of Nahapâna counterstruck by Gautamiputra. These were found in the hoard discovered at Jêgaltembhi in the Sinnar Taluka of the Nasik district of the Bombay Presidency, (vide the Rev. Mr. H. R. Scott’s article in the Journal of the B. B. R. A. S.).2 Perhaps the Andhrabhṛitya king defeated and killed Nahapâna and his sons (if he had any), in a pitched battle and thus to a certain extent justified his proud assertion. The Satraps after Nahapâna are not known to have ruled in the Deccan. Certainly their records have not come to light. The Satraps of Surâśṭra, it is believed, were altogether a different dynasty. Be that as it may, are there any traces extant of the Kshaharâtas or Kshakharâtas in the population of the Deccan? That the bulk of some castes of the peasantry and members of even some higher castes as well as lower have Scythic features, is an admitted fact. Nahapâna was a Scythian. But are there any surnames which correspond to Nahapâna’s family name, and do the features of the members of these answer to the characteristic ones of the Scythians? I have long been thinking over this point. The surname Gharata, it is possible to derive from Khakharâta. But it can hardly be a direct derivation. Among the shepherds of the Deccan, however, we have a surname which evidently appears to be a short form of Khakharâta. It is Kharata. The double Kha in it could hardly survive for centuries together and so we have the shorter form of the surname. In other words the first Kha of Khakharâta is omitted as usual and we get the shorter form viz., Kharata. The features of some members at any rate of this family have features similar to those of Nahapâna on the coins. Gautamiputra’s boast that he annihilated the Kshaharâta or Kshakharâta clan is similar to the futile one of Parasurâma, who claimed to have exterminated the Kshatriyas several times? If they were annihilated where was the necessity of exterminating them again? The Andhrabhṛitya king might perhaps have killed all the members of the ruling Kshaharâta family. But he could hardly have extirpated the whole clan or race of the Kshaharâtas.

1 p. Ind., vol. vii, p. 61, 1. 6 of the text. 2 Ibid., vol. 22, 1906, pp. 224.
BOOK-NOTICES.

This is a notable article and of great historical value, and one is grateful to Prof. Heras for writing it. In the Pudu Mantapam, "the Tirumala's Choultrie of Fergusson," are to be found statues of the first ten Nayaks of Madura, which are portraits. They are unique in Indian history and moreover confirm the succession of these Nayaks as found in the Tamil chronicles. This consideration alone shows their great importance to South Indian history.

The succession of the Nayaks thus proved is as follows:


R. C. TEMPLE.

ANNUAL REPORT, WATSON MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES, for 1923-24; RAJKOT, 1924.

The report of the Curator, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, is mainly concerned with his discovery during the year of important copper-plate inscriptions and other epigraphical material, which throw further light on the ancient history of Gujurat. Among these is the second half of a grant of the Paramara King Siyaka of Malwa, which, read in conjunction with previously known grants, indicates that Siyaka must have been in possession of a portion of Gujurat at the time when the Chalukya ruler Mulraja had seized Anahilvada from the Chavadas. Another find is a stone inscription of a Kshatrapa ruler, found near Chitrada in Cutch, which awaits full decipherment; while a third is a copy of an inscription of the Silhara ruler, Apraditya, on a stone now in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay, which records a grant of land at 'Thaikya Patana' (i.e., Thana) by the minister, Lakshmana Nayaka. The curious point about this inscription is that it is reported to have been found originally at Somnath, that is to say, within the dominions of a ruler who, so far as is known, had no relations with the Silhara ruler of the North Konkan. An inscription from Cambay gives much information about the Jain minister Vastupala-viceroy of Viradhavala; and in the course of the year's work the Curator discovered that 17 inscriptions of the Chudasamas of Junagadh and 30 of the Chalukyas of Anahilvada have up to the present remained undeciphered and unpublished. Some of the latter have been forwarded for publication to the Editor of Epigraphia Indiae, while the Curator's reading of the former inscriptions has formed the subject of an article in the Gujarati journal Puratattva. Goghla yielded a gold coin of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, which it is hoped to secure for the Museum.

S. M. EDWARDES.
THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF (THE LATE) VIRCHAND RAGHAVJII GANDHI, collected by (the late) BHAGU F. KARHARI, Shree Agamadaya Samiti Series, Bombay 1924. I. THE JAIN PHILOSOPHY: II. THE YOGA PHILOSOPHY: III. THE KARMA PHILOSOPHY.

The late Virchand Raghavji Gandhi was a Barrister and an enthusiastic writer and speaker on Jainism. He attended the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, U.S.A., as Jain delegate in 1893. His speeches and writings were carefully collected by the late Bhagw F. Kharbri, Editor of The Jain, and were subsequently published by the Jain Puastakodhar Fund. They are now very cheaply reprinted for general distribution by the Sri Agamadaya Samiti, a new institution, established at Bhoyani in the Ahmadabad District, the tirtha of Mallinath Tirthankara, for the spread of the Jain Scriptures.

The first of three volumes—Jain Philosophy gives a brief story of Virchand Gandhi’s full and vigorous career, from his birth in 1864 to his death in 1901 at the early age of 37, and a number of speeches and papers by him on the Jains and their Philosophy, which are well worth the student’s attention. In the second volume Virchand Gandhi performs a similar service for the well-known Yoga Philosophy. But in the third volume we have given us a detailed account of Karma on “the Law of Moral Causation.”

All the volumes, despite their many faults of printing, are worth encouragement, and are calculated to bring about the object to which the author devoted his busy life.

R. C. TEMPLE.

SWAMI DAYANAND IN THE LIGHT OF TRUTH. A True and Critical Biography of the Founder of the Arya Samaj. Lahore, 1925.

This is a long and undignified attack on the Arya Samaj and its Founder, and shows that the odium theologicum is as rampant now in India as it was of old. It is not necessary, as this production does, to besmirch the birth and private character of a religious teacher, to prove that the tenets of the sect he founded are wrong.

R. C. TEMPLE.


The stream of literature on the subject of the Asokan Edicts shows no sign of exhaustion. The present work, which has been prepared by Professor Woolner and published at the expense of the Panjlab University, represents in large measure the results of the late Dr T. K. Laddu’s analytical scrutiny of the Mauryan emperor’s inscriptions. At the time of his death, he had completed a recension of the text of all the inscriptions, as well as a complete word-index of that text, as part and parcel of his scheme for an edition designed for the use of Indian University students. These materials are now presented to the public; the text of the inscriptions has been arranged in such a way as to bring together on a single page the different versions of the same Edict, each page being divided into three or four panels, so that two pages facing each other provide six or eight panels for display of synoptic versions, the word-index has been expanded into a full glossary, which together with the text provides the student of philology with a convenient handbook of early Prakrit; while an admirable Introduction discloses all relevant facts about the location, discovery, and contents of the inscriptions, and gives a sketch of the grammar of the language, in which they were written. Professor Woolner was fortunate enough to secure scrutiny of the proof-sheets of Dr. Hultzsch’s new edition of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, before the present work was finally published, and thus was enabled to add important variants to the text, footnotes, and glossary.

The work seems to me to fulfil admirably the intended object. The glossary is succinct and withal exhaustive, though it is to be observed that under the words Ptitikannam and Rastikannam no reference is made to the theory, advanced in 1924 by a well-known student of Indian history and antiquities, that these words primarily signify certain definite types of political constitution, which gave their name to the peoples who respectively followed them. The theory, however, requires further examination by experts, and is on that account perhaps wisely omitted for the present from a work primarily intended for University students. The two volumes, issued by Professor Woolner, form a valuable addition to Asokan literature.

S. M. EDWARDES.

The Subject Index to Periodicals—Section I. Languages and Literature—London Library Association, Grafton and Co., 1925.

Here is another issue of this most valuable publication, giving references to Classical, Oriental and Primitive Languages in 123 periodicals. Four periodicals have been newly added to the list, each of the highest class. A glance through it shows how well and carefully this labour of love has been performed, but even with such an aid as this the path of the explorer is still difficult, as it is full of references to other “lists.” But this cannot be helped, and easier though it may be now than it was in the past that I can personally remember, to make a profound research, the searcher must still take trouble. The compilers of the Index are highly to be congratulated.

R. C. TEMPLE.
THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF PĀÑINI AND THE PRĀTIŚĀKHYAS.

By HANNES SKÖLD.

Attempts at establishing the precise age of Pāñini and the Prātiśākhyanas.

Since the time of Böhtlingk it has been regarded as fairly certain that Pāñini belongs to the fourth century B.C., though, as Weber contended, the mention of Yavamāṇī, IV. 1. 40 (“Greek writing”), according to Kātyāyana would seem to point to a date later than 300 B.C. Moreover his relation to Patañjali, from whom he must necessarily have been separated by a considerable space of time, appears to warrant a date much anterior to that generally accepted.

In recent years two younger philologists, Messrs. Belvarkar and Charpentier, have tried to prove that the latter assumption is right. We can here content ourselves by merely asserting that no undeniable proofs have as yet been produced in support of either opinion. And it is unlikely that such proofs will ever be forthcoming. Unfortunately the age of Pāñini is no mathematical problem and admits of no exact solution.

As to the relative age of the great grammarian we are far better circumstanced. Bhandarkar and Kielhorn have declared that the language described by Pāñini was that of the Brāhmaṇas. They based this opinion rather on intuition than on facts, though Bhandarkar, e.g., showed that the use of the aorist in the Brāhmaṇas was exactly the one prescribed by Pāñini’s rules. Professor Liebich, in his lucid book on Pāñini, was the first to prove that the language of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras on the whole agrees with the rules of Pāñini; and no Indianist is likely hereafter to repeat Whitney’s opinion that the language fixed grammatically by that great Indian scholar is an artificial one—the invention of a pedantic mania.

To my knowledge nobody has ever tried to establish either the absolute or the relative age of the Prātiśākhyanas, except as compared with the age of Pāñini and Yāska. Goldstücker, that unrivalled student of Pāñini, as is well-known, asserted that the Prātiśākhyanas are posterior to Pāñini, while Max Müller holds the contrary view as far as the Rk Prātiśākhyas is concerned. This view seems to have been adopted by most Indianists on Müller’s authority, but some of his followers only extend the claim of priority to the Rk Prātiśākhyas, while the other Prātiśākhyanas are believed to be later than Pāñini. This is the contention of Burnell, Aindra School, p. 85, and Liebich Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft, II, pp. 30 and 45. The latter author seems to regard also the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhyas as pre-Pāñinean. On the other hand Weber, Wackernagel, and others place the Prātiśākhyanas generally in the pre-Pāñinean epoch, while Westergaard and Pischel upheld the opinion of Goldstücker. All seem to agree that the language of the Prātiśākhyanas is comparatively late.

We will now proceed to examine the arguments put forward by Max Müller in favour of his opinions. As they are exposed in the preface to his edition of the Rk Prātiśākhyas, they refer to the opposing views of Goldstücker, to whose work, therefore, we need not specially refer.

The arguments of Max Müller.

These arguments may be shortly summarised in the following way:

1. Pāñini quotes the Rk Prātiśākhyas, but this work does not quote him; (1)
2. Indian authors never regard the Prātiśākhyanas as being posterior to Pāñini; (2)
3. The pāruḍārugas quoted by the commentator of the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhyas, I. 54, are never referred to by Pāñini nor by Kātyāyana’s Prātiśākhyas; (3)
4. The Rk Prātiśākhyas calls itself vedāṅga. (4)
5. The Vyādi quoted by that work is not the author of the Sārggraha. (5)

1 An exception is perhaps the statement of Max Müller in the preface to his edition of the Rk Prātiśākhyas: “Reicht Kātyāyana in das vierte Jahrhunderte, so mag Śaunaka wohl in das fünfte reichen, und Pāñini würde dann auf der Grenze beider Jahrhunderte stehen.”
"Pāṇini quotes the Rk Prātiṣākhya."

The quotations do not refer directly to the Prātiṣākhya as such, but to Śākalya.

Now even admitting that Śākalya was the head of the school, in which this supposed śikṣā originated, he is not necessarily its author. Max Müller himself believes, as we think, quite correctly, that Śaunaka according to the Indian tradition, should be regarded as the author.

Let us admit that Śākalya probably was the head of this school, though he is quoted in the Prātiṣākhya itself as an authority of discrepant views. Even in this case a quotation of Śākalya does not imply that Pāṇini knew the Rk Prātiṣākhya or Śaunaka—who is only quoted once in a bhāṣya na vyākhyātam;—it only could prove that he knew Śākalya. And as at least two persons of that name are mentioned in the Rk Prātiṣākhya itself, a quotation in Pāṇini, which does not definitely distinguish between the two, could only refer to the older Śākalya.

But assuming for the sake of argument he knew also the younger Śākalya (though it would undoubtedly be curious if so clear a thinker as Pāṇini should have omitted to specify to which of the two he was referring), it may reasonably be held that Śākalya might have been older than Pāṇini and even been the head of that school, in which the Prātiṣākhya originated, without the Prātiṣākhya necessarily being in existence in the time of Pāṇini. For the Prātiṣākhya is undoubtedly the product of a long development. And as it quotes Śākalya also—both Pāṇini and the Rk Prātiṣākhya may be quoting from a common source.

This argument in itself cannot prove what it is intended to, viz., the posteriority of Pāṇini.

But let us now turn to the passages quoted and examine them.

The quotations are found in I. 1. 16; VI. 1. 127; VIII. 3. 19; VIII. 4. 51.

Now out of these sūtras all are bhāṣya na vyākhyātāṁ except VI. 1. 127. We must therefore admit the possibility that they were not known to Patañjali.

It is curious to note that, while Max Müller is able to show that the statements contained in the other sūtras quoted may be traced also in the Rk Prātiṣākhya (a circumstance, which in itself even is no reason in favour of its higher age), he states as to VI. 1. 127: "Hier sagt er [Pāṇini], dass, nach Śākalya, auslautendes i, u, y, vor unähnlichen Vokalen unverändert bleiben können, und fügt dann hinzu, dass diese Vokale kurz werden. Für die Verkürzung findet sich nun allerdings keine Autorität im Prātiṣākhya."

Thus we see, that, even if this argument were not actually erroneous, it could not prove that it is believed to establish, for those statements of Śākalya, which have the authority of the Rk Prātiṣākhya, are not found in Patañjali, and the one found there has no corresponding statement in the Rk Prātiṣākhya.

The opinion of Indian authors.

Max Müller himself appears to realize the feebleness of this argument, for he admits it has "zwar an sich keine Zwingende Beweiskraft."

It is easy to refute it by pointing out that no statements of Indian authors to the contrary (i.e., that Pāṇini must be of later date) are known, and that comparisons of this kind seem to be altogether lacking.

The Pūrvācāryas.

First of all, if the pūrvācāryas are quoted by the commentator, the word can in no way prejudice our opinion as to the age of the work commented upon. A commentator can never precede in time the work which he studies. And if the expression is not found in Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, this may be due to the fact that it had not yet been invented at their dates.
As to the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya Weber I St, IV, 65, states that it is a work of Kātyāyana's school. Even assuming that there existed more than one Kātyāyana, nobody surely would expect the Prātiśākhya to belong to the latter one of the two, thus automatically referring it to a time far posterior to Pāṇini. But, if the argument invoked by Müller implies what he thinks, it must amount to the contradictory absurdity that Kātyāyana was not only prior, but also posterior, to himself. The argument is obviously fallacious.

The expression pūrvaśākyas is used also in the Rk Prātiśākhya and the Atharva Prātiśākhya (I. 11. 94) and thus seems to have been a technical term of the sūtras.

The Vedāṅga argument.

Goldstücker asserted that the Prātiśākhya could not be regarded as the Vedāṅga vyākaraṇam. Max Müller retorted, that they did not pretend to be so; but the Rk Prātiśākhya, being a sīkṣā, called itself a Vedāṅga.

This latter fact cannot be denied. But does it prove that it was a Vedāṅga? The Bible never calls itself the Bible, nor does the Rg Veda call itself the Rg Veda.

Now Pāṇini never mentions the Veda as such, and on examining the special chandas rules of Pāṇini, I have reached the conclusion, that they do not apply to the Veda as a whole but only to the Rg Veda. The Śivasūtras still bear the mark of an influence prior to Pāṇini. He never mentions, or even alludes to the Padapāthas. And in the places, where he uses the word sāṁhitā, it has quite another and earlier sense (from which that of sāṁhitā text is derived); his own definition of the word (I. 4. 109) is parāḥ sannikāryaḥ sāṁhitā, and Böhtlingk therefore rightly translates this word in Pāṇini by ‘ein ununterbrochener Verlauf der Rede’.

Now the task of the Prātiśākhya is to describe the relation of the sāṁhitā and the pada texts to one another. But we know very well, that in the eyes of early Indian authors the pada text possesses no share whatever in the holiness of the sāṁhitā text. And Patañjali, whom nobody would dare to place earlier than Pāṇini, directly denies its authoritative force (to Pāṇini III, 1, 109). But if this be the case, this way of regarding the Padapāthas ought to apply even more forcibly to the Prātiśākhya, whose very existence presupposes the pada text.

As to the Kramapātha, to the description whereof the Rk Prātiśākhya devotes so great a space, an allusion to it could be found in Pāṇini IV. 2. 61, kramādiḥhyo yan teaching the formation of kramaka from krama, etc. But this sūtra is not found in Patañjali. (The other words of the gaṇa are pada, śīkṣā, māmāsā, sāman.)

And it is indeed remarkable, as was pointed out already by Goldstücker (p. 195), that native tradition, which made Pāṇini an rṣi of yore and his work the vyākaraṇa of the Vedāṅgas, knows nothing of the sacred character of the Prātiśākhya. To quote Goldstücker’s own words: “Tradition even in India,—and on this kind of tradition probably the most squeamish critic will permit me to lay some stress,—does not rank amongst the most immediate offsprings of Vaidik literature those works which apparently stand in the closest relation to it, —which have no other object than that of treating of the Vaidik texts of the Sāṁhitās;—but it has canonized Pāṇini’s Vyākaraṇa, which, on the contrary, would seem to be more concerned with the language of common life than with that of the sacred hymns.”

Our conclusion should rather be the exact opposite of that urged by Max Müller, viz., that the Rk Prātiśākhya’s own claim to be a Vedāṅga proves it to be a comparatively late work, for it presupposes the existence already of the Vedāṅgas; the elaboration of the Vedāṅgas being a

2 This has been surmised already by Goldstücker who identified the commentator of Pāṇini with the author of this Prātiśākhya, and Max Müller himself endorsed that opinion, cf. the introduction to his edition of the Rk Prātiśākhya, p. 6. Liebich, op. luct, p. 35, also believes Kātyāyana really to have been its author.

process perhaps of centuries, one of the earliest works of that kind could not have mentioned that whole literary collection as already existing. This would be as absurd as if Shakespeare’s very first play were to claim to be the first part of his collected works.

The Vyādi Argument.

Vyādi is quoted several times by the Rū Prātiśākhya. In the commentary on the introduction to the Mahābhāṣya (kīm punar nityah śabdah, etc.). Nageśa tells us that the sāngaṅraha alluded to by Patañjali is a work in 100,000 ślokas written by Vyādi (Vyādi kṛto lakṣaṇa-saṅkhyo grāntah). In the Uttarakāṇḍa of Rāmāyana, 36, 45, an allusion is also made to a saṅgraha, studied by Hanumant, and the commentator states the saṅgraha to be the work of Vyādi.

Now Goldstücker drew attention to Patañjali’s commentary on the second vārttikā of Pāṇini’s rule II. 3. 66, where the bhāṣyakāra as an instance thereof gives the phrase: “beautiful indeed is Dākṣāyaṇa’s creation of the Sāngaṅraha.”

We know that Pāṇini’s mother bore the name of Dākṣi. Now Dākṣāyaṇa, according to the rules for the formation of names, would mean a relation of Dākṣi, the son or a grandson or of a later scion of the lineage of a family chief of that name. As the commentators of Pāṇini agree in making Dākṣi “the female family head of the progeny of Dakṣa,” Vyādi, according to Goldstücker, “was a near relation of Pāṇini, and Pāṇini must have preceded him by at least two generations.”

If Max Müller retorts that at least three Vyādis are known and as many (if not more) Sāngaṅrahas, one can reply truly that only one Vyādi is named as the author of a Sāngaṅraha, and only one Sāngaṅraha is accepted as the work of a Vyādi.

But he does not deny that the instance quoted by Patañjali refers to this Vyādi, the author of the Sāngaṅraha. He urges that the rule, under which the name of Dākṣāyaṇa is quoted as an example, especially lays down the condition that the great-grandson, etc., should be called yuvan, only as long as the father, the elder brother or one of the old Sāpaṅḍas are living; and he asks: “Was geschieht also, wenn diese gestorben sind?”

As far as I can see, this question is quite out of place. For when the rule was illustrated by the word Dākṣāyaṇa, evidently the commentators meant that the conditions laid down in the rule did apply fully to this name; i.e., they presuppose a time when the father, etc., of Dākṣāyaṇa was living.

But when Max Müller states that yuvan names also, according to Pāṇini, IV. 1. 166, were given honoris causa, and that Dākṣi, Pāṇini’s mother, need not have been the daughter of the same Dākṣa, who was the great-grandfather of Dākṣāyaṇa, the correctness of his assertion, of course, cannot be denied. For, however likely the combination made by Goldstücker seems to be, I quite agree that it cannot be proved to stand beyond all doubts.

But the same argument applies with greater force still to what Max Müller himself further says. For when he quotes a second-hand quotation from Somadeva found in the work of the Tibetan Tārānātha, according to which Vyādi is described as the school-fellow of Pāṇini and the teacher of Kātyāyana-Vararuci, this flatly contradicts another passage of Somadeva’s work (Kathāsaritsāgara, ed. Brockhaus, I. p. 31) which makes Kātyāyana the elder of the two and relates how he was challenged to a dispute on grammar and was conquered by Pāṇini. Thus, even if such late authors as Somadeva and Tārānātha really could be thought in one matter or another to have recorded an ancient tradition, this can in no way be the case on this point, for Somadeva, the earlier of the two, shows a profound ignorance of the chronology of Indian grammarians.

Immediately after this quotation Max Müller concludes: “Können wir aber nicht entscheiden, ob der Verfasser des Sāngaṅraha derselbe war als der Vyādi, welcher unter den bedeutendsten Śikṣā—Autoritäten vom Verfasser unseres Prātiśākhya zitiert wird, so hätten wir
jedenfalls ein vollkommenes Recht zu schliessen, dass, wenn Vyâádi, der Verfasser des Sañgraha, viel jünger war als Pânini, er unmöglich derselbe Vyâádi gewesen sein kanu, welcher das Prâtiñâkhyâ zitiert.

Now this is a petitio principii, presupposing that which ought to be proved; and Max Müller's other arguments have proved to be so feeble, that they can by no means make up for the lack of evidence in the Vyâáli question.

First of all, I request, we know only of one Vyâádi, who was the author of a Sañgraha. The Prâtiñâkhyâ can hardly be thought to refer to any other author.

Now Vyâádi is quoted by the Mahâbhârata to I. 2. 64. His school is referred to in the commentary on VI. 2. 36, in connection with that of other grammarians, thus: Āpisala-Pânintya-Vyâáliya-Gautamîyâh. Accordingly the Āpisala school is made out to be the oldest one, while the school of Pânini precedes that of Vyâádi, this one being older than that of Gotama. The Trikântadeśa II. 7. 24. 25, also puts Vyâádi after Pânini, but makes him older than Kátyâyana (the epithet of Vindhyastha, which would be applicable to this last mentioned grammarian, is erroneously transferred on Pânini).

It thus seems probable that Vyâádi is later than Pânini, but older than Kátyâyana and (of this there can be no doubt) older than Patañjali.4

I may point out another fact which corroborates my contention, viz., that the Vyâádi of the Rk Prâtiñâkhyâ must be a grammarian who worked after the time of Pânini.

This same Prâtiñâkhyâ in rule 509 (according to Müller's numeration) quotes the opinion of a certain Kautsa. Now the Mahâbhârata also refers to a Kautsa sub. III. 2, 108; "als spezieller Zeitgenosse, und wie es scheint Schüler Pânini's", according to Weber (the passage runs: upasedivin Kautsaḥ Pâninim). A Kautsa is also quoted by the Nirukta.

Since to the best of our belief no work of any Kautsa has been handed down to us, a wide field for conjecture lies open; and he who believes in the priority of the Rk Prâtiñâkhyâ might well retort that more than one Kautsa must have existed. This possibility I do not deny. But, until the contrary is proved, I maintain emphatically that, if the name of a certain grammarian is quoted in different grammatical works and if we have no proof of the existence of more than one grammarian of that name, it is in the highest degree probable that all the grammatical works refer to one and the same individual grammarian.

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4 Belvalkar's *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 27, places Vyâádi between Pânini and Patañjali.
TWO TAMIL HYMNS FOR THE MARGAZHI FESTIVAL.
TRANSLATED BY A. BUTTERWORTH AND PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

(Continued from page 167.)

Hymn (2).

1. Of the Great and Marvellous Splendour which hath no beginning nor end, we sing.
   Hearing us sing, canst Thou, O damsel with the bright long eyes,
   Sleep on? That ear of Thine, is it the ear of deafness?
   The sound of adoration in praise of the Great God's broad anklet
   Hath spread through the street, yet sighing, sighing, lost to reality,
   She turneth on her floweful couch;
   She lieth there, as if she were naught. Why thus, why thus!
   Is this the measure of the friendship of our friend? Él Ór, Our Lady.

2. Transported day and night by devotion to the divine Glory,
   When shall we speak His praise, if now thou art
   Of this flowery couch enamoured, O maid with faultless Gems adorned?
   Ye beauteously bejewelled ones! Shame on you! Are these also trifles?
   Is this the place for sporting and for jest?
   The Heavenly High One whose flowerlike feet the Gods themselves
   In shamefast fear do shrink from praising,
   Those feet the Light Sublime hath come to bestow
   Upon those his devotees assembled in Tillai's court;
   They are those in His affection wrapped; but who are we? Él Ór, Our Lady.

3. O thou whose smile is bright as a pearl—
   Thou who wouldst stand before us and say in words of swelling sweetness,
   "Our Father, the Bliss eternal, Ambrosia divine," come thou and open the door—
   Ye that are devout, ye of old attachment to the Lord, ye of disciplined conduct,
   Would it come amiss if ye overlook our unworthiness and accept us as novices in
   service unto Him?
   Is this a trick? Do we not, all of us, know the measure of your Love?
   Will not those of devout mind sing the glory of our Siva?
   Verily all of this we do deserve. Él Ór, Our Lady.

4. O thou whose smile is a splendid pearl, even now hath it not dawned?
   Have all come babbling like the tinted parrots?
   We will count and then tell you if they have, meanwhile
   Waste not thy time in useless sleep, but with melting heart
   Sing of Him who is the unequalled Elixir (balm) of heaven,
   Of Him who is the Veda's highest meaning, of Him
   Whose locust is balm to the eye. Singing, dissolve in inmost ecstasy of heart.
   Nay, we will not; count thyself. If the number fall short
   On thy count, then go to sleep. Él Ór, Our Lady.

5. Lady whose mouth floweth with milk and honey, who mockingly
   Utterest falsehoods, telling that such as we do know
   Him whom, as mountain, Mál knew not, the Four faced saw not, open the gateway.
   Although we raise the cry 'Sivan', 'Sivan', singing to the Majesty of Him
   Whom Earth and Heaven and all the rest have never known
   And His purifying Goodness which graciously bringeth us beneath His sway,
   Thou wilt not understand us; lo, thou wilt not wake up.
   And in this state art thou, lady of the perfumed locks. Él Ór, Our Lady.
6. O Fawn, albeit yesterday Thou didst say
   "To-morrow will I myself awaken you," declare without shame
To what quarter did that promise of thine go; for hath it not already dawned?
He who is beyond the knowledge of Heaven itself and Earth and all things besides,
Himself will come and, in His grace cherishing us, will accept us in service.
Thou wilt not open thy lips to us who have come to thee singing the glory of His
jewelled feet.
Thou wilt not let thy flesh melt in devotion to Him. This alone is conduct befitting thee.
Sing thou of Him who is Lord of us and of all others besides. Él Ór, Our Lady.

7. Mother, are these things too but trifles? When thou heardest described
The auspicious signs of Him who is incomprehensible to the many Immortals,
The One, the Greatly Splendid, thou openest Thy lips uttering the name "Sivan."
Before one hath cried out "O Thou of the South," thou wilt melt like wax near fire;
"Mine Own, my King, Sweet Ambrosia" we, all of us,
Have cried, each of us by herself apart, and dost thou still lie asleep?
Like the hard-hearted fools thou in silence liest.
What is the nature of thy sleep? Él Ór, Our Lady.

8. The cock croweth and birds cry all round.
The flute soundeth and conches ring all round.
Of the Incomparable Supreme Splendour, of the Incomparable Supreme Mercy
We sang in terms of the highest meaning; didst thou not hear?
May thou prosper! What sort of sleep is this? Prithee open thy lips.
Is this ever the way that the love of Vishnu executeth itself?
Of the One which abideth as the First from all Eternity,
Of Him who is always on the side of the humble,²⁰ sing. Él Ór, Our Lady.

9. O ancient Being, essence of all that is the primal ancient essence,
O Thou, who art also even that which is the newest,
We who are slaves of Thy glorious feet, having obtained Thee as our Lord,
Will worship at the feet of Thy servants; to such we will give our allegiance.
May such men become our husbands; in such manner as
They please to say, we will obediently serve them as their slaves;
O our King, if thou but favour us with this kind of life,
We shall be lacking in naught. Él Ór, Our Lady.

10. Beneath the sevenfold Underworld is the ineffable foot-blossom.
The flower-crowned head is of all the universe the very Head.
The sacred form, on one side woman, is not alone His form.
Although the Heavenly Ones and earth praise Him as the Vedas' beginning,
He is the one indescribable Friend, who abideth ever in the devout.
O ye girls within the temple of Him faultless abide.
What is His town? What is His name? Who are His kinsfolk? Who are strangers to
Him?
In what manner shall He be sung? Él Ór, Our Lady.

11. Entering the broad and crowded tank, with splashing
We have bathed, scooping up (the water) with our hands, having hymned Thine
anklet,

²⁰ Him who is in part woman, is also another interpretation, but it has no appropriateness here
where Siva's grace to devotees is the theme.
We, Thy servants for generations, O Lord! are happy. Thou who as the precious fire 
Art red; Thou who wearest the white ashes; Thou blest with the highest wealth; 
Thou Bridegroom of the small-waisted woman with the wide, black eyes; 
Ah Lord, in Thy merciful sport of accepting service and saving souls, what of observ-
ances

Those who would be saved perform, all such have we finished performing. 
Guard us in Thy mercy that we weary not. Él Ór, Our Lady.

12. The Pure One whom we praise in noisy dance that the woes which bind to birth may 
cease,
The Dancer, that, in the Court of Tillai, like flame of fire doth dance, 
Having, in sport, this sky, the earth and all of us 
Protected, created, destroyed—
Discoursing of His greatness, with bracelets tinkling, long jewelled-girdles 
Sounding like laughter, and beetles buzzing over our coiled hair,
Let us bathe, in the tank bright with flowers in bloom, scooping up the water, 
All the time singing of the glory of the golden feet of Our Lord. Él Ór, Our Lady.

13. Because of the dark blossoms of bright kuvalai (eye of Pârvati), because, of the bright 
bloom of red lotuses, (eye of Śiva), 
Because of the swarms of pretty little birds (white bracelets of conch-shell) there, 
because of their cries too (Cobras, as armlets of Śiva).
Because of the throng of those who come to wash impurity from their bodies, 
This bubbling pool is like our Lady Pârvati and our Lord Śiva in one.
Leap into it, again and again, 
With our shell-bracelets tinkling, with ankle-rings jingling together, 
With our bosoms swelling, and the water swelling up around us, 
Leap into the water abloom with lotuses and take your bath. Él Ór, Our Lady.

14. With ear-rings waving, with bright, bejewelled trinkets waving, 
With garlanded tresses waving, while the swarming beetles waver, 
In the cool water bathe. Singing of the "Small Court", 
Singing of Him who is the Vedas' meaning, singing how He happened to become 
that meaning, 
Singing of the power of the Supreme Light, singing of His encircling wreath of cassia, 
Singing of the power of Him as the Beginning of all, singing likewise of Him as the 
end of all, 
Take thou thy bath, singing, the praise of the feet 
Of the Lady who changeth, saveth, exalteth us. Él Ór, Our Lady.

15. Once and again crying "My Lord!", she31 did never cease, 
To belaund the greatness of Our Lord, her heart rapt in joy, 
Her eyes wet with the increasing flow of tears; 
She would now and then worship Him by falling upon the earth but would not 
worship the Gods of Heaven.

Him who, in this wise, maddens his worshippers 
In extending to them His Grace, Him, will we sing full-mouthed, 
O ye women with heaving and adorned bosoms let us sport and bathe 
In the water fragrant with beautiful flowers. Él Ór, Our Lady.

31 This has been held to refer to one of the 63 Śaiva devotees who is described as the "Lady of 
Karaikkâl", as she had forgotten her own name.—Ed.
16. Rain-cloud that first drainest the sea, then risest up
   Gleaming like Her, our Owner, glittering and shining
   Like the slender waist of Her who holdeth us as thralls,
   Tinkling like the golden, lovely anklet on the Queen’s foot,
   Bearing a bow like Her sacred eyebrow, pour thou forth
   Rain like the sweet grace which She our Mother, She who holdeth us as thralls,
   Showereth down upon us all, mindful of those
   Who love Our Lord, the King who never is apart from Her. Él Or, Our Lady.

17. Such delight as He in us findeth is not in the Red-eyed One,
   Nor in Him who faceth the quarters, nor in the Gods, nor elsewhere.
   Thou lovely one whose black locks absorb perfume! Singing of Him, who exalted us,
   Who arriving here in His grace in all our homes,
   In grace tendereth the ruddy lotus of His golden foot,
   The King of the gracious look, the ambrosia precious to us slaves,
   Our Prince; plunge in the fair and shining water,
   Bestrewn with lotus blooms, and bathe. Él Or, Our Lady.

18. The sun hath arisen with his effulgent beams and hath hidden himself behind a dark
   cloud;
   The stars are passing out of sight having lost their light thereby;
   As the bright gems in the crowns of the Gods lose their lustre
   When they come to worship at the feet of the Lord of Annámalai;
   As Male, as Female, as Neither, as Heaven filled with glowing light,
   As Earth, as something different from these,
   As visible Ambrosia, He standeth. Sing his anklet,
   O maiden, and spring into the flowery flood and bathe. Él Or, Our Lady.

   In fear as we renew that old saying
   O, Lord of us all, let us but ask this one boon of thee.
   Listen to our prayer.
   Let our breasts be never for those that love Thee not.
   Let our hands do no work not of service unto Thee.
   By night and by day let our eyes see naught but Thee.
   If thou but grant this to us, O Lord!
   What mattereth it to us where the Sun riseth. Él Or, our Lady.

20. Hail! May Thy foot-blossom which is the Beginning, be gracious.
   Hail! May Thy rosy, tender (feet) which are the End, be gracious.
   Hail! The golden foot which is the source of all life.
   Hail! The flowery anklets which are the Bliss of all things living.
   Hail! The twin feet which are the Goal of life to all that live.
   Hail! The lotus which even Mál and the Four-faced could not see.
   Hail! The golden blossoms which graciously accept our service, give us life.
   Hail! May we bathe in Márgaži. Él Or, our Lady.

**Supplementary Note.**

This festival seems to be an old time ceremony observed by the people of India generally.
There is a description of the ceremony, at least a few essential details of it, in Book X, chapter 22 of the Bhágavata Puráña. According to this the ceremony was performed during the
whole of the first month of the dewy season (hémanta), that is, the winter. The whole body of the girl folk of the cowherd settlement turn out for a bath in the Jamna at dawn or morning twilight, and perform the worship of the Goddess Durga, fashioned out of sand and placed in a position in the river bed itself. Throughout the period they had to be on a regulated diet, and made various offerings in the shape of songs, flowers, fruit, etc., praying all the while that the Goddess may grant them for their husband, Krishna. According to this version, the ceremony lasted throughout the month, and came to a close at the end of it. The object here is the securing of a husband of their hearts’ desire. Even so it seems to be something of a modification of an already existing festival, the object of which was not merely the attainment of the desired husband, but also the getting of timely rain for the benefit of the whole community.

The actual festival seems to have lasted a whole month that is, the whole month of Mārgali. What actually was the month, when it began and when it ended are not defined to us. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa describes it in general terms as the first month of the hémanta season, thus indicating that the ceremony was of a month’s duration. This is described, however, in the Tiruvādvārā Purāṇam as taking place “in the month of Mārgali, lasting for only ten days before the nakṣattra Āḍra, (Ādirai).” But this statement apart the month would have ended in the nakṣattra Āḍra, that is the full moon of the month, and therefore, it would have been a pūrṇimā (month), that is, a month ending in the full moon according to Bhāgavata Purāṇa as stated above. The festival was primarily intended for the worship of Durga, and had for its objects the attainment of two worldly benefits: the public benefit of timely rain, and the individual benefit of a desirable husband.

This is described in an old poem in the collection Paripāṭal under the name Tainnirāḍal (bath of Tai). The festival is supposed to be begun, by learned Brahmins, in the Āḍra Nakṣattra at the end of the rainy season. The purpose of the festival, as given, is a prayer that the earth may be cooled by seasonal rain. The same institution is described as Amba Āḍal, the celebration, or the festival of Ambā, which is only another name for Durga. The celebrants were unmarried girls, who go through the bath in the presence of their mothers, and are put through it by elderly Brahman ladies, practised in the performance of these ceremonies. This description occurs in a poem glorifying the river Vaikāli flowing by Madura, and is more or less of a general character. There the name of the festival is given as Tainnirāḍal.

It is thus clear that the old world popular institution was a bathing festival, which lasted through the whole month, and came to a close at the end of it. The purpose of the festival is a prayer to the Goddess Durga that girls may secure eligible husbands, and people may be happy with abundant rainfall. This annual festival is made use of by the poets here for their own particular purpose, which is an exhibition of unalloyed devotion to the God of each one’s choice. Āndāl or Kōdai makes use of the story to express in her own fervid manner the affectionate enjoyment of God in the form of Krishna in her poem. Mānikkavāsagar in his own characteristic way wishes to exhibit his feelings of unalloyed devotion to Śiva, using the same machinery for the purpose. The two poems, therefore, are subjective in character, and their purpose is clearly the exhibition of one’s feeling of devotion and nothing else. The objective outward description takes in all the details of erotic affection of the Gopis for Krishna, and, perhaps in a somewhat less fervid fashion, Mānikkavāsagar has used the prayers of the young women folk for attaining their object, the securing of husbands devoted to the service of Śiva.

22 Pāvai or Amba both have the significance, and Śri as Mr. B. takes it in his note above.
23 Tiruvambalencharukharm, 40.
The festival as an institution is not altogether a dead institution. It would appear a festival like that is still celebrated in the month of Mārgalī in the Malabar country, where women enjoy themselves in a bath in groups with songs and festivities, more or less of a similar character. As far as it is possible to make out the songs seem to be the songs addressed to the God of Love, and the object seems to be the securing of husbands of their own liking. The poetess Āndal in the Tiruppāvai dacad (10) describes the festival in the month of Tai where this God of Love is worshipped with a view to securing the desired husband. Whether the Malabar festival has reference to the Mārgalī bath, or the Tai festival cannot be decided without the full details of the festival being obtained, which must be left over for another occasion. Neither of them seems to have any connection with the Holi festival as it ordinarily obtains in Northern India, and, to perhaps a smaller extent, in the South. It seems further to be distinct from the so-called Mārgalī or Tiruvādirai festival. The Tai festival according to Āndāl seems to have lasted on to the Panguni month, and was a festival intended to propitiate the God of Love. As such it has to be regarded as quite distinct from the Mārgalī festival. The Malabar festival already referred to seems to be one more akin to the Tai festival than to the Mārgalī bath, having regard merely to the object aimed at, and the God to be propitiated.

It is interesting to note that an inscription of 1530 in the Govindaraja Temple at Tirupati refers to the festival of the Mārgalī but in connection with Āndāl which began on the 24th of the month and lasted for 7 days, the festival actually coming to a close on the Karu day i.e., the 2nd day of the month of Tai under the current system.

Two of the Malabar songs were copied and sent on to me at my request and on examination prove to be songs relating to the abduction of Subhadra by the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna, her cousin. This is an indication that the festival such as is celebrated at present is not the original one, if there had been such, but one into which the cult of Krishna had been introduced.

The purpose of Gods in the first poem is merely to give expression to her enjoyment of the object of her devotion, that is, Vishnu. In the form of Krishna he is the beloved of the girl folk of the cowherd settlement of Gokulam. Goda puts herself subjectively in the position of the whole body of girls and enjoys mentally all that she believes they had enjoyed of him. This has the outward appearance of mere desire of the flesh, but is actually nothing more than a mere mental attitude, and as such free from all taint of physical love. To those that cannot rise to the height of this abstraction, it presents the carnal aspects and may even lead to abuse, as in fact it has in its onward development. But the actual purpose of the author is by a mere recital of her intellectual experience to bring home to those that may not have attained to her level, the idea of the bliss there is in it.

In Māṇikkavāsagar’s poem a similar purpose runs through it. The subject is brought with severe simplicity to the ultimate idea of the prayer of the girls that they may have for their husbands those devoted to Śiva. Otherwise the machinery is the same. The songs are sung in praise of Śiva—the pleasure in the sight, the delight in the proximity and the ineffable happiness of union with the Godhead. This poem is given a Tantric exposition as the other one a philosophic, and both of them may be brought into the realm of philosophy each in its own particular way—S.K.
THE RECOVERY OF THE GREAT BELL OF THE SHWE DAGON PAGODA AT RANGOON.

By Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.

In 1895 the late Mr. T. Hesketh Biggs published a small book on the Great Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, and regarding that work the late Mr. (afterwards Sir Frank) McCarthy of the Rangoon Gazette wrote to me on the 18th February 1896 that "he says the story of the salvage of the big bell [the Mahaganda at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda] by the Burmese from the Rangoon river is a myth. I have a distinct recollection that you told me one evening at the Gymkhana Club [at Rangoon] the history of the rescue. Can you set the matter at rest? There is some controversy about it here."

I was then at Port Blair in the Andaman Islands, and I have with me still all the correspondence which ensued in the Rangoon Gazette and its Weekly Budget. I publish it here, as it is of general interest and worth-preserving.

On 11th March 1896, Mr. Hesketh Biggs wrote from Calcutta, acknowledging that he had made a mistake, as follows: "The letter of your correspondent, O.L., in your issue of the 9th February settles the question of the story of the Pagoda Bell. I can only express my regret for my mistake, which I shall correct. In explanation of the view I took, I should say that in none of the accounts of the first [Burmese] war I was able to procure in Rangoon was there any mention of the story of the bell, and I was most positively assured by an old Burman, who was well acquainted with the history of the Pagoda, that there was no foundation in fact for it. It seemed to me also incredible that the Burmans could have raised the bell from such a river as the Irrawaddy if it had fallen in any distance from the shore, and I, therefore, came to the conclusion that the story of this bell had become confused with that of the bell of Dhammacheti, which was sunk in the Poozoondoung creek.

"I have come across another account of the recovery of the bell in a work entitled "Two years in Ava from May 1824 to May 1826" by an officer [Tarrant] of the Quarter-Master-General's Department, published in 1827. From his account the bell was rescued by the British, assisted by the Burmans, and it evidently sank not far from the river bank. The writer states; 'We made an attempt in April 1825 to send the great bell to Calcutta, and succeeded with much labour and difficulty in embarking it on a raft to carry it alongside the Sulimany. The raft pushed off. Thousands of Burmans were looking on deplored the loss of so revered a relic of former times, when on a sudden it heeled over and sunk. There it remained for some months, but in January 1826 we raised it from the river, with the assistance of the population of Rangoon and replaced it in the Pagoda.'"

Communications between Rangoon and Port Blair in 1896 were infrequent and very slow, so my reply to Sir Frank McCarthy's letter was not published till 24th March 1896, when the following paragraph appeared in the Weekly Budget: "A correspondent, who is a recognized authority on Burmese antiquities, sends us a communication on the recent dispute about the great bell of the Pagoda. He is at too great a distance to have seen the later communications which set at rest the doubt as to the adventures of the great bell. He says: 'There are two large bells on the platform of the Shwe Dagon: one of nine tons, placed at the South-East corner by Tharrawaddy in 1842 to replace one on the same spot, presented by Dhammacheti of Pegu about 1490 and subsequently removed and dropped in the Pazunaung Creek by Maung Zinga (Philip de Brito) about 1600; the other of 22 tons, the Mahaganda (or great bell), presented by Shinbyuyin in 1768 and dropped by the English in the Rangoon River, being removed and replaced in January 1826 by the Burmese. J. E. Alexander saw and described the operations, Travels from India to England, 1827, p. 46.' This is the passage recently quoted in our columns from Alexander's book.

1 This letter is now forthcoming.
Our correspondent continues: "I went into the subject of Burmese bells some time ago to settle a question of the Burmese method of gauging weight and the following quotations may be of use to those who have libraries and wish to read up details on this interesting subject. Laurie's *Second Burmese War, Rangoon*, p. 126; Bigandet's *Gaudama*, Trumbner's edition, vol. I, p. 74, foot-note; Malcom's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 247; Yule's *Aea*, p. 171; Strettell's *Ficus Elastica*, p. 48; Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans*, p. 138, but this last only describes a fabulous bell at Zimme said to weigh 183 tons. The Myingun Bell near Mandalay weighs only 80 tons."

This was followed in the *Weekly Budget* (2nd May 1896) by a letter from Maulmein, dated 27th April 1896, by a correspondent, who signed himself "Another Old Resident:"
"I am glad to learn, from your issue of 24th instant, that Mr. Hesketh Biggs has inserted in his book a correction of the statement about the sinking of the great bell in the Rangoon river. Shway Yoe should make a similar correction of his errors. By following Captain Forbes he has created confusion. In chapter XV on Pagodas, he says that the Maha Ganda, the bell which the English attempted to take away after the second Burmese war, 'was presented by King Tharrawaddy in 1840 on the occasion of a state visit to Rangoon and the pyah.' No bell was presented in 1840, but one was cast, by order of the King, in February 1843, particulars of which were given in the extracts from the *Moulmain Chronicle* which I sent with my letter of 20th February. The Maha Ganda was cast some years before. The inscription on it states the date, the weight and dimensions, viz., 'Year of the establishment of religion 2322, era 1140, 11th day of the waxing of the moon Ta-bo-dwe, after the 3rd watch, the position of the stars being propitious, with metal weighing 15,555 *pik-tha*, diameter 5 cubits, height 7 cubits 12 inches, circumference 15 cubits, thickness 12 inches, the bell is cast, and to the Monument of the Divine Hair the King presents an act of homage.' The bell was ordered to be cast in 1138 (B.E.), and the casting was only completed in 1140. The Editor of the *Chronicle* said in the issue of 29th March 1843, that the former date was "about seventy years ago in the reign of Tsenkoo, grandson of Alounpara," which would be about A.D. 1773. The correspondent you quote in your issue of 17th March, says that the Maha Ganda was presented by Shinbyuyin in 1768. Which is correct?"

"The weight stated in the inscription is equal to about 25 tons, your correspondent puts it down as 22, and states that the one presented by Tharrawaddy in 1842 (?) weighs 9 tons. There is evidently some confusion here, as Tharrawaddy's bell is the larger of the two and was computed by the Editor of the *Moulmain Chronicle* at about 50 tons. The weight given by Captain Forbes, Shway Yoe, and Bishop Bigandet, (*Life of Gaudama*, vol. I note on page 74) of 94,682 lbs. refers to the bell cast for Tharrawaddy in 1843 (the Bishop erroneously says 1842) and not to the Maha Ganda.

"It is by the mixing of these two bells that the error has arisen. In the weight given by Mr. Hesketh Biggs of 25,533 viss, there must be one figure wrong, as the inscription says 15,555, which would make about 25, not 41 tons.

"I have a photograph of the bell which was removed in 1825, taken in February this year. It corresponds with the description given by the writer of *Two Years in Ava* in having two griffins on the handle. The rim has the broken appearance it had when I first saw it, otherwise the bell does not appear to be changed.

"To set the question of weights and dimensions at rest, some one, with a competent knowledge, should measure the bells and calculate their weights."

On 15th May, 1896, a letter from myself to Sir Frank McCarthy produced the following paragraph in the *Rangoon Gazette*. "A correspondent who is perhaps our greatest living

**Footnotes:**

2 Sir George Scott, *The Burman.*

4 B.E. = A.D. 1778.

8 Not now forthcoming.

5 The Inscription on the Bell gives A.D. 1778.
authority on such matters, sends us some very interesting information on the point raised in these columns some time since as to the weight of the great bell. The notes, he says, were prepared for quite another purpose originally. At any rate they serve to show where Forbes and Shway Yoe got their information. That the old priests of Burma intended to calculate weights in the old familiar Indian style of *pala* and *tula*, whatever weights they meant by these denominations, is clear from the statement in the Kalyani Inscriptions that King Dhammachiety presented to the *chetiya* at Tirumpanagara, that is, to the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, 'a large bell made of brass, weighing 3,000 *tulas*.' Taking the *tula* at about 145 ounces troy, that is, about ten pounds avoirdupois, we get the weight of this bell to be about 11-2/5 tons:—a weight, it may be said, more than doubled by the Mahaghanta, or Great Bell, of the same Pagoda, cast by King Thawawadi in 1842 and usually said to weigh over 25 tons; while King Bodawphaya's (1781—1819) bell at Myingun weighs about eighty tons (Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 219).

"King Dhammachiety's bell, the Trustees of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda say, never reached the Pagoda, having been dropped in the stream near Rangoon, known as the Pazundaung creek. It may, however, be there nevertheless, as the second large bell in the North East corner of the Pagoda platform was the great bell of the war of 1824 and was then estimated to weigh 18,000 lbs. or about eight tons. (See Lawrie, *Second Burmese War*, p. 126).

"There is a valuable note on the two great bells in Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, Oriental Series Edition, volume I, p. 74. The Bishop makes the weight of the Mahaghanta to be 94,682 pounds plus 25 per cent. to be added for copper, gold and silver thrown into the mould by the devout during the process of casting. This gives us two weights of about 42½ tons and 50½ tons respectively. The Bishop also says that the Myingun bell is supposed to exceed 200,000 lbs. in weight, i.e., more than 80 tons. The measurements he gives of the two bells [at Rangoon] show that his statement of 42 tons for the weight of the Mahaghanta must be nearer the truth than the usual 25 tons. Other references to the subject will be found in Yule’s *Ana*, p. 171; Strettell’s *Ficus Elastica*, p. 48; Malcolm’s *Travels*, II, 247."

Our correspondent, commenting on the hopelessness of collecting local historical information accurately, says: "I may mention that my attempts at finding out the history of the lost bell above-mentioned have resulted in these astounding statements: 'In 1468 Dhammachiety had the bell cast at the Pagoda itself, but before he could put it up, Maung Zinga (Philippe de Brito) removed it in a steamer (sic) when it got lost in the Pazundaung Creek.' But Dhammachiety flourished 1460—1491 A.D. and Maung Zinga was in Burma 1600—1613 A.D."
A NOTE ON QUEEN MINAKSHI OF MADURA.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A.

A COPPER-PLATE record of Queen Minakshi, the last of the Nāyaka rulers of Madura, came up recently for my examination. It is composed in Telugu, the court-language of the Nāyaka, and is engraved also in Telugu characters. The sign-manual of the Queen—‘Mīnākshammanārāyana’—is incised in the fourth line on the second side of the plate.

The date is recorded on the 12th day of the month of Māgha, in the cyclic year Kālayukti corresponding to Śaka 1660, which was a Friday with Puravasu-nakshatra and whose English equivalent was February 9, A.D. 1739. It registers that the Queen was pleased to make a gift to a Muhammadan priest named Imām-Sāhibu of a piece of land having the sowing capacity of one kōṭī of land, in Śivalappēri alias Muddu-Vēkatalakshmi-patī-Bhūpalasamudram in the Nāṅgunēri taluk of the Tinnevelly district. This district has been described in this document as having belonged to the Tiruvadīrājya (Travancore) forming part of the Trichinopoly-Madura-samsthānam, which had been bestowed on the Nāyaka rulers by their overlords, the Vijayanagara emperors.

The genealogy furnished in this document covers only three generations, namely, Chokkanātha-Nāyaka of the Kāsya-pītrā, a descendant of Viśvanātha-Nāyaka, the original founder of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty—his son Raṅga-Muttuvirappā, and his son Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha. Minakshi was the queen of this last-mentioned ruler, and she occupied the Madura throne on the death of her husband early in A.D. 1732, with headquarters at Trichinopoly.

The importance of this record lies in the fact that it mentions Queen Minakshi to be alive in February 1739, whereas either 1736 or 1737 has hitherto been accepted to have been the year of her death, or her suicide. The Maduravatāla-varā ḍu 3 fixes her demise three months later than the date of this Telugu record, and as there are no reasons for suspecting the genuineness of this latter, the Varā ḍu’s account appears to receive fresh confirmation. A few other Nāyaka rulers and Śēṭupati chiefs are also known to have made similar donations to Muhammadan mosques; but this gift of the Nāyaka queen may have the additional significance, that it was due to her subservience to her captor Chandārā Ṣāhib. 5

The prefatory portion of this copper-plate record is subjoined:


1 History of the Nāyaka of Madura (R. Satyanathu, 1924), p. 234.
2 Indian Antiquary, 1917, p. 213.
4 Sowell’s List of Antiquities, vol. II.
5 It may be noted that six years later in Śaka 1666 (A.D. 1745) Sheik Ahmad Kabir, son of this Imām-śāhib was the recipient of some gifts from Māfız-Khān. The Tinnevelly District came to be considered at this time as the southern governorship of the Ārkādu-Trichinopoly viceregency, which was subordinate to the Hyderabad Dominions.
MARRIAGE SONGS IN NORTHERN INDIA

From the Collection made by Dr. W. Crooke, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

(Continued from page 158.)

Muhammadan Songs.

1. I am his devotee.

Sung by 'Abdu'l-Ghanî of Dehrâ. Recorded by Khalîl of Dehrâ.

Text.

1.
Apne pîyâ ki maiî joger bani.
Apne saîwariyâ ki maiû joger bani.
Apne bâlamâ ki maiû joger bani.
Apne pyare ki maiû joger bani.

2.
Tâgâ ho, to tor duû; re, prît na torî jâyâ.
Aur kâghaz ho, to bâuch luû; re, karan na bâachâ jâyâ.
Apne pûjâ ki maiû joger bani.

3.
Sun le, aî mâti ke deote, tu meri ardâs.
Pûjâ milan ki rât hai: tu jaliyo sări rât.
Apne pîyâ ki maiû joger bani.

Translation.

1.
I have become the devotee of my love.
I have become the devotee of the swarthy one.
I have become the devotee of my husband.
I have become the devotee of my beloved.

2.
If it be a thread, I can break it; but oh, the thread of love is not to be broken
Or if it be a paper, I can read it; but oh, my fate is not to be read.
I have become the devotee of my love.

3.
Hear, oh earthen lamp: hear my prayer.
To night I meet my husband: do thou burn all night.
I have become the devotee of my love.

2. Bedecked as a bridegroom comes our dearest Ahmad.

Recorded by Zâkir 'Ali, teacher in the Town School, Itâwâ.

Text.

Bânâ banâyâ dil Ahmad pyârâ.

1.
Haqq kî Dargâh se mâbâp ne pyârâ páyâ.
Fâtma pusht pai; Husain haiâ dâeû bâeû.
Mere bâre pai rahai, mere nauhe pai rahai, sadâ Khuda ka sâyâ.
Bânâ banâyâ dil Ahmad pyârâ.

2.
Bânî Khâtûn, bânî dulhâ, bane Khudâ bane.
Sehârâ Jabarâil jo lâye tum ko mubârak howai.
Bânâ banâyâ dil Ahmad pyârâ.
3.
Jab ki tashrif Nabi le chale maharā mahraj,
Malak aur hūr ne khusi hoke badhāwā gāyā.
Banā banāyā dil Āḥmad pyārā.

Translation.
Bedecked as a Bridegroom comes our dearest Āḥmad.

1.
His parents obtained the beloved from the Court of God:
Fatima behind him and the Husnain87 on his right and left.
Upon my home and upon all of us may the shadow of God remain.
Bedecked as a Bridegroom comes our dearest Āḥmad.

2.
Bedecked is Khâtūn,88 bedecked the bride, bedecked the people of God.
May the garland of Gabriel which you have brought be a blessing.
Bedecked as a Bridegroom comes our dearest Āḥmad.

3. My God and my Muhammad will come.

Recorded by Zâkir 'Ali, teacher in the Town School, Itāwā.

Text.
Allā mere āwaiṅe : Muḥammad āwaiṅe.

1.
Age Gaṅgā thām ći : Jamnā hiloreṅ lēyā.
Bich kharī Bibī Fātimā ; ummat balaiyā lēyā.
Allāh mere āwaiṅe : Muḥammad āwaiṅe.

2.
Utarā pasinā nūr kā huā chameli phūl.
Māliniyā guṭthai sehār dūlah bane Rasūl.
Allāh mere āwaiṅe : Muḥammad āwaiṅe,

3.
Merī Murād mujhko milai Shahe Panj tān.
Sadqa Hasan Husēn kā aur shair Khudā kā.
Allāh mere āwaiṅe : Muḥammad āwaiṅe.

Translation.
My God and my Muhammad will come.

1.
The Ganges stopped its flow; the Jamnā raised its waves.
Between them stood Bibī Fātimā, and the followers (Muslim) admired her.
My God and my Muḥammad will come.

2.
The drops of her perspiration which fell were turned to jasmine flowers.
The florists’ wives were making garlands as the Prophet became a bridegroom.
My God and my Muḥammad will come.

3.
O ye Five Royal Personages, give me my desire.
Our offering is to Hasan and Husain and our prayer is to God.
My God and my Muḥammad will come89.

87 The two Hasan : Hasan and Husain. 88 Khâtūn is the name of the bride’s maid-servant.
89 It will be observed that the Muḥammadans are here following the Hindu custom of filling their marriage songs with allusions to their religious stories.
4. Bring me Garlands of flowers.
*Recorded by Zākir 'Ali, teacher in the Town School, Itāwā.*

**Text.**

Harīyāle hamare bane ke luje serā guthā lāv, meri Maliniyā.
Sone ke sahrā guthā, mori Maliniyā, aur koū ki kalyān.
Harīyāle hamare bane ke luje saharā guthā lāv, meri Maliniyā.

**Translation.**

O Malini, bring garlands of fresh flowers and leaves for my bridegroom.
String the garlands with golden thread, my Malini, and use flowers of water-lilies.

O Malini, bring garlands of fresh flowers and leaves for my bridegroom.

5. Cut down the Mountain Bamboo, Father.
*Recorded by Zākir 'Ali, teacher in the Town School, Itāwā.*

**Text.**

1.

Parbat bāūs katā, more bābul.
Nikā manjuwā chhāv re.
Harīyāle kā manjuwā chhāv re.

2.

Māthi kā, bābul, tikā dijo, aur motiyā sī zeware.
Parbat bāūs katā, more bābul,
Nikā mányā manjyā chhāv re.
Harīyāle kā manjyā chhāv re.

3.

Nāk ko, bābul, besar dijo, aur chumiyon se zeware.
Kānoi ko, bābul, bāli dijo, aur pattoū se zeware.
Gale ko, bābul, hasali dijo, har hamelo zeware.
Bahoī ko, bābul, niwal dijo, anwat biehhuō zeware.

4.

Shāh ko, re bābul, ghōrā, kamdhenu, chhohara.
Ham ko, re bābul, dola dijo, āwai pāchheū baniyān.
Ham ko, re bābul, itna dijo, mehar rajoū merā sāwarā.
Ham ko, re bābul, wo ghar dijo, sonā ralai tarāzū.

5.

Parbat bāūs kati, mere bābul.
Nikā manjaya chāwa re.
Harīyāle kā manjaya chāwa re.

**Translation.**

1.

Cut down the mountain bamboo, father.
Make a shed for the marriage.
Make a shed of green bamboos.

2.

Mark his forehead with the tikā father, give him jewels of pearl,
Cut down the mountain bamboo, father.
Make a shed for the marriage.
Make a shed of green bamboos.
3.
Give me a besa for my nose, father, and jewels of gems.
Give me earrings, father, and jewels of gold-leaf.
Give me a necklace, father, and a jewelled garland.
Give me for my arms, father, niwal, anuvat and bichhād.

4.
Give to my king, father, a horse and kine and calves.
Give me a palanquin, father, and maids to follow me.
Give me all this, father, and the mahār of my dark bridegroom.
Give me, father, to that household which weighs its gold in scales.

5.
Cut down the mountain bamboo, father.
Make a shed for the marriage.
Make a shed of green bamboos.

**BOOK NOTICES.**


The problem of Dravidian History has not yet been solved satisfactorily by any scholar. Mr. Seshasayyaranar makes an attempt to unravel some of the knotty points in that problem. To be the author of a treatise on Indian History (though Dravidian) a good knowledge of Sanskrit and Philology coupled with critical and historical acumen is necessary. The spelling of certain very common Sanskrit words in English, as the following, bears sufficient testimony that the qualifications of the author are not quite adequate. Mr. Aiyangar writes:

**Kisikinda** for **Kisikinda**
**Dundhuri** " " **Dundhuri**
**Botham** " **Bodham**
**Vivekananda** " **Vivekananda**
**Subramanya** " **Subrahmanya**
**Ashvathama** " **Asthvāman**
**Upam** " **Yāpam**
**Ukam** " **Yākam**, etc.

These instances are chosen at random and there are many more of such instances.

Our author fails to recognize the importance of Philology in the reconstruction of history and his want of acquaintance with it is clearly manifested by some of his remarks. It has been definitely proved once and for all by Fortunatov, a French philologist, that the Aryan cerebrals are the natural outcome of the coalescence of the dental and the lingual l. Mr. Aiyangar yet clings to the exploded theory of Bishop Caldwell, who traces them to Dravidian influences. Again, he holds the view that the ‘uncultured Vedic tongue’ resulted in the development of classical Sanskrit, though scholars like Grierson and others have proved that classical Sanskrit had a collateral development with Vedic Sanskrit. It is surprising to note the confidence with which he asserts the theory that the influence classical Tamil has exercised on the formation and development of both the Vedic and classical Sanskrit is gradually coming to be recognised by students of Indian philology.

On page 64 of his book, he refers to the conclusions arrived at by Mr. R. Swaminatha Iyer, which ‘knock the bottom out’ of the theory of Dravidian influence over Sanskrit. Mr. Seshasayyaranar shows himself to be neither willing to accept the views of Mr. Swaminatha Iyer, nor to offer a satisfactory explanation himself. The mere quotation of Pandit Sivaraiyavan’s views is no answer to the questions raised by Mr. Swaminatha Iyer. Moreover, some of the derivations given by the author make curious reading; for instance, the derivations of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kārmāra</td>
<td>காற்மாரா்</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukta</td>
<td>முக்தா்</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vrthi</td>
<td>வர்஥ி</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are typical and they do credit to the enthusiasm of our author for everything Tamil.

One interesting feature of the book is that it is a catalogue of quotations from various sources, selected indiscriminately, without reference to the matter, whether it be spurious or otherwise. Evidently he is labouring under the superstition that everything that appears in print is authoritative beyond dispute. In one place he remarks that Pāṇini mentions 64 grammarians and that Indra is one among them. As a matter of fact, neither does Pāṇini mention 64 grammarians, nor is Indra one of the grammarians mentioned by him. In certain places the author acknowledges the sources of his information and in many places he does not. It is hardly necessary to say more. It would be well if Mr. Seshasayyaranar could make sure of his facts before launching into print—leaving aside his arguments.

T. R. C.

90 A Muhammadan woman’s nose-ornament of gold studded with gems.
91 The mahār is the dowry, which every bridegroom contracts to give his bride: generally of a value far beyond his means. It is this dowry contract which binds the bridegroom to his bride.
THE TAJ AND ITS ENVIRONMEN TS, with 8 illustrations from Photographs and 4 plans, by MAULVI MOIN-UD-DIN AHMAD, with a Foreword, by KHAN SAHIB SAIYAD ABU MOHAMMAD, M.A., Agra, 1924.

This is a second and revised edition of a useful hand-book to the famous Taj Mahal, which visitors to that peerless monument of Mughal architecture will do well to study. For not only does it contain succinct accounts of the famous historical figures connected with the tomb and its neighbourhood, but it also supplies many details of the monument itself, culled from original sources, which are not to be found in the ordinary guide book. The opening pages are devoted to a short biographical account of Shâh Jahân's queen, whose mental equipment and physical beauty were in no way inferior to those of her famous aunt, Nûr Jahân; and the author incidentally endeavours to disprove the view that Shâh Jahân was guilty of bigotry and that Mumtâz Mahâl herself was in great measure responsible for this alleged shortcoming of the Emperor. While I am disposed to agree with the author that no blame on this score can attach to the queen, I hesitate to accept his statement that "Shâh Jahân dealt with men of other religions as kindly as Jahangir and Akbar." This assertion strikes me as too sweeping, for it runs counter to the statement of that careful historian, Pringle Kennedy, to the effect that the reign of Shâh Jahân offers the first indication of the abandonment of the policy of toleration, devised by Akbar and followed by Jahangir. There is little reason to doubt that, not long after the death of Mumtâz Mahâl, the emperor ordered the destruction of all temples throughout the empire, particularly in Benares, which had been begun but were still unfinished. The order could not be fully carried out; but its promulgation is nevertheless indicative of a decided relapse from the wise tolerance of the previous reigns.

In his discussion of the planning and construction of the Taj Mahal the author seems to stand on firmer ground. He gives from original sources the names of the chief architects, masons, artists etc., employed in designing and constructing this marvellous building, and the salaries which each of them drew, and thereby shows that the Taj Mahal owes nothing to European influence, but was purely the work of Indian, Persian, Arabian and Turkish craftsmen. The actual designer of this architectural masterpiece was one Iza Afandi, whom the author describes as a Turko-Indian; and his contention that the Italian, Geronimo Veroneo, had no part or share in the design, seems to me to rest on a basis of solid fact. This decision, therefore, dispenses of the late Dr. Vincent Smith's view that the Taj is "the product of a combination of European and Asiatic genius". He dispenses even more clearly the view that the Frenchman, Austin de Bordeaux, played a part in the decoration of the Taj. This erroneous opinion rests primarily upon Sleeman's misreading of "Ustad for Ustad" in the Persian account, and his mistake and his consequent blunders have in the past misled many writers. Mr. Moin-ud-din Ahmad has done well to lay the error finally to rest.

The first half of this book is concerned with the structural details and measurements of the tomb, and its interior arrangement and workmanship; and gives the text and an English rendering of the epigraphs in various parts of the building; while the later pages are devoted to a description of the jilo-khâna and other auxiliary buildings, and to a brief account of the notable persons, e. g., Satî-un-nissa Bâhnam and Sarhindi Begam, whose tombs lie within the precincts. The author also investigates the question of the endowment assigned by Shâh Jahân for the maintenance of the Taj, which apparently consisted of the revenues of 30 villages, supplemented by receipts from shops, bazaars and sarais. The gardens and buildings in the neighbourhood of the tomb are noticed, as also are the chief landmarks in the environs of Agra. Finally, an appendix containing descriptive accounts of the Taj Mahal by various authors of note, including Shâh Jahân's own Persian verses on his wife's tomb, completes a careful and succinct summary of all facts and details of the history, construction, character, and cost of this priceless memorial of Asiatic art.

S. M. EDWARDS.

INQUIRIES INTO THE POPULAR RELIGIONS OF CEYLON, Pt. I. Singhalese Amulets, Talismans and Spells, by DR. OTAKAR PERTOLD. Prague, Caroline University.

The above, at any rate, is the translation of the original title which runs: "S. Doc. Ph., Dr. Otakar Pertold, Přísavky ke Studiu Lidových Nabozenství Ceylonských: část první; Simbalské Amulety, Talismány a Rikádák." The whole fasciculus is in Czech and therefore useless to Indian scholars, and most English ones as well. This is a great pity, as it is clearly an earnest and useful study of a very interesting subject. At p. 67 is an English summary, which only enhances our regret that the whole of it is not in English. Perhaps some day the author may be induced to write it in that language.

R. C. TEMPLE.
VEDIC STUDIES.
BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., Ph.D.

1. Nitya.

This is a very familiar word that occurs about thirty-eight times in the RV. and very frequently in the other Vedic texts and in later literature. The commentators, Indian as well as European, are at one in interpreting this word as (1) śvāya, sahaja, own, and (2) dhrvā, lasting, constant, perpetual, uninterrupted, imperishable, eternal, etc. In assuming the second of the above two meanings for this word in the RV, the commentators have been no doubt guided by the fact that the word nitya has that meaning in later texts. But as a matter of fact, this latter meaning is not appropriate and does not yield good sense in a number of passages—for instance, in I, 66, I and I, 185, 2 where nityah sānūḥ is explained by Śāyāna as dhrvah atma-jah, and by Ludwig as ‘ein überlebender Sohn’ (I, 66, 1) and ‘lebender Sohn’ (I, 185, 2); in I, 166, 2 where nityam sānum is translated by Ludwig as ‘einen nicht absterbenden Sohn’; in AV. 7, 10 and Sāṅkh. Gr. S. 3, 2, 6 and 8 where the expression nityavatē drhunah is explained as ‘cow with constant calf’ by Whitney (AV. Translation) and ‘unceasingly fertile cow’ by Oldenberg (SBE., 29, 93); and in RV. 10, 39, 14 where nitya is found as the tertium comparationis in a simile.

The other meaning ‘own’ is still less appropriate here; and it therefore becomes clear that in these and other similar passages the word nitya has a meaning different from the two mentioned above.

What this meaning is, can be found out with the help of I, 66, 1; I, 166, 2 and 10, 39, 14, all which verses contain similes with nitya as tertium comparationis. In the first of these verses it is said that Agni is nitya as a son (sānū); in the second, that honey (madhu) is nitya as a son (sānū); and in the third, that a hymn of praise (stoma) is nitya as a son (sānū). A comparison therefore of the adjectives which these words—sānū, madhu, stoma and āgni—receive in the RV., will show what characteristics are common to the things denoted by them and will thus determine the sense of nitya.

Of these words, sānū receives the following adjectives—trayāyīya, priya, marjya, vijāvan, śuci, sūkṣma, ṭrāya and nitya; and madhu, the following—adhigarta, aśā pinadda, kāmya, gorjika, ghrta, cāru, tričātu, dhvaya, daivyā, pakva, parishikta, puṣkare niśkitā, pratibhāta, priya, madhira, vāraṇa, sārāgha, sūkṣma, suta, somya, spārtha and nitya; while stoma has the following adjectives—akshtita, agriya, antama, antara, apūrya, amanda, anīta, urvāca, etsa, eka, kāmya, kratumāṇa, gīyamāṇa, gīr (?), dyēśka, dyētadāman, dyūmnīn, dhanāśā, namaavān, navajāta, navya, nātana, purutama, pūta, pūrṇa, pṛṣeṣṭha, madhumattama, madhyama, manasā vakṣyamāṇa, mandin, mahat, ratnadhātama, rudriya (?), vanśān, vājaya, vāhīṣṭha, vidūshārdhāya, antama, śasvāmāṇa, śukra, śuci, śūsha, śūsha, satrājīt, sādhu, sidhra, svacīti (?), havīshmān, ṛdha ṛtakha, ṛdispark, and also nitya.

It will be seen that the only adjective (besides nitya) common to the three words sānū, madhu and stoma is priya (in the case of stoma, we find instead of priya its superlative form pṛṣeṣṭha) and the only characteristic that is common to the things denoted by these words is priyatva. Priya is used as an epithet of āgni also in I, 143, 1; 5, 23, 3; and 6, 1, 6, while Agni, further, is called pṛṣeṣṭhāna pṛṣeṣṭha once and pūrṇapriyaḥ many times. Thus the only adjective (beside nitya whose meaning we are engaged in finding out) and the only characteristic that is common to the above-mentioned four words and the things denoted by them, is priya and priyatva; ¹ which makes it probable that nitya means priya in the above passages. The probability, in this instance, is converted into certainty by the parallelism of priya and nitya in I, 91, 6c: priyastotro vānaspātih and 9, 12, 7a: nityastotro vānaspātih.

¹ This seems to have been felt by Grassmann also who in I, 66, 1, has translated nitya na sānū here and wie eigener Sohn, lieb. Śāyāna too, similarly explains nityam na sānum in I, 166, 2, as nityaḥ aurasaḥ priyaḥ putram itva.
Nitya thus means priya, dear, pleasing, beloved, favourite. It has this meaning in the following passages:
1, 73, 4: tām te ātē nāma dāma ā' nityam iddhām
āgne sacanta kshitiṣhku dhruva'vau |
ādhi dyumnam ni ādāhur bhā'vṛ asmin
bhāvā vīśā'vṛu dhāraṇaśu rayita'n ||

"Men have worshipped in their firm dwellings, O Agni, thee that art dear and flaming; they have placed much splendour in him. Do thou become the bearer of riches, the vivifier of all". Compare the many passages where Agni is called priya, namely, 1, 26, 7; 1, 75, 4; 1, 91, 3; 1, 128, 7-8; 1, 143, 1; 2, 4, 3; 5, 1, 9; 5, 23, 3; 6, 1, 6; 6, 2, 7; 6, 16, 42; 6, 48, 1; 7, 16, 1; 8, 84, 1; and also 6, 15, 6 (priyam-priyam); 1, 186, 3 and 8, 84, 1 (preshtha); and 8, 103, 1 (priyānān preshta); compare also the passages where he receives the epithet purupriya (see Grassmann, s.v.) and mandra (see ibid., s.v.).

7, 1, 2: tām agnim āste vāsavo nyā ṛvan
supraṭikāksham āvase kūtas'cēt |
dakṣā'yyo yē dāma ā'ā sa nityav ||

"The bright ones, for their protection from everything, set him down in the dwelling, Agni, beautiful to look at, who sits down in the house, dear and capable." The verse occurs in the first hymn of the seventh Maṇḍala whose authorship is ascribed to the Vasishṭhas; and as the word vasishṭha is the superlative of the word vasu, Sāyaṇa is perhaps right in saying that the word vasavaḥ here refers to the Vasishṭhas.

3, 25, 5: āgne apāni sām idhyase duropē
nityah sāno sahaso jātavedah |
sadhāstāni mahāyānamā ātē ||

"Thou, the glorifier of dwelling-houses with thy protection, the beloved, art kindled in the abode of the waters, O Agni Jātavedas, son of strength."

5, 1, 7: prā νū tyām vipram adhvarēshu sādhūm
agninā hāōram ījate nāmbūḥ |
ā' yās taī'na rōḍasī rēnā
nityam mrjanti vājinama ghrēnā ||

"They worship him with adorations, Agni, the wise, the hotr, the ornament of the sacrifices, who extended the two worlds according to divine ordinance. They adorn (him), the beloved (like a) race-horse, with ghrēta."

10, 12, 2: deva deśā'nu parihā'vē rēnā
vīhā na havyōm prathamāḥ cīkīvā'nu |
dhūmākētum samidhā bhā'vējiko
mandrō hota nityo vācā' yājīyān ||

"The god (sc. Agni) encompasses the gods; bear thou, (O Agni), our offering (to the gods) according to divine ordinance, thou that art knowing, that art the first, smoke-banneered and with brightness as thy ornament (when kindled) with fuel, the pleasing beloved hotr that worshippeth (the gods) better (than human hotr) with thy voice." Compare 6, 1, 6: saparyēy-
yah sā priyō viksha agnir hota mandro ni shasādā yājīyān ā tam te ātē vāyām dāma ā' dīvē'vāsam ūpa jūvā'do nāmasā sadema and 1, 26, 7: priyō na astu viśāthr hētā mandro vāreyēyāh where the expression priyo mandro hota corresponds to nityo mandro hotā in this verse. Compare also 1, 44, 3: adyā' dūtānu vrunaḥ vāsām agnina purupriyām |
dhūmākētum bhā'vējiko vunjishhu yajā'nam adhvarēṣṭāyām ||

1, 66, 1: rayir na cītā' sū'ro nā sandrīy
ayūr na prāṣā nitya nā simūh ||

"(Agni), brilliant like wealth, (effulgent) like the sun in appearance, viviñā like prāna (the life-breath), dear like a son." Compare 1, 69, 5: putrā nā jātō rayvaḥ duroṇē "pleas-
ing in the house like a son that is born".

3, 15, 2: tvām no asyā uśāso vyūśīṣau
   tvām sū'ra úditē bodhi gopāḥ
   jñānena nityam tánāyam jusahasva
   stōmam me agne tana' sudīta

"Become our protector when this dawn dawns and the sun rises; cherish, O Agni well-born of thy own self, this (dear) praise of mine as a father (cherishes) his dear son." I follow Sāyaṇā in understanding jānman as father in spite of its being accented on the root-syllable; compare 7, 54, 2: pitēva putrān prāti no jushaseva and 10, 22, 3: pitā putrān ieva priyām. Compare also 5, 42, 2 and 10, 119, 4 putrān ieva priyām. To nityam stōmam here corresponds priyam brahma in 1, 75, 2; 5, 42, 2; 5, 85, 1; priyam manma in 6, 63, 9; 10, 54, 6; 10, 96, 11; 2, 41, 18; priyā manishā in 6, 67, 2; preshthā matiḥ in 7, 88, 1; preshtā sushyutīk in 4, 43, 1; preshtah namah in 7, 36, 5; and preshtah stōmam in 7, 34, 14: mandrā gih in 7, 18, 3 and mandrā kṛdah in 8, 43, 31.

10, 39, 14: etām vām stōmam aśvinav akarmā'
   'takshāma bhī gavo nā rātham
   ny aṃṛkṣhāma yōṣātānā nā mārye
   nityam na sūnān tānāyān dādānāhāḥ

"We have made this praise for you, O A śvinas; we have cut them (into shape) as Bhṛgas a chariot. Holding it (carefully) as (parents do) a dear son, we have polished and embellished it as (one adorns) a woman for a young man."

1, 185, 2: bhū'riś duvācårān ācarān
   padeśātām gārhām apādī daddhāte
   nityam na sūnām pitrōr upāsthe
   dyā'vā rākṣhaṁ prthivī vena ovāvāt

"The two, unmoving and footless, bear much offspring that has feet and moves. Like a dear son in the lap of his parents—protect us, O Heaven and Earth, from the evil being." There is an anacolouthon in the second half-verse; the meaning is, 'O Heaven and Earth, protect us from the evil being and give us shelter as parents shelter a dear son in their lap and ward off from him all harm.' Compare 6, 75, 4: mātēva putrāṁ bibhrātām upāsthe | apa śatrān vidhyātaṁ soma vidātē.

7, 1, 21: tvām agne suhāvo raṇvāsanto
   sudīśu sīno sakaso didihi
   mā' tvē sača tānaye nitya a' dhān
   mā' virō asman nārō vi dāsīt

"Thou, O Agni, art easy to invoke and of pleasing appearance; shine with bright gleams, O son of strength. Let not evil befall our dear son (when he is) with thee; may we not want a valorous son."

1, 166, 2: nityam na sūnām mādhau bibhrata upa
   krīṭānti krīṭā' vidāthesu ghṛ' shvayāh
   nākshanta rudrā' āvasā namavān
   nā mardhaṁ saśaవasavo havishk' tam

"Carrying honey that is dear as a son, the swift terrible (Maruts) bound forward in battles. The sons of Rudra come with protection to the adorer; they, strong of themselves, do not injure him that offers oblations (to them)." The 'honey' (mādhau) that the Maruts are here represented as carrying is without doubt the same with which they besprinkle the earth; compare 5, 54, 8: pīvanṭy utsaṁ yādi inda' so āsvaran va uṇḍantī prthivīṁ mādhva āṇḍhast. Mādhau receives the epithet priya in eight passages; see Grassmann, s. v., priyam (n.); cp. also kāṃṣyaṁ mādhau in 9, 72, 2. With the first pāda, nityam na sūnām mādhau bibhrata upa, compare nityam na sūnān tānāyān dādānāh in 10, 39, 14 explained above.
7, 1, 12: yam asvi' nityam upa yadi yajñān,
prajñāvantam evaparyam kshayan naḥ
svaḥamanā śeṣāsāḥ vairdhānām

This verse is obscure; I understand it as a continuation of the preceding verse, "May we not sit down in the empty dwelling of men; may we not sit round thee without son, without offspring; (may we sit) in houses full of children, O thou that makest houses to prosper 'and translate: " (May we sit down) in our dear dwelling with good offspring, with children, which is prospering with issue born of us, which is the seat of sacrifices, and to which (Agni), who has horses, goes." I follow Śāyaṇa in taking yajñam as an adjective of kshayan and meaning yajñāśraya. There seems to be no doubt that yajña is an adjective here of kshaya, and that being so, it can be best interpreted here as yajñāśraya or yajaniya. The words yajña and kshaya occur together again in 1, 132, 3, which, too, is obscure. As regards aśvi, Oldenberg’s observations (RV. Noten, II, p. 4) that it refers to a human and not to a god do not seem to me to be convincing; and I still think that it refers to a god, to wit, Agni. Compare 5, 6, 1 (explained below) which describes Agni as ‘the home to which the swift horses go,’ that is, as the treasure-house of horses; compare also 5, 6, 2.

8, 31, 5: yaś dāmpati sāmanasā sunuṭā āp ca dhiḍavah
ādevāsā nityayāśirā
d "The husband and wife, O gods, who thinking alike, press and wash (Soma and mix) with pleasing admixture." The admixture referred to is that of milk, sour milk (dakhi) or barley; compare 9, 101, 8: sām u priya’ anāṣhata gā’vo mādゃa ghr’shayah where the admixture of milk, gāvah, receives the epithet priya.

4, 4, 7: sèd agne astu suhāgag sud’nur
yās tvā nityena havishā yā ukthaih
pitrāsati sva’ ā’yushi duropē
vivād asmair sudinā sā sad ishīḥ
"May he, O Agni, be fortunate and rich who wishes to sacrifice to thee with pleasing oblations and hymns in his house through his life. Let all (days) be fortunate days for him—such is the prayer." The meaning of sud’nur is not clear: Oldenberg translates it (SBE., 46, p. 331) as ‘blessed with good rain’, Grassmann (Translation) as ‘reich an Gut’ and Geldner (Glossar) as ‘reich-beschenkt’. There is no doubt that the two last-mentioned meanings express very nearly what the poet must have had in his mind; and I have therefore, in default of a more accurate knowledge of the meaning of the word, here rendered it as ‘rich.’ With regard to nityena havishā, compare priyaḥ havih in 10, 86, 12-13, priyatamaḥ havih in 9, 34, 5, and jauṣṭam havih in 3, 59, 5.

1, 66, 5: durukṣaśocih krātur nā nityo
jāyeva yindā āram viścasmaj
"(Agni), of unaccustomed brilliance, dear like the ideal, like a wife in the house, ready for everything."

8, 75, 6: tāmsmai nūnām abhidhyave vācā’ virūpa nityayā
vīś’she codosva sushtiṣṭiṁ
"Send forth now, O Virūpa, a well-made (hymn of) praise with thy dear pleasing voice towards the strong (Agni), the heavenly (1).” Regarding nitya vāk here, compare mandr vāk in 8, 100, 11.

9, 12, 7: nityastotro vānaspatiḥ dhiṃ’dm antah sabardūghah
hīṃḍno m’dnāśa yugd
"(Soma), the lord of the forest, fond of praises, who milks nectar amidst the praise-hymns and stimulates the generations of men.” As mentioned above, to nityastotro vānaspatiḥ here corresponds priyastotro vānaspatiḥ in 1, 91, 6.
5, 6, 1: 

\[ \text{agni tām manye yō vāsuv āstām yōm yānti dhenuvah} \]
\[ \text{āstām āravanta śdēvōstān nītyāsō vājina ishan stot'bhya ā' bhara} \]

"I praise that Agni who is a Vasu, to whom the milch-cows go home, the swift horses go home, the dear patrons go home; bring food (nourishment) to thy praisers." The word vājinaḥ in the fourth pāda which I have translated as 'patrons' denotes the rich men who institute sacrifices, the yaṣjamānāḥ has correctly explained and not priests (Grassmann, Translation) or race-horses as Ludwig and Oldenberg (SBE, 46, p. 370) think. This is shown clearly by the following verse, sō agnir yō vāsuv grītē sām yōm yānti dhenuvah | sām āravanta rāgudrāvah sām sujātāsah sāravya ishan stot'bhya ā' bhara which is parallel to the preceding one and where the fourth pāda mentions explicitly the sujātāsah sāravyah.

1, 71, 1: 

\[ \text{ūpa prā jinevam uśāt'ir uśāntam} \]
\[ \text{pātīm na' nītyān jānayāh sāntīh} \]
\[ \text{svāsāraḥ byāvēm ārūshēm ajushraṅ} \]
\[ \text{citrām uchchāntām uḍāśaṁ na g'vah} \]

"The loving (women) have stimulated (to activity) their lover as wives in the same bed (literally, in the same nest) stimulate (to amorous activity) their dear husband. The sisters have cherished the Dark and the Bright as the cows have cherished the brightly dawning Dawn." The 'loving women,' uśāth, denote in all probability, the prayers that are addressed to Agni—who is referred to here by the word uśāntam—and that are supposed to arouse him to activity, so that Agni will bring the gods to the sacrifice, carry offerings to them, etc.; see Bergaigne II, p. 63. The import of the second half-verse is obscure; see however Oldenberg, SBE, 46, p. 75 f. and RV. Noten I, p. 73. With regard to nītyān pātīm compare jūṣṭaṁ pātīm in 9, 97, 22: a'd īm āyan vārām ā' vāvasānāṁ jūṣṭaṁ pātīṁ kalāśe g'eva īndum where I believe, differing from Grassmann (s.v. vās), that the word vāvasānāṁ should be derived from the root vās (to wish, to desire; vāsā kāntaun) and be interpreted in the same sense as uśāth in this passage and in 1, 62, 11. Compare also 1, 62, 11 and the verse that follows here, 1, 140, 7.

1, 140, 7: 

\[ \text{sō sanśeśāḥ vishūraḥ sāṁ gṛhāyati} \]
\[ \text{jānāṁ eva jānalīr nītya ā' ōvye} \]
\[ \text{pānār vardhante āpi yanti devyām} \]
\[ \text{anyād vārpaḥ pīṭhō kṛṣṇaye śacā} \]

"He (sc. Agni) clasps (the plants, etc.) that have been laid together and have been laid out. Being intimate with them that are intimate with him, and being their dear (lover), he lies with them. They grow up again and attain to godhead; they together give another form to their parents (that is, to Heaven and Earth)."

1, 141, 2: 

\[ \text{prkshā vāpuḥ pītmā'ṁ nītya ā' ōvye} \]
\[ \text{dvītīyam ā' saptāśivasu māt'shu} \]
\[ \text{tṛtiyam asya vrēkhaṁ āya dohāse} \]
\[ \text{dāśa prāmatīṁ jānapānta yōshaṁ} \]

"The beloved (Agni), strong, rich in food, rests in the brilliant (sun); secondly, in the seven auspicious mothers; thirdly the ten women (that is, the ten fingers) have engendered him who looks after (us), in order to milk this bull." I have followed here the suggestion of Grassmann and PW. about reading saptā śivāśu and dāśa prāmatīṁ in the text though the text as it stands—saptāśivasu (seven-fold auspicious) and dāśapramatīṁ (having ten to care for him; cared for by ten) is not unintelligible. The words dvītīyam and tṛtiyam seem to indicate that the first pāda refers to the first 'birth' of Agni as the sun that shines in the sky. It is therefore possible to understand vāpuḥ, brilliant, as referring to the bright sky (dyoḥ) and to translate "The beloved Agni, strong, rich in food, entered in the brilliant sky." With reference to the sun being 'rich in food' compare Chān, Up. 3, 1, 1: asau vā ādityo devamadhu
and also the first ten bhāṣaṣ of that chapter. In the first pāda, the author of the Padapātha has decomposed nitya ā śaye into nityaḥ ā śaye; and the translation given above follows this view. But the words dvitiyam ā saptaśivam nāthuśu that follow seem to indicate that nitya too should be regarded as a locative so that the padachcheda would be nitya ā śaye. The meaning in this case would be: "The brilliant (Agni), strong, rich in food, has entered in his own (place), that is, in the sky"; see Macdonnell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 92 and the passages referred to therein.

10, 31, 4: 

nityaś cākanyāt svāpatir dāmūnā  
yāmā n devah savitā jajā'na |  
bhāgo vā gābir ariyāmen anamjót  
sō asmai cā'ruś chadayat utā syāt ||

"May the friend of the house, lord of his self, the beloved, for whom god Savitṛ has begotten, be pleased; may Bhaga or Aryaman ornament him with kine (or, anoint him with butter); may he shine beautifully, may he be our shelter."

4, 41, 10: 

āvayaśa tānā nā rāthyasya pushṭer  
nityasya rāyāḥ vālayah syāmā |  
tā' cakrānā' ātinbhir nāvayastbhir  
asmatrā' rāyo nīyātah saccayām ||

"May we be lords of prosperity in horse-herds and chariots and of beloved wealth. The two, (Indra and Varuṇa) helping us newly with their protection—may riches come to us (together, like) a team of horses." There is an anacoluthon in the second half-verse where the nominative dual tā has no predicate. With respect to nityasya rāyāḥ, compare priyam vasu in 4, 8, 3 and 7, 32, 15, etc., vāman vasu in 6, 19, 5 and spārhas vasu in 2, 23, 9, etc., sṛṣṭyayyo rāyī and puruspṛṣṭh rayīm (see Grassmann, s. v. sṛṣṭyayya and purusprṣṭh).

8, 4, 18: 

pārā gē'vo yēvasan kāc cid āghe  
nityam rékno amartya |  
asma' kany pushann avidā' śivō bhava  
mānāhiśto vā' jasātaye ||

"O Pūshan, brilliant, immortal, our dear wealth (namely), our kine, have gone away somewhere, to some meadow; be our gracious helper and most liberal in the winning of the wealth (that is, graciously recover them for us)." The prayer is addressed to Pūshan, who is the recoverer of lost goods; see Macdonnell's *Ved. Mythology*, p. 36. With nityam rékṇah here, compare priyam rékṇah in 10, 132, 3.

7, 1, 17: 

tvē agra hāvānāni bhū'rī  
śānā'sa a' jukuyāma nityā |  
ubhā' kṛṣñānto vahatū' niyēdhe ||

"We, O Agni, being prosperous, offer to thee many pleasing oblations, bringing (to thee) both kinds of offerings." The meaning of the last pāda is obscure; see Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten*, II, p. 4. Regarding nitya hāvānāni, compare nityena havishā in 4, 4, 7 explained above.

2, 27, 12: 

yō ra'ja'bhyā yanibhyo dadā' sa  
yām vardhāyanti pushṭāyas ca nityāḥ |  
sō revān yāti prathamā rāthena  
vāsuddā vā vidātheshu praśastāh ||

"Who offers to the kings, the leaders of yā (sc. the Ādityas), whom wished-for prosperities cause to thrive, he being rich and the giver of riches goes first in his chariot and is praised in the assemblies."

1, 148, 5: 

nā yām ripāvo nā rishaṇyāvo  
gābhē sāntaṇa rishaṇāḥ rishaṇyāntī |  
andā' apaśyā' nā dabhann abhikhyā'  
nityāsa ḍū pātāro arakhan ||
“Whom, while in the womb, enemies that want to injure and can injure, do not injure. The blind, not seeing, did not harm him; his dear well-wishers protected him with watchfulness.”

Pretāraḥ, which I have rendered as ‘well-wishers,’ literally means ‘lovers, pleasers.’ It is preferable to construe abhikhyä, literally, with sight, that is, with forethought, with watchfulness, with arakshan rather than with andhā apasyā na dabhān (as Grassmann in his Translation, Ludwig and Oldenberg, SBE. 46, p. 173 have done); for the translation ‘The blind, not seeing, did not injure him with their look’ hardly yields good sense. Nityāḥ pretāraḥ means the dear well-wishers of Agni (who is the deity of this verse), that is, the priests who are dear to Agni and to whom Agni is dear. Compare 1, 26, 7: priyō no astu viśpātir hōtā māndrō vārayaḥ | priyāh svagñayo vayām.

10, 7, 4: sidhrā agne dyīhoy asmē sānuṭhir
yām trāyase dāma u nityāhōtō
rtāvā sā rohīdāvaḥ purukhār
dyābhīr asmē abhābhīr vādam astu

“Efficacious, O Agni, and winners (of wealth) are the prayers of us whom thou, the dear hotṛ in the house protectest. He, the red-horsed, is holy and has much food: may everything pleasing happen to him (the sacrificer, yajamāna) every day.” In the light of the foregoing, I have taken nityāhōtō (with accent on nitya) as a karmadhāraya compound; it is, however, also possible to regard it as a bahuvarhi compound meaning ‘he to whom the priest, hotṛ, is dear’; compare priyāh svagñayo vayām in 1, 26, 7 cited above; compare also the following passage:

Maitr. Saṁ. 1, 1, 12: nityahōtām tev kave dyumantām sam idhīmahi
The corresponding passage in the other Yajus-Sanhitās reads vihitotram tev kave dyumantam sām idhīmahi | āgne bhājantām aëhevārī where vihitotram means ‘to whom the hotṛ, the office of the hotṛ, is dear’; compare Uvaṣa on VS. 2, 4: viś abhikhyāḥ hotṛ-karmāṇi yasya sah vihitotrah. I therefore take nityahōtām here as a bahuvarhi and translate: “We, the bright, kindle, O wise one, thee to whom the hotṛ is dear.” Or is the word hotṛ here used in the abstract sense of hotra or hotṛva—bhāva-pradhāno nirdeśah? If so, nityahōtām would be the exact equivalent of vihitotram.

Śāṅkh. GS. 3, 2, 5: enaṁ śīṣuḥ krandayā kumārā enaṁ dhenuḥ krandatā nitya-vatsāḥ
“The child, the young one, cries near it; may the milch-cow to whom the calf is dear, low near it.” The milch-cow lowing to her calf is a familiar figure of comparison even in the RV.; compare 9, 12, 2: abhi vīpṛr anīṣhata gāvo vatsām nā mātāraḥ | indram ‘the priests call out to Indra as mother-cows low to their calves’; 2, 2, 2: abhi tev ānāgār ushāḥ sah vāvasīrge vatsām nā svāsreshu dhenāvah ‘to thee, O Agni, they called out at nights and at dawns as the milch-cows low to their calves in evenings’; 8, 88, 1: abhi vatsām nā svāsreshu dhenāva indram gīrāhūr navāmaca ‘we call out to Indra with our hymns of praise as milch-cows low to their calves in evenings’; 6, 25, 24; 8, 95, 1; etc.

Ibid., 3, 2, 8: enaṁ śīṣuḥ krandayā kumārā āsyaṃtanāṁ dhenavo nitya-vatsāḥ
“The child, the young one cries to it; may milch-cows to whom the calf is dear, pour forth (milk from their udders) near it.” Oldenberg has here interpreted the verb syaṃtanām in the sense of ‘flocking’ (SBE., 29, p. 93); but the reference here is to the return home of milch-cows after grazing in the pastures, eager to rejoin their calves and therefore lowing to them (this idea is expressed in Śāṅkh. GS. 3, 2, 5, explained above, by the word krandantām), and, as the Indian poets express it, with udders oozing milk; compare Raghuvarṇā, 1, 84: (anindyā Nandini nāma dhenuh avāyate vanāḥ) . . . bhuvanā kṣaṇena kuṇḍodhāni medhyena

2 Is it possible, however, that there is a word asme derived from the radix a—meaning this (idam)? The correlation of yat in this verse and in verse 8, 63, 12 would seem to show that this is the case with the word asme in these verses. Likewise, the asme in verses 1, 24, 7; 1, 71, 2; 1, 102, 2; 8, 51, 10 and 10, 61, 25 seems to be of this character.
ed., p. 125); divasā-vihṛti-pratyogatam prasnuta-stanam... dhenu-vargam udgata-kshiram.

Compare also 2, 34, 8: dhenur śābha svāsareśhu pīvate jāndāya rādāhavīśe maht'm īśām they (ec. the Maruts) ooze with copious food for every man who has offered them oblations as a milk-cow oozes milk for her calf in evenings'; 10, 75, 4: abhi tel śindho śūṣam in na mātāro vārā arhanti pāyaseva dhenaṁvah they (the rivers) run towards thee, O Sindhu, as milch-cows, lowing, and with (oozing) milk, run to their calves'; 9, 94, 2: dhiyah pīvāṇā'h svāsare na gā'va ājāyantīr abhi vāvāra ājāmū the hymns of praise, following āstu, lowered to Soma as cows over-flowing (with milk) low (to their calves) in the evening'; 9, 68, 1: ādhiṣṭhālanda gā'va ā'nā dhenaṁvah barhiśādo vacani vanta u'dhohīr pariṣṭāṃ usriyā nirījām dhire; and 9, 77, 1: abhi'm rāasuva svātikā gṛlaścūto vārā arhanti pāyaseva dhenaṁvah; and 10, 31, 11: prā kṛṣṇāya rūśad api nevaddhah.

AV. 7, 109 (104), 1: kāh prāśīnā śākuraṁ āraunena dattām
dūravāve gṛtāvādām nityavātām
br'hospātānā sakhyaṁ jushānā
yathāvātām tanvāh kālpayātī
cWho, enjoying companionship with Bhapati shall at his will make use of the spotted milch-cow, well-milking, fond of her calf, given by Varuṇa to Atharvan?' I understand tanvāh here as equivalent to ātmanah so that tanvāh kālpayātī means ātmana upakālpayati, 'makes ready for one's own use, that is, makes use of'. Whitney translates 'Who, enjoying companionship with Bhapati, shall shape its body at his will—the spotted milch-cow, well-milking,' etc., which is unintelligible to me.

AV. 9, 4, 21: ayām pīpāna āndra id rājām dādātām cetanīṁ
ayām dhenur śūṣhām nityavātām vāśām duḥham vipāscitām pari divāh

"Let this burly one, a very Indra, bestow conspicuous wealth; let this (one) (bestow) a well-milking cow, fond of (her) calf; let him yield inspired will from beyond the sky'.

This closes the list of passages where nitya has the meaning prīya: it has the meaning svāya, sahaja, 'own,' in the passages that follow:

7, 4, 7: pariṣṭhādyam hy āraṇasya rēkho
nityasya rāyāḥ pātayah svāyaṁ
nā śecho agne anyājātam asty
ācārānaya nāś pathō vci dukshah

This verse is not quite clear; but I believe that Yāska's interpretation of it (Vīruktā, 3, 2) and of the verse that follows, is on the whole correct. I therefore translate, following him, 'The wealth left by a stranger is to be avoided; may we be lords of our own wealth. There is no (such thing as) offspring that is begot by another. Do not foul the paths for me that am ignorant'. As pointed out by Yāska, the 'wealth' mentioned in the first half-verse means 'son'; compare śecah in the second half-verse and in the verses that precede and follow this. The last pāda means, 'Do not, hiding the right path, point out a wrong path to me who am already ignorant; do not misguide me by saying that another's son can be my son.'

8, 56, 2: dāsā maḥyām pautakratāḥ sahārā dāsyave vṛkṣaḥ
nityād rāγe amahākata

"Pautakrata, the Cutter of the Foe, has given me ten thousand from his own wealth'.

9, 92, 3: prā sumedhā' gātuvād viśvādevah
somaḥ punānāḥ sāda eti nityam
bhuvād viśvesu kē'vēshu rāntī
c'i jānān yatate pānca dhī'vah

"Soma, the wise, the knower of ways, used of all gods, being purified goes to his own seat he takes pleasure in all praises; the wise one stimulates the five folks.'"
THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF BOMBAY.

A few remarks concerning its origin and growth.

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The history of the City, which is still styled in official documents the ‘City and Island of Bombay,’ so as to include both the business quarters and the once rural areas in the north of the Island, falls into certain definite periods, each of which has been responsible for the presence in the modern urban area [and its environs] of certain distinct elements of population. These periods are as follows:—(1) Prehistoric, (2) Hindu, (3) Muhammadan, (4) Portuguese, (5) British. Before touching upon the character of the tribes, castes or communities, which chose Bombay as their home during these five epochs, certain important data in the history of the Island must be recalled to mind. The first prominent fact is that during the four earlier periods above-mentioned, the present Island of Bombay consisted of seven separate islands, lying off the west coast of India, from which they had been severed by volcanic disturbance in very remote ages. Divided from one another at high tide by the sea, and at low tide by pools and saltmarshes, they fully justified the title of heptanesia bestowed upon them in A.D. 150 by Ptolemy. Their eventual union to form the modern Island of Bombay was effected during the final or British period, by means of the construction of barriers and causeways against the tide and of extensive relocations, which have been carried out more or less continuously from the first quarter of the eighteenth century to the present day. It will readily be understood that so long as the central portion of the modern Island was a low-lying swamp, liable to daily inundation, and so long as traffic, whether wheeled or pedestrian, between the component seven isles was possible only at low tide, no large expansion of the population could take place. One of the potent factors in the growth of the occupied area and in the change from rural to urban conditions was the gradual and steady reclamation of what the early letters of the East India Company describe as ‘the drowned lands.’

The second important fact is that up to the date of the marriage of Charles II with the Infanta of Portugal, who brought Bombay to him as part of her dowry, the most important portion of the Island, or, more correctly, the most important of the seven isles, was the north-western island of Mahim, corresponding roughly to the modern municipal ward of that name. It is in and around Mahim,—a Portuguese rendering of the Hindu name Mahi or Mahikavati—that Hindu tradition and history are concentrated: it was against Mahim that the Muhammadans commenced their raids at the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D.; and it was at Mahim that the Portuguese religious orders located their more important churches and seminaries. During the first century and a half of British rule it maintained some measure of its early importance; for up to 1800 a separate official, styled ‘the Chief of Mahim’ was responsible for the executive, judicial, and customs administration of this area, subject to the general control of the Governor of Bombay and his council of senior merchants. Mahim formed a bone of contention between the first representative of the English Crown, Humphrey Cooke, and the Portuguese of Bombay and Bassein. It will be remembered that the Portuguese in India, who fully realised the value of Bombay and its capacious harbour, opposed the delivery of the Island to the English and contrived to delay the cession for three-and-a-half years: and when they did eventually hand over the island, which bore the name of Bombaim or Bombay, in January 1665, they declined to give up Mahim, as being an entirely separate island, not included in the terms of the marriage-treaty. But they caught a Tartar in Humphrey Cooke, who, in spite of their protests took forcible possession of Mahim and the north-eastern islands, which formed the nucleus of the modern Sion andarel wards, on the grounds that, as he could walk across to them at low-tide, they must form an integral portion of the Island of Bombay. In brief, the Portuguese based their objections on
the position at high-tide: Cooke checkmated them by insisting upon conditions at low-tide and by an opportune and practical illustration of the adage that 'Possession is nine-tenths of the Law.'

Thirdly, while certain classes of Bombay residents can be traced to each of the periods mentioned in the opening paragraph, the large accretions of population which have now raised the total of the Island's residents to more than a million, occurred during the last period and were engendered by the steady growth of the Company's trade and by certain domestic and external events. The latter may be summarised as follows:—(i) The gradual assumption by the Company after 1770 of territorial sovereignty, (ii) The severe famine of 1790 in Gujarat, (iii) the great famine of 1803 in the Deccan, (iv) the annexation of the Peshwa's dominions in 1818, (v) the final destruction of Piracy along the western coast in 1820, (vi) the opening of the first railway in 1853 and of direct railway communication with the Deccan ten years later, (vii) the opening of the first Indian spinning and weaving mill in 1854, (viii) The American Civil War and the Bombay Share Mania of 1861-65, (ix) the opening of railway communication with Gujarat in 1864, and (x) the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. These events serve as signposts in the history of the gradual transformation of a sparsely-populated group of seven sea-logged islands into a single populous Island of Bombay, with its long stretch of docks and wharves, its railway and tramway communications, its great public buildings and municipal works, and its busy industrial and trading quarters.

Reverting now to the several periods into which this survey is divided, we may infer that the seven islands were inhabited in the Stone Age, from the fact that along the shore of Back Bay, the false harbour which divides Malabar Hill from Colaba, and in the Kola district on the opposite side of Bombay harbour, flint implements have been found, similar to those associated with the cavemen of Europe. The people, who fashioned and used these stone weapons, supported themselves perhaps by fishing in the land-locked harbour and by hunting in the jungles of khair (acacia catechu) which once covered the face of the islands. The existence of a forest of these trees in prehistoric ages has been rendered credible by the discovery, during the excavation of the foundations of the modern Prince's Dock, of a petrified khair forest, lying 32 feet below high-water mark, imbedded in a decayed trap-rock soil, and overlaid by the thick clay stratum, which forms the bottom of Bombay harbour. We know nothing of the origin and characteristics of these hunting and fishing clans of the Stone Age; but it is surmised by some authorities that they came from the south, migrating slowly along the coast and forming settlements here and there in the river bottoms. It is certain, however, that at some remote date they were ousted or absorbed by a tribe of aboriginal fisher-folk, the Kolis, who form to-day by far the oldest element of the Bombay population. The name of the tribe appears to be Dravidian, and possibly they originally spoke a Dravidian language, to the former prevalence of which many place-names in Western India still testify: but the distribution of the various sections of the tribe points to Gujarat rather than the south as their original home. It has therefore been suggested that the Kolis are descended from the pre-Aryan population of Gujarat, which gradually spread downwards along the western littoral, superseding the flint-implement users of the Stone Age.

While the precise origin of the Bombay Kolis must remain conjectural, two facts concerning their contribution to the history of Bombay may be accepted as practically certain. The first is that in each of the seven islands, they formed rude settlements which still exist to-day. Those settlements are often mentioned in the letters and documents of the early period of British rule under the name of 'Koliwadas' or 'Koli quarters,' and were located close to the seashore, as it existed before the reactualions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such a situation was obviously necessary for people whose primary occupation was, as it still is, sea-fishing. The principal Koliwadas are located in Colaba, Mandvi, Mazagon, Worli, Mahim and Sion; and although the general progress of the city and the acquisition of
wealth by the Kolis themselves have combined to rob these settlements of their former primitive appearance and characteristics, there can be little doubt that they represent the original location of the Koli hamlets in the seven islands. Mandvi Koliwada, for example, which I first visited twenty-three years ago, was composed of old houses, set down haphazard in a maze of narrow lanes, which once debouched directly on the foreshore of the harbour. Between the houses of the Kolis and the sea which has been their sustenance from time immemorial there now intervene the wide area of the Frere Reclamation and a section of the modern docks, constructed during the nineteenth century. Moreover, since the opening of the present century the whole area has been the subject of an urban improvement scheme, which has laid out the old Koliwada on more modern and sanitary lines.

The second fact is that this Koli fishing-tribe brought with them from Gujarat to Bombay their own patron goddess, named Mumbadavi, Mumbai, or Mambai, who has lent her name to the modern Island. The English word 'Bombay' is the Portuguese 'Bombaim,' which itself is a corruption of Mumbai or Mambai, the ordinary vernacular name of the Island; and this is the title of the particular village-goddess or earth-mother, whom the Kolis have always worshipped. She is identical, it may be added, with Mommai, who is a village-goddess in Kathiawar. Documentary proof exists that the Kolis originally located her shrine on the most southerly but one of the seven islands, on a spot now occupied by the terminal station of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. To that particular island, therefore, the name Mumbai, Bombay or Bombay was originally attached, but was subsequently extended to signify the whole area of the heptanesia. One can understand, therefore, why the Portuguese in India, when instructed to hand over Bombay to the English Crown representatives in 1661, persisted in declaring that the terms of the Marriage Treaty did not include areas like Mahim and Sion, but only the island immediately under the agis of the aboriginal Koli goddess Mumbai. The goddess was doubtless represented for long ages by a rude stone smeared with blood or red-lead, such as one can see in practically every village in the Deccan and Carnatic; but in 1737, when the original shrine was demolished at the instance of the Bombay Government and a new temple was created on the present site in the native city by a wealthy Hindu of the goldsmith caste, an image of the goddess, dressed in a bodice and robe and wearing a silver crown, took the place of the amorphous stone idol. Moreover, when Bombay and the western littoral became acquainted with the Aryans and with Brahmanic Hinduism, the ancient Koli earth-mother received a step in the divine hierarchy and was adopted into the pantheon as a recognized goddess or sakti: while her humble aboriginal worshippers were likewise gathered into the Hindu fold by the simple expedient of providing them with a spurious pedigree from a monarch of the Lunar Race, and inventing a legend to account for this purely artificial genealogy. Since that date every fresh band of Hindu immigrants, no matter of what caste or tribe, has acknowledged the position of Mumbadevi as patron-goddess of Bombay; and we have the spectacle of an Audich Brahman acting as pujari of the temple, and of Brahmans officiating at the great annual festivals in the months of Ashwin and Margashirsha, while the smaller buildings and temples surrounding the shrine of the goddess are the property of a Kapole Bania. It was a Bania who built the great tank in front of the temple; while the importance of the goddess in the eyes of the local Marathi-speaking castes is shown by the prevalent custom of taking every newly-wedded couple to the shrine on their marriage day, in order to present the goddess with a coconut, a breast-cloth, or a jewel, according to the means of the parties.

The prehistoric period thus furnished Bombay with the oldest stratum of her present population—the Kolis—and with an aboriginal goddess, whose name has been slightly altered to form the modern name of the capital and province of Western India.

The Hindu period at its earlier limit merges into the prehistoric, and may be held to have terminated at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Beyond the fact that it formed an unimportant portion of Aparanta, the North Konkan, we know practically nothing about
Bombay during the Maurya, Satavahana, and Gupta periods. From the sixth century
onwards the northern Konkan, including Bombay, was governed by a succession of local
dynasties—Mauryas, Chalukyas, Silharas,—whose capital was Puri—probably an old name
for Thana, the chief town of the "Konkan fourteen hundred." Between A.D. 757, when
Chalukya rule of the Deccan ended, and A.D. 810, when the Silhara family became hereditary
local rulers of the Thana and Kolaba Districts, the western littoral, including the seven
Bombay islands, was governed by the indigenous Deccan dynasty of Rāṣṭrakūtas, who
were probably connected indirectly by descent with the Mahārathis of the Sātavāhana
age, and therefore also, possibly, with the Mahāsenapatis who once served as Andhra viceroy
in the Adoni region [and may for a time have administered the ancient Tondamandalam in
the Madras Presidency]. It was during the Rāṣṭrakūta hegemony of the Deccan and
Konkan that the Parsis first migrated to Sanjan, which lies just north of Bombay, and thence
spread northwards into Gujarat: it was about the same epoch that certain Jews of the Yemen,
under pressure of the rising tide of Islam, fled to the coast of India and settled in the villages
of Kolaba and Thana, whence they moved in the eighteenth century to the Island of Bombay.

Calling themselves Bene-Israël, still, Children of Israel, these Jew refugees, on their
arrival in the Konkan, adopted the trades of carpenters, masons, and oil-pressers, and
in course of time relinquished most of their traditional beliefs and customs, except the
observance of the Sabbath, the rite of circumcision, and the memory of the Prophet Elijah
and the Day of Atonement. Their observance of the Sabbath, indeed, led to their being
styled 'Shaniwar Telis,' or 'Saturday oilmen,' to distinguish them from Hindu oil-pressers,
who were dubbed 'Somawar Telis,' or 'Monday oilmen.' In other respects they were
gradually assimilated to the Hindu population, adopted Marathi as their language, and so
modified their Jewish names as to resemble the names of their Hindu and Muhammadan
neighbours. Thus Abraham became Abaji; Moses, Musaji; Isaac, Isaji; and Samuel,
Samaji. After their arrival in Bombay, many of them adopted the military profession, and
from 1760 onwards there was hardly an infantry regiment of the old Bombay Army that
did not include a certain proportion of Bene-Israël. Some of them rose to the rank of officers
and took part in the storming of Seringapatam, the siege of Multan, and the battle of Kirkee.
The chief synagogue in Bombay City, styled the 'Gate of Mercy,' was built in 1796 by a
Bene-Israël officer named Samaji (Samuel) in gratitude for his escape from the clutches of
Tīpu Sultan. Nowadays the Bene-Israël, who owe their educational advance to the labours
of Christian missionaries in the nineteenth century, will be found in every profession and
calling, and have long deserted their original ghetto, which was close to the modern Masjid
Bandar railway station, in favour of certain streets in the Umarkhadi section of the municipal
ward B.

Another prominent class, which had settled in the coast towns of western India by the
beginning of the seventh century A.D. and was originally composed partly of sea-faring Arab
traders and partly of Arab and Persian refugees from Irak and other places, is known to-day as
the Konkani Muhammadans. Reaching western India by sea at intervals between the sixth
and thirteenth centuries, these Arab and Persian merchants and refugees formed permanent or
temporary unions with the Hindu women of the coast, and thus produced the mixed Muhammadan
stock called Nawayats or Naitias, who will be found all along the coast from Cambay to Goa.
Those who settled in Alibag, Thana, Kalyan, Chaull, Bassein and neighbouring coast-towns,
and who probably inhabited Mahim in Bombay in the thirteenth century, style themselves
Konkani Muhammadans and recognise among themselves three separate divisions, viz:—
Konkani Jamatis, who claim direct Arab descent, Mandlekars or those descended from
Konkani Muhammadan fathers and Hindu mothers, and Daldis or castaways, who are probably
low-caste Hindu converts to Islam. The Konkani Muhammadans of Bombay were well-
known during the epoch of Portuguese dominion and in the earlier period of the East India
Company's rule as successful merchants and landed proprietors, and up to the year 1866 the office of Kazi of Bombay, now abolished, was filled from their community. As a class, they have not kept abreast of the times, owing largely to their careless attitude towards western education; while in the sphere of trade and commerce they have been ousted by the enterprising Parsi and Hindu trading classes. Many of them have emigrated to Rangoon, Mauritius, Zanzibar, Natal, and the Transvaal. Nevertheless, whether as small property owners, or as clerks, mechanics, messengers, porters, and lascars, they represent to-day one of the older strata of the Bombay urban population.

The rule of the local Silahara chiefs was important from the standpoint of the colonisation of Bombay, for during the four and a half centuries from A.D. 810 to 1260 the aboriginal Kolis witnessed the arrival of various new comers. The dominions of the Silaharas consisted of the modern Thana District with Bombay and parts of Kolaba District, and their chief towns were Thana itself, on the creek which debouches into Bombay harbour, Saimur or Chaull, and Sanjan. Al Masudi, Ibn Haukal, Al Kazwini, and other old historians tell us that the Silaharas fostered trade with Moslem lands, allowed the settlement in their territory of large bodies of Jewish, Christian, and Fire-worshipping immigrants, and showed particular favour to Muhammadans. They themselves were Shaivas by religion and appear to have originally belonged, like many of their officials, to the Kanarese-speaking districts of the Carnatic. It was in honour of the Trimurti that they built the great temple of Walkeshwar on Malabar Hill, and during their rule was discovered the famous Shri Gundl or Lucky Hollow at the extremity of that well-known promontory. The existence of this ornate temple, which was subsequently ruined by the Muhammadans or Portuguese, and of the Shri Gundl, coupled with the tolerant administration of the rulers, must have brought many immigrants to Bombay; and although the Pathare Prabhus, the Yajurvedi or Palshikar Brahmins, the Panchkalshis, the Bhos, the Bhandars, and the Agris of Bombay are traditionally supposed to have entered Bombay in the train of a certain Raja Bimb at the end of the thirteenth century, there can be little doubt that the ancestors of these ancient and well-known Bombay castes filtered in gradually during the long period of Silahara rule and were settled in the Bombay neighbourhood by the opening of the thirteenth century.

The Pathare Prabhus, who held high office under Raja Bimb and the later Muhammadan owners of Bombay, probably reached the Island originally from Gujarat and neighbouring tracts; for their manners, customs and language show traces of a northern origin, and one distinctive feature of their ancient dress, which has now fallen into disuse, is found only in some parts of Kathiawar. The Panchkalshis, who are closely connected with the Prabhus, must also have come from Gujarat. They seem at first to have shared official position and honours with the Prabhus, but to have been degraded, owing to some infringement of caste rules, during Muhammadan or Portuguese dominion, and to have thereafter adopted agricultural pursuits and the trade of carpentry and boat-building. A few of them managed to retain their hereditary offices of Sar-Desai, Sar-Naik, and Sar-Patel in Salsete and other parts of the North Konkan until comparatively late times; while a very large number were forcibly converted to Christianity by the Portuguese and became the ancestors of many of the Native Christian families of Salsete and Bombay. The Yajurvedi Brahmins, on the other hand, who became the hereditary priests of the people of Mahim and other parts of Bombay, seem to have hailed from the valley of the Godavari, whence the Silahara rulers themselves came.

The Bhandars, who are traditionally alleged to have accompanied the above-mentioned castes to Bombay, belong very likely to an even older wave of settlement. Their original occupation, which many of them still follow, was the cultivation and tapping of the cocoa-nut palm (cocos nucifera); and as a Nasik inscription proves that this palm was grown on a large
scale in the north of Thana by the second century A.D., it is not perhaps over-rash to date its arrival in the North Konkan a century or two before that date. It seems to have reached India from the Malay country by way of Ceylon, and the Bhandāris, who from the earliest period of Bombay history have been closely associated with the tree, probably came with it from the Ratnagiri District of the South Konkan, which has always been one of their chief strongholds. Some Bhandāris certainly acquired a position of power in Chaul and neighbouring areas before the fourteenth century, and there is ample evidence that they were employed as soldiers both by the Marāthas and by the British. Sivāji’s famous Hetkaris were Bhandāris and the earliest militia and police force in Bombay was composed largely of Bandareens, as they were styled by contemporary writers. There is also a strong tradition that just prior to Portuguese rule in Bombay the Bhandāris actually revolted from Muhammadan overlordship and were strong enough to hold Mahim and the northern parts of the Island for a space of eight or ten years. Whatever the exact truth may be, there is no doubt that the Bhandāris represent an early element of Bombay society, that they wielded political and military influence in the immediate neighbourhood of Bombay about the end of the thirteenth century, and that although their hereditary occupation is the tapping of the palm-tree and the manufacture of palm liquor, they possessed a traditional inclination to martial pursuits and formed an efficient element in the forces of both the Marāthas and the East India Company in the seventeenth century.

The Silahera rulers yielded place in A.D. 1265 to Brahman viceroys of the Yādavas of Devgiri, who had emerged triumphant from the struggle connected with the dissolution of the Chalukya power in the Deccan. Yādava authority over the Northern Konkan appears to have been acknowledged up to A.D. 1297, three years after Alau-d-din Khilji’s raid on the Deccan. For several years after that date the political circumstances of Bombay are obscure; but it seems probable that Thana, including Bombay, was administered by local Hindu rulers until about A.D. 1350, when the Muhammadan governor of Gujarat took forcible possession of the country. One of these Hindu Raiks or Chiefs, who is known to tradition as Rāja Bimb or Bhūm Rāja, is of more than ordinary historical importance; for he appears to have transferred his capital from Thana in Salsette, which he probably found too exposed to attack, to the island of Mahim in Bombay, and by that act raised Bombay at once above the level of a mere aboriginal fishing settlement.

Of Bimb’s precise identity, no authentic record exists, and the popular view that he belonged to the family of the Solankis of Anahilwada or the Yādavas of Devgiri is untenable. The most plausible supposition is that he was a leading member of the Pathare Prabhu community, which had held high official rank under the Silaharas and had ample opportunity of establishing a small principality of its own in the sparsely-populated island of Mahim in Bombay during the confusion that followed the Muhammadan invasion of the Deccan. Anyhow there is no reason to doubt that for some few years Bimb ruled at Mahim, granted offices and rent-free lands to his followers, and was directly responsible for the establishment of a town, which was given the pompous Sanskrit name of Mahikāvati. From the shortened form of this name, Malu, the Portuguese name Mahim was derived. The story that he brought in his train, direct from Gujarat or the Deccan, the various castes and classes mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, together with Bhois (palanquin-bearers) and Thakurs (men-at-arms) is manifestly absurd. But it is not unreasonable to assume that in moving the seat of government from Salsette to Mahim he introduced into Bombay a considerable number of his own caste-fellows and allied tribes and castes, who had settled in Thana and the towns and villages of the North Konkan during the four and a half centuries of Silahara rule. From the commencement of the fourteenth century, therefore, may be dated the presence in Bombay Island, in appreciable numbers, of the Pathare Prabhus, Pānchikalshis, Palabhi- kar or Yajurvedi Brahmans, Bhois, Thakurs, Malis or Vādvals, and Agris. Of these the Prabhus
and Pâñchkalshis formed the administrative and land-owning element; the Palshikar Brahmans were the priests, astrologers, and medical attendants of the general community; the Malis or Vadvals and the Agris were the agricultural element; the Bhois, whose caste name is said by some to be the origin of the word "Boy," applied by Anglo-Indians to their domestic servants, acted as palanquin-bearers and menials; while the Thakurs, together with the Bhandâris under their Bhongales or trumpeter-chiefs, formed the material of the chief's military forces.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICE.


When Dr. Vincent Smith realised that he could never complete the revised edition of his great work himself, he handed over his notes to his friend, Mr. S. M. Edwards, who was "to endeavour to the best of his ability to bring the work up-to-date." Thus does the latter modestly describe his share in the work, but it can be unhesitatingly said that he has fully succeeded "in bringing it up-to-date." The subject is notoriously controversial, and bearing that in mind the method of treating it is admirable. Every chapter has one or more appendix discussing important points and there are footnotes to nearly every page. In this way dogmatism is avoided and an opportunity taken to discuss the many varying views that exist on nearly every detail of a history that has been put together by the careful research of many scholars. To the present writer it is very pleasant to note the importance that the compilers have been given to chronology—a subject to which so much of this Journal has in the past been devoted, owing to the researches of that great pioneer Dr. J. F. Fleet.

Recent research, both of Indian and European scholars, has shown that it is possible to recover a great deal of the doings of the ancients in India with sufficient accuracy to warrant such a book as this, or, shall we say? as it will become in successive editions, with time the tools of the searchers dig more deeply into the records of the past. Even as Mr. Edwards was writing, fresh important information regarding that Will-o'-the-wisp—the Pallava—has been forthcoming, and more and more accurate knowledge on many a hero of antiquity is coming to light, as criticism is directed to the statements of those engaged in the work by others of equal authority, who can interpret the old records that are being continually discovered. The great service that Dr. Vincent Smith in the first place, with Mr. Edwards following on his heels, has rendered the world of scholars and students is that they have put together the views of all that have so far devoted themselves to the subject, after duly digesting them and adding the results of their own studies. It appears to the present writer that the general result could not have been bettered or more fairly stated.

Like all who have tried to present Indian History in the briefest space possible, Dr. Vincent Smith has had to confine himself to an account of the chief dynasties only, and to notice the doings of the many smaller states in a cursory manner. He has had to treat South India almost as a land apart. There is nevertheless very much that is of interest and value in the story of the minor states as local history, but there is no way of dealing with India generally, that appeals to myself at any rate, except on the lines that Dr. Vincent Smith has adopted. He is to my mind also quite justified in commencing history with the earliest dates that have been ascertained with more or less certainty, and in leaving out of account all that may be said to have happened before. This brings the far limit to c. 650 n.c. Dr. Vincent Smith's book is thus the history of India in Hindu times, and he has neglected no original source in his research, however difficult and recondite, bravely tackling so obscure a subject as the Indian Eras, on which Dr. Fleet did such important work—a subject which in fact every one must master if he would write convincingly on history in India. The book contains also two valuable summaries of sources—the Age of the Purâṇas and the Chinese Pilgrims. In fact no phase of the subject and its presentation has escaped notice—not even that bugbear of all writers on Indian subjects—the transliteration and presentation of proper names. This observation takes one to the art of writing, the introduction of which into India Dr. Vincent Smith puts in the eighth to seventh centuries n.c., holding that before this period the people "seem to have been obliged to trust to highly-trained memory for the transmission" of facts. I would like, however, to remark here that, though this is so, it does not detract from the accuracy of that memory, which has been shown in other directions to have been as trustworthy as, and even more conscientiously accurate than, written records. I would not be inclined to distrust a statement—historical or other—merely because it has not been reduced to writing.

Dr. Vincent Smith commences his history with the now familiar Sāmudrâ Dynasty of Magadha, which lasted from c. 650 to c. 470 B.C. and was
contemporary with four important historical events: the foundation of Jainism and of Buddhism, the advent of Darius and his Persians on the Indian frontiers, and the voyage of Skylax of Karyanda from Indus to the Red Sea. The first two vastly affected Indian thought and the last two connected India with the West—a fact which one cannot forget in considering things Indian. After the Saismugäs came the Nandas, who lasted till 320 B.C. The end of the Saismugäs came from causes natural to a dynasty which had become weak, and the whole record of the Nandas is garbled, which is due no doubt, as Dr. Vincent Smith surmises, to its being the work of Brahman Monks telling the story of kings, who were of a belief foreign to their own, perhaps that of the Jains. Their greatness would render it unlikely that they were the depraved creatures they are represented to have been. Towards their end another great event happened in India—the arrival of Alexander the Great in 326 B.C.

Two chapters are devoted to the doings of Alexander, including a wonderful account of his victory over Perseus, because, as the author remarks, it is “a subject, which, so far as I know, has not been treated in any modern book.” No one will quarrel with Dr. Vincent Smith as to the length of his treatment, but I am not quite prepared to endorse his statement that Alexander’s campaign “was in actual effect, no more than a brilliant raid on a gigantic scale, which left upon India no mark save the horrid scars of bloody war.” It seems to me, despite all that is said in this work on pp. 251-256, to be unlikely that “India remained unchanged,” though no Indian refers to it. If Indian writers could distort the history of the Nandas, who were obviously great kings, they were equally capable of ingoring the foreigner Alexander. His influence in the East appears to me to have been too great to have been reduced to nothing in India. However, in Dr. Vincent Smith’s view, western influence did not have effect till the days of the Kuschans some four centuries later, which relieves it to the days of Imperial Rome. Nevertheless, the ignoring and distorting of inconvenient or humiliating history by Oriental writers is a point worthy of serious consideration. Dr. Vincent Smith himself remarks on the absence of reference in Hindu books to the sack of Somnath by Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century A.D., and the present writer in the Second Afghan War (1878–1881) found Afghans and Pathans who were entirely ignorant of the British proceedings as to the Bāla Hissār at Kabul in the First Afghan War, not forty years earlier. At Canton in 1898 he found educated Southern Chinese not only ignorant but sceptical of the facts of the then quite recent Japanese War in Northern China. The same ignorance of recent history in Lower Burma was visible in Upper Burma during the

Third Burmese War (1855–1858). Such ignorance has no doubt occurred elsewhere.

With the departure of Alexander and the end of the Nandas we come to the end of a definite period in Indian history, into the difficult chronology of which the book goes in the most careful manner, and I observe that it fixes the date of the death of Buddha at 543 B.C., after a close summary of the various attributions, and holds that the death of Mahāvīra (of the Jains), which is generally fixed in 527 B.C., is still merely a “traditional date.” These statements are worth observing.

We have now reached the Mauryan Empire founded by the great Chandragupta Maurya as the first of its kind in India. Of Chandragupta a short, but good, account is given, and much is said about his government from the accounts of his Minister, Vishnugupta Chānakeya, alias Kautilya, and the Greek physician—envoy Megasthenes. Chandragupta was so great a man that we are indeed fortunate in having two such good accounts of him and his government, and also in having scholars who have so patiently hunted up and given the modern world all that they contain. In this volume will be found a painstaking summary of their contents, bringing vividly before us the mode of government and the extent of the civilisation then enjoyed. The only point on which I would like to break a lance with Dr. Vincent Smith here is as to what he calls “the absence of Hellenic influence.” He states that neither Alexander nor Seleukos Nikator, with both of whom Chandragupta came in contact, nor one presumes any other Hellenised ruler or people on the North-Western Frontiers, had any effect on him and his Indian administration, civil or military. No doubt there is no allusion to Hellenic influence in Indian writings, but it seems almost impossible to believe that so all-pervading a man as Alexander was unable to affect Chandragupta, while it is quite possible to believe that whatever he and his officers learnt and copied may have been so assimilated that the origin of the ideas became lost. Perhaps in future editions the point of Hellenism in India may be gone into more deeply. The story of the end of Chandragupta as a Jain ascetic is most interestingly told in a brief paragraph.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindūṣāra alias Amitraghāta, the Slayer of Foes, about whom not much is known, though he, too, must have been a great monarch, extending his dominions and carrying on his father’s communications with the Greeks. Here we are favoured with two very valuable appendices on the extent of the cession of Ariana by Seleukos Nikator and on the Arthashastra of Chānakeya. Of Aṣoka, Bindūṣāra’s famous son, much has been written and it must here suffice to say that the book goes with the greatest care into all the information regarding the reign of this all-important Emperor, weighing the evidence carefully and stating, where thought necessary, Dr. Vincent Smith’s
personal views. The account ends with an admirable chronological table of the whole dynasty from c. 326 to 185 B.C. There is also an excellent map of Asoka's great dominions.

We are next introduced to more difficult history, on which Dr. Vincent Smith gives us a short chapter full of the most interesting information. First we have the Sunga Dynasty as the successors of part of the once great Maurya possessions, and of the raids of Kharavela of Kalinga (165—161 B.C.). After this there is the last attempt of the Hellenic kings, in the person of Menander (Mithridates) from Kabul and the Panjab, to attack an Indian monarch in 153 B.C. In the days of the first Sunga king, Pushyamitra, the Vedic rite of horse-sacrifice (āśvamedha) was revived, and it was under him that Brahmanism was to assert itself and throw off the yoke of Jainism and Buddhism. The dynasty lasted about a hundred years and gave way c. 73 B.C. in honour of the Kāyvas, who were Brahmans and lasted about half a century, when they were destroyed by a Andhra king c. 28 B.C. India had now ceased to have a great kingdom within it in the sense of an Empire, and Dr. Vincent Smith therefore goes into the stories first of the Andhras and then of the North-Indian Indo-Greeks and Kushān Dynasties till the rise of the next great Empire, that of the Guptas c. 300 A.D.

The Andhras go back much further than 28 B.C. Indeed they are found as a Dravidian nation on the banks of the Godāvari and Kriṣṇa (Kistna) Rivers as far back as the days of Chandragupta 300 B.C. Their kings, the Sātavāhanas, became powerful in the Deccan right across India c. 240 B.C. and their history is still very confused. In fact it has only been pieced together from various fragmentary sources. However, they ruled a varying but considerable part of India till about 225 A.D., and their rule and ambitions brought them into collision with not only the Kāyvas but also with various foreigners in the heart of India. E.g., the Kshaharāta Viceroy (Satraps, Kshatrapas) and the Mahākṣatrapas of Rājputana and part of the Bombay Presidency. Certain of the kings of the time were undoubtedly powerful rulers, and some were known to the western world: of the Andhras such kings were Goutamiputra, c. 100 A.D., and Pulumayi, c. 125; of the Kshaharāta Satraps, Nahapāna, c. 40 A.D., and of the Mahākṣatrapas, Chashtana, c. 80 A.D., and Rudradaman, c. 130. The whole of the main facts ascertained so far are admirably tabulated in this book as "the late Andhra Kings and connected Dynasties." The Andhra Dynasty went down in anarchy after the Indian fashion c. 225 A.D.

So far we have been dealing with what may be called India proper, and we find the story of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian and Kushān Dynasties even still more confused. On the death of Asoka his North-Indian Empire fell a natural prey to the Hellenist Princes of Bactria, and Parthia. Seleukeos Nikator had an unworthy grandson Antiochos Theos c. 261-245 B.C., and in his time Diodotos of Bactria and Arsakes of Parthia successfully separated themselves from the great Empire created by Seleukeos. At this point I feel constrained to make a small criticism. The book says, p. 234 that Antiochos was "misplaced even in his life-time Theos or the god" and strange to say was worshipped as such." There is to my mind, however, nothing strange in the fact, for, as I read history, the great Alexander, while in Persia, deliberately had himself proclaimed "a god" on the advice of his Greek philosophic advisers, as the religious as well as the political head of the people, and more princes than Antiochos followed the idea. It is the very ancient idea of the "divinity of kings" followed in various degrees all over the world from Western Europe to China.

History now becomes as confused as the fights of minor principalities can make it, but as regards India Euthydemos and his son Demetrios, as well as Eukratides of the Bactrian line or lines, conquered the country round the Indus and were followed by several Indo-Greek rulers. So great was the confusion of the time that in Appendix K. Dr. Vincent Smith very wisely gives their names in alphabetical order, because the "geographical and chronological position is so uncertain," though he does try to place them in Appendix L. Out of all this list there stands a great name, Menander, probably of the family of Eukratides. The whole situation takes us down to B.C. 150.

Meanwhile a great revolution was taking place in Central Asia. About 170 B.C. the Yuehi Tribes, driven out of North-Western China, collided with the Sakas tribes of the Jaxartes or Syr Daria c. 160, which in their turn burst upon the Greco-Bactrians and Parthians c. 140, so that the former disappeared. The Central Asian hordes remained in Seistan and the Panjab, penetrating even as far as Mathurā and Kāthiawād at varying dates up to 390 A.D. The Parthians, however, developed their power and spread over into India, where they founded Satrapies, i.e., vicegeralities or subordinate kingdoms. History therefore is almost hopelessly confused, but Dr. Vincent Smith most wonderfully clears the ground by assuming two main lines of Indo-Parthian princes—one in Arachosia or Seistan and the other in Taxila of the Panjab. Dr. Vincent Smith also shows that at times the vicegerals, e.g., Azes, were transferred from Seistan to Taxila. By the date of Christ these Indian viceroyals had become kings. We are now brought to the well-known story of Gondophares and St. Thomas, Gondophares being assumed to have been king of both Taxila and Seistan between c. 20 and 48 A.D. Into the story Dr. Vincent Smith goes fairly and fully, and comes to the conclusion that as regards Gondophares the story should not be accepted. There I leave it, as judging by personal
correspondence the matter is by no means yet settled. About this period the Indo-Parthian rulers had to give way to the Indo-Scythians or Kushâns, a Yuechi Tribe, who did great things in the ancient days. The influence of the Romans under Augustus also began to be felt.

We have now reached the Kushâns Dynasty, c. 20—225 A.D., to the story of which a very fine chapter is devoted. Indeed chapter X is worthy of close study even by experts, as it puts the results of recent research in an extraordinarily clear and useful manner. The Kushâns here stand plainly before us from their initial migrations, c. 165 B.C., to their disappearance c. 225 A.D. The long disputed date of the accession of the greatest of them, Kanishka, Dr. Vincent Smith puts at 120 A.D., and it is of great interest that he attributes the decay of the Indo-Scythian, i.e., the Kushân, monarchy to the devastating plague of 167 A.D., and possibly to a Sassanian invasion from Persia. At any rate from the time of the disappearance of the Andhras in Central India and the Kushâns in Northern India, both about the same time, c. 225 A.D., there was no one great power in India till the rise of the Guptas c. 320. I may add here, before passing to the Guptas that an excellent chronology of the Kushâns is given ;—the best I have yet seen.

The rise of the Guptas from the status of local chiefs in Bihar to that of Emperors is attributed to a marriage with the powerful Lichhavi rulers of Nepal, who were of extra-Indian origin. It may be noted here that the rise of the Pallavas in South India has been similarly attributed to marriage with more powerful neighbours. Unfortunately for the clear apprehension of history the name of the founder of the Guptas, the second of the greatest Indian Empires, was Chandragupta just as the founder of the Mauryan Empire, the first, was also called Chandragupta. However, the real maker of the Gupta Empire was Samudragupta, fairly described in the book as “the Indian Napoleon.” Here Mr. Vincent Smith can claim a personal victory as the recoverer of the story of the greatest Indian ruler after Asoka and before Akbar, and it is very well told. Samudragupta was succeeded by another great figure in ancient history, Chandragupta whom it is convenient to call by another title Vikramâditya, especially as he is most probably really the Râja Bâkram of widely spread Indian legend. He put an end to the Western Satrapies for good, as one of the many great political achievements, and was a great man in other ways. Then came Kumâragupta and the Hun invasion.

Dr. Vincent Smith has here a good account of what the Guptas did for Indian architecture, but we must pass on to the Huns.

I would, however, here pause a moment to make a comparison between the length of the reigns of the great rulers of India of the Imperial Dynasties before the British Empire.

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<tr>
<th>MAURYAS</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Years of reign</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chandragupta</td>
<td>323—298</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bindusâra</td>
<td>298—272</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>Asoka</td>
<td>272—242</td>
<td>30</td>
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<th>GUPTAS</th>
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<tr>
<td>Chandragupta</td>
<td>320—330</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samudragupta</td>
<td>330—360</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vikramâditya</td>
<td>380—413</td>
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<td>Kumâragupta</td>
<td>413—455</td>
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<td>Skandagupta</td>
<td>455—467</td>
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<th>MUGHALS</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>1556—1605</td>
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<td>Jahângîr</td>
<td>1605—1628</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shâh Jâhân</td>
<td>1628—1658</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aurângzîb</td>
<td>1658—1707</td>
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There were, of course, other rulers of supreme consequence under whom India made a general progress forwards, but the above sets of dates cover roughly the chief advances in Indian civilisation, as during these periods the rulers were mighty men or had great advisers and the land had such peace as was possible. At any rate it was more or less united and so personal ambition had scope.

The decline of the Guptas commenced with the sever ets though historically unimportant struggle with the Pushyamitrâs, who were possibly founders of the Vallabhi Kingdom in Western India, followed by the first Hun attack. This last was, however, averted by Skandagupta in 458, but the Huns soon returned and harassed him, and by the sixth century the Guptas had disappeared. Meanwhile the Huns from Central Asia began to appear in Europe and had over-run it by 378, but had been ousted by c. 470. In India they appeared as the Ephthalites or White Huns (c. 455) and produced at least two important rulers, Toramâna (ob. c. 502) and a greater man, his son Mihirâgula of Siâlkot in the Panjâb. This last title Dr. Vincent Smith translates by Sunflower, though that is not the sense of its Sanskrit equivalent, Mihrakula. He is described in India as a great tyrant and was ousted by 528 by what may be described as a Rájput Confederacy, describing Râjputas as clans of very varying origin, foreign and indigenous, who have at some time acquired local sovereignty. The head of the Confederacy was Yasodharmas, of a very wide rule if his inscriptions can be trusted, which Dr. Vincent Smith doubts, and soon afterwards the Turks came into prominence, ousting the Huns. After these events up to the arrival of Harsha (c. 600) Indian history is very vague and local, but nevertheless except for local Arab irruptions into Sind and Gujarât in the eighth century, for half a millennium it was free from foreign attack and could develop itself.
The seventh century saw the use of the last great Hindu Empire in India under Harsha of Thanesar and Kanauj, c. 606 to c. 647; and of his reign there is much good evidence, which need not be gone into here beyond stating that in acquiring and then ruling his great dominions for a quarter of a century and more he shows himself to have been an unusually great man. His empire, however, practically disappeared with him; and in the words of Dr. Vincent Smith "India naturally reverted to her normal condition of anarchical autonomy." As to the remaining 500 odd years of Hindu rule under petty chiefs before the arrival of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, c. 1000 A.D., and the conquests of Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghorī, c. 1200, the book has a pregnant paragraph on p. 372, where it is said that "the salient features in the bewildering annals of Indian petty states, when left to their own devices for several centuries, may perhaps give a notion of what India always has been when released from the control of a supreme authority; and what she would be again if the hand of the benevolent power which now safeguards her boundaries should be withdrawn." I may here remark that we have the author at his greatest value when history is most confused—learned, patient and clear. The oldest expert can hear him here with profit, and I would like to add with admiration. The truth of such an observation is brought home by a perusal of Dr. Vincent Smith's outspoken remarks on the history of the Rājput States and on the Rājputs themselves, though these last a pretty sure to rouse controversy.

It is not possible here to go into the details of Indian history from 700 to 1200 A.D. The land was under local chiefs, some of whom acquired large territories; while others have become famous. Regarding these opinions of scholars and searchers naturally differ and Dr. Vincent Smith has his own reasoned opinion on every point, but with great force and with a clearness which all readers will acknowledge. Of the rulers who were personally great may be mentioned firstly Bhoja, Panīhr (Rājput) of Kanauj (840-890)—Mihira Bhoja as Dr. Vincent Smith calls him for differentiation—followed by his son Mahendrapāla (890-908) and grandson Mahipāla, 910-940, who all maintained a wide rule. Then came Jaipāl of Bhātindā (Patialā), who stood up to the Muhammadans, Sābuktīgin and Mahmūd of Ghaznī, for a while (989 to 1001). Meanwhile the Panīhr rulers of Kanauj had given place to the Gaharwār in 1090, from whom eventually came the Raths of Jodhpur and the Desert. The Gaharwār produced a great ruler in Govinda Chandā (1104-1155), and under his grandson Jayachandra—the Raja Jaichand, whose daughter was carried off by Rai Pithorā, the Chauhān, of Ajmer according to a well-known story—India fell to the Muhammadans under Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghorī in 1194. Here Dr. Vincent Smith makes another of his outspoken statement that Delhi "is among the most modern of great Indian cities," dating only from the days of the Tomara Rājput Anāgapāla, in the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

At this period there existed, as above said, Prithvirājā, Chauhān, of Sāmbhar and Ajmer, the famous Rai Pithorā of song and legend, who faced Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghorī at Tarāsā and was killed in 1192. Dr. Vincent Smith throws over the old story that the abduction of Raja Jaichand's daughter was a cause of the Rājput defeat by Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghorī, as the two great frontier chiefs of the period could not combine, and puts it down prosaically to the defeat of "a mob of Indian militia" before "the onset of trained cavalry." He may be right, if there is evidence the Afgān (or whatever they were) cavalry were better trained than the Rājputs. Passing over the Chandels (Gonds) and the Kalachuris (Hālīayas), we find another great ruler among the Pawārs of Mālwā in Rāja Bhoja of Dhār (1018-1060), who has left a lively memory behind him.

All this while in Bengal there was a Pāla dynasty (Buddhist), rising out of the anarchy following the great Emperor Harsha, which lasted some four and a half centuries. Of this Dynasty Dharmapāla (c. 810-832) controlled a wide kingdom. The Senās—who were Hindus—under Vijayasena, wrested a large part of Bengal from the Pālas, c. 1100, and the two dynasties ruled side by side till Muhammad ibn Bakhtīyar Khiḷjī, put an end to both in 1197 and destroyed Buddhism. Thus ended Hindu-governed India, of which one remark may be made. Wherever and whenever there was strong rule—imperially or locally—literature and the arts flourished. Dr. Vincent Smith follows up his accounts by some remarkable pages on Rājputs, which to my mind gives a fair account of these elusive clans, though one can hardly hope that his conclusions, so boldly stated, will escape criticism. He winds up the section of his work with a very fine Appendix on the origin and chronology of the Sena Dynasty.

There still remain, however, two important parts of India to be considered—the Deccan and the South. As regards the Deccan, Dr. Vincent Smith remarks that, from the destruction of the Andhras, history is still very vague from 225 to the sixth century B.C., to the rise of the Chalukyas (Solankis) of Vatapi (Budamī), who, he thinks, were connections of the Gurjaras of Gujarat, and therefore originally foreigners to India. In 608 a very able prince, Pulakesin II, was on the throne at Vatapi and his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana was his viceroy in the East at Vengi. Hence see the long lines of the Western and Eastern Chalukyas. They fought all round always and Pulakesin became a mighty ruler until his defeat and death in 642 at the hands of the Pallava king Narasimharman. About 753 arrived for two and a half centuries the
Rashtrakutas (753-973), who were the Balharas (Vallabha Rāśi) of the Muhammadan writers and the builders of the Kailāsa Temple at Ellora. The Muhammadans called them "the greatest sovereigns in India," and no doubt they produced several notable rulers—Govinda III (793-815), Amogavasuki of the long reign (815-877), Indra III (914-916), who successfully attacked distant Kanaūj. And then in 973 Taila, a Chalukya, overthrew them and restored the fortunes of his family in the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi for two and a quarter centuries (973-1190).

Of this branch of the Chalukyas, Vikramāditya (1076-1126) was a wise, kindly man who ruled in peace for the most part. Then came Bijaḷa, the Kalachurya Jain for a while, under whom his Brāhmaṇ minister Basava founded the Lingayats c. 1167—a sect which checked Jainism and helped to destroy Buddhism in South India. After a short revival of the Chalukyas, there came over one part of the kingdom the Hoysalas of the Mysore country (Dōrasamudra, Halebid) in 1190 to be destroyed in turn by the Muhammadans c. 1326. And over another part came the Yādavas of Devagiri (Daulaštābād) to succumb also to the Muhammadans in 1318. A useful set of Dynastic Tables concludes the short account of the Deccan Dynasties.

The Southern Kingdoms present a more difficult and unfortunately still less settled problem, meaning by that term in ancient India, the Land of the Tamils, and that ruled by the Pallavas. The difficulty of the subject lies in the incompleteness of the research which still obtains. In the ancient days the ruling families were the Pāṇḍyas in the South, the Cholas on the Eastern side and the Cheras on the Western, with many incursions into each other's territories. As regards the Pallavas, the problem as to who and what they were is being gradually settled, and though I do not at present personally feel satisfied that it is right to describe them, as does this book, as a predatory clan like the Marathas of later times, it is quite possible that that is a conclusion historians will eventually arrive at. Tamil India is very ancient and its story important for tracing the history of the people, but politically the old kingdoms were strictly local, like many others of the minor principalities in the country.

The Cholas and the Cheras seem to have become of some importance about the date of the Christian era and the Pallavas to have become rulers about 300 A.D. The Cholas also seem to have preserved a harassed existence between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas till about 900 A.D., when Parāntaka I, Chola (c. 901-953) overthrew both of them. In 955 came a mighty man to the Chola throne, Rājārāja the Great (c. 985-1018), and then came Rājendra Chola I (c. 1018-1035), an equally great conqueror, followed by Rājādhiraja (1033-1053) a renowned fighter. Subsequently on the failure of the male succession in 1074, the throne fell to relative in the female line, Kulāttuṅga Chola (1074-1118), the hero of the revenue survey of the Tamil dominions in 1086—the year of the Domesday Book. After him the great dynasty struggled on till 1287 and then came Malik Kāfūr, the Muhammadan raider, and finally the mighty Vijayanagar rule (c. 1379), which, however, belongs to Medieval history. Such is the merest outline of Chola rule, which, however, reckoned among its members some of the greatest personal rulers in South India, and left behind it the record of a system of government worth the study of all nationalities.

Dr. Vincent Smith next tackles what may be called the burning question of South Indian research: who were the Pallavas? He quite rightly discards the theory that they were probably a Pahlavī (Persian, Parthian) clan, i.e., Rājputs of some kind, who obtained rule in South India. It is now quite certain that they were a local tribe or family which rose to power in the early Christian centuries and were not Tamils. Dr. Vincent Smith as usual ably sums up the evidence available to him as to what they really were, but, as Mr. Edwardes says in his preface, still further evidence came to light while the book was in the Press which could not be digested—a fate that happens off and on practically to all engaged in research. So the question is still unsettled and indeed the research itself is still not finished. For centuries the Pallavas were important and some of them were great rulers. They had indeed so great an effect on South India and in fact vicariously on India generally that it is most desirable to ascertain all that is possible about them. Mahendra-varman I (c. 600-625) was an important Monarch, followed by Narasimhavarman I (c. 625-645), the greatest of all. The decline of the Pallava power began with Nandivarman (c. 720-782), and the dynasty went on fighting till it was overthrown by the Cholas at the beginning of the tenth century. During all this period, there existed two kingdoms of the Gangas—the Western in Mysore and the Eastern in Kaliṅga on the East Coast. They each produced a great king: Śrīpuruṣa (725-756) of the Western branch, and Anantavarma Cholaganga (1076-1147) of the Eastern.

With these remarks Dr. Vincent Smith ends his last edition of a great work, with which his name must ever be associated. As a very old student of Indian history, I cannot too highly express my admiration of the research and the knowledge exhibited and the clearness with which the results thereof have been recorded. Mr. Edwardes, with characteristic modesty, hides his share as much as he can, but I suspect that more of the footnotes and the emendations in the text than would at first appear are due to his pen. Between them the authors have produced a work which is not only as accurate as is possible, but gives the student a clear and comprehensive view of ancient Indian history.

R. C. Temple.
St. Thomas in South India.
(A Critical Review of the Legend.)

By T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T.

[The accompanying letter has been received by me from a scholar, who is himself a
St. Thomas Christian of Southern India. It is published here in order to assist in the elucidation
of the difficulties surrounding the much disputed legend that the Apostle St. Thomas
preached and died at Mylapore near Madras. The writer's remarks are of greater value
from the fact that he is so far from being didactic as to be perfectly willing to be convinced
that he is wrong in believing that St. Thomas never went to South India. He is thus placing
himself in no real antagonism to those who hold the opposite opinion. In view of the forthcoming
works of Dr. Farquhar and Fr. Hosten on the St. Thomas legend, his observations may prove
to be of much importance. In any case it is worth while from the point of view of an honest
search for the truth to have them on record.—R. C. Temple.]

'I am a St. Thomas Christian and I have long studied closely the South Indian tradition,
both oral and recorded, about St. Thomas. The more I study it, the more I am confirmed
in my belief that St. Thomas, the Apostle, never went to South India. I ask leave to set forth
my argument to you, but I am quite ready to be beaten and convinced by those who believe
in the truth of the statement that St. Thomas was in South India and died at Mylapore. Briefly,
my position is as follows:

1. There is nothing in The Acts of Judas Thomas to indicate that the journey of St.
Thomas by cart from the kingdom of Gondophares was to South India.

2. St. Thomas, according to The Acts, was martyred in Mazdai's kingdom (which, I
suppose, was somewhere in North-West India) close to that of Gondophares.

3. The saint who lies buried in Mylapore—I call him the Calamina saint—died in circum-
stances quite different from those of St. Thomas's martyrdom. Vide Medlycott's India
and Thomas, London, 1905, pp. 122–126, where unadulterated pre-Portuguese versions recorded
by Marco Polo and Marignolli are given. The author's 'saving face' theory (pp. 129, 131)
does not commend itself to me.

4. The bones of St. Thomas were removed from Mazdai's kingdom to Edessa, but those
of the Calamina saint have been believed by us and our ancestors to have remained in his
tomb at Mylapore entire and intact. True, the Portuguese who opened the tomb in the six-
teenth century did not find the bones, but only debris. Quite naturally. Bones kept in a
tomb for about fifteen centuries will not be converted into fossils, but will crumble into dust.

5. If St. Thomas it was that died at Calamina near Mylapore, we should have celebrated
the feast of 21st December. We do not observe it, but instead celebrate the feast of the 3rd
day of the month of Toûmûs, which this year corresponds to the 16th of July. It is with us
a márânya or great festival, called the dukrânâ in Syriac, which means commemoration.
This 3rd July, or rather 3rd Tômmûs, is the day of the deposition of the relics in Edessa
(Medlycott, op. cit., p. 27, footnote 1).

6. Our tradition says that St. Thomas set up seven crosses in Malabar. There seems to
be an anachronism here, which nobody has yet looked into. According to the canonical
Acts of the Apostles, none of the apostles mentioned therein set up crosses, not even the one
who said, "let me not glory save in the cross."

7. Now, as to our (Malabar) tradition, which nobody before me has carefully scrutinized,
no recorded pre-Portuguese version has come down to us, although pre-Portuguese versions
of the Mylapore tradition are extant (cf. Marco Polo and Marignolli).

8. The earliest recorded Portuguese versions contain no dates, neither 52 A.D. for the ad-
vent of St. Thomas, nor 72 A.D. for his martyrdom, nor any other. These, therefore, must be re-
garded as inventions of the Portuguese period. The date 52 A.D. must have been pitched upon,
because it is just subsequent to the year 51 A.D. in which, according to some historians, all the
apostles met in synod at Jerusalem. Some of our prose accounts of St. Thomas give 51 A.D. instead of 52, and a Malayalam song of 1601 A.D. has 50 A.D. for the advent of St. Thomas.

9. The incidents of the Andrapolis of Sandaruk section of *The Acts*, which evidently took place before St. Thomas reached Gondaphares' kingdom, are found in the extant Portuguese period versions of our tradition. The incidents of the Gondaphares or Gudnaphar section also are in them. These undoubtedly took place in North-West India.

10. The Portuguese missionaries must probably have read the *Passio* (published c. 1480) and *De Miraculis* (published 1531 and 1552) in printed form, and made their Malayali students in the seminaries of Malabar read them too. These missionaries and students most probably transferred the incidents of the Sandaruk and Gudnaphar sections of *The Acts* into our genuine, pristine tradition and gave it the present form. See section VIII of Joseph's "What Thomas Wrote," in *The Young Men of India* (Calcutta), May, 1926.

11. There is no means of ascertaining what our genuine tradition (in Malabar) was in pre-Portuguese times. (See 13 and 14 infra).

12. The Greek and Syriac writers from c. 700 A.D. onwards must have got the name Calamina (which I am almost sure is Chinnamalai, the name of The Little Mount near Mylapore, metamorphosed) from the pre-Portuguese tradition of Malabar or Mylapore. *Vide* Medlycott, pp. 150 ff., 98–100, and W. R. Philipps in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903–04, for Calamina. Also Joseph's "Malabar Miscellany," *Ind. Ant.*, 1924, pp. 93–95.

13. There is, however, a residue left, if from our extant tradition all elements derived from the Syriac Liturgy and from the Latin versions of *The Acts*, and those (like the dates) interpolated in the Portuguese period, are removed.

14. This residuum or residual tradition may be regarded as our pre-Portuguese tradition.

15. It says (a) that St. Thomas came to Malabar, founded seven churches and set up seven crosses; (b) that he passed on to the East Coast, and was (as Marco Polo and Marignoli say) accidentally wounded (at Calamina), died and was buried in Mylapore.

16. This residual tradition, too, may contain the accrteions of centuries. For instance, (a) the name St. Thomas, added by confusion arising from the annual celebration of the important 3rd Tammūs feast, and (b) the seven crosses added long after the Nestorians came and set up the Pahlavi-inscribed crosses, four of which have already been discovered in Malabar.

Who, then, was the missionary who came and evangelized Malabar and the Coromandel Coast and lies buried in Mylapore? None can say. Several theories are possible. Mine is that he was a saintly missionary sent from Edessa after the deposition of St. Thomas's relics and the institution of the 3rd Tammūs feast there. He might have been sent by King Abgar IX who reigned in Edessa, A.D. 179–214 (*Medlycott*, p. 295, and *Encyc. Brit.* s.v. Abgar) and was converted. This missionary (perhaps a Thomas) must have introduced the Syriac liturgy and the 3rd Tammūs feast into South India. He died and was buried, and in course of time the grand St. Thomas feast engendered the notion that the saint lying buried at Mylapore was St. Thomas himself. The church in North-West India died out in the early centuries after Christ, and so could not put in a counter-claim. Neither could Edessa say where in India their relics had come from. Chinnamalai (Calamina), the place where the Edessene saint died, was shown to travellers as the place of St. Thomas's martyrdom. From them it (Calamina) found its way into Greek writings of c. 700. This is my speculation. It may or may not be correct.

May I now offer some remarks on a few names in *The Acts*?

1. Mazdai of *The Acts* is not a proper name, but a modified Iranian or Parthian form of Sanskrit Mahādēva, which means Great King. Dēva in Sanskrit, may be god or king. For the title Mahādēva applied to a king, see *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 539, where there is a coin legend *Mahādēvavā rājī Dharīgōhōsha Oudumbarīsa*.

2. Situr, the general of King Mazdai, may be Aspavarma, *strategos* or commander-in-chief of Gondaphares (*Cambridge History of India*, I, 577, 578, 580, 581). Aspavarma may
have been the *strategos* of Mazdai also, who, I suppose, was Gondophares’ viceroy in Arachosia. As regards (Aspavarmam), the bracketed portion of the long name may, I think, be found in Sipur, Man being omitted as an inconvenient caudal appendage.

3. Quuantoria (Medlycott, p. 285) of the Ethiopic version of The Acts may be Kandahar (Arachosia).

So in my opinion St. Thomas died in Arachosia. But Calamina need not be looked for there. It is Chinnamalai near Mylapore in South India.

It will be very illuminating if Dr. Mingana (of the John Rylands Library) and other scholars take up the study of the extent and duration of the early Christian Church in India—from Bactria to Betuma (near Singapore, not Mylapore) and from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas—from ancient Syriac and Arabic Sources.1

VYAGHRA, THE FEUDATORY OF VAKATAKA PRITHIVISENA.

By Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyanagar, M.A., (hon.) Ph.D.

In volume LV, page 103, Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil’s indentification of the Uchakalpa chief Vyaghra is presented to us in English by Sir R. C. Temple. The learned professor quotes the recently discovered inscriptions published by Dr. Sukthankar in volume XVII, page 12, of the Epigraphia Indica, where a Vyaghra Dêvâ is referred to “as meditating on the feet of Vâkâṭaka Prithivîsenā.” This inscription, as well as the two others of Prithivîsenâ published by Cunningham and Fleet1, give no further detail than that the ruler Vyaghra who made the grants was a feudatory of the Vâkâṭakas. As the professor has pointed out the Uchakalpas had a neighbouring kingdom ruled over by another family of chieftains. Their boundaries happened to be contiguous along a part of the course of the river Tons (Tamsa) in Central India. A boundary stone fixed by a Divisional Officer refers to the Parivrâjaka Mahârâja Hastin and Uchakalpa Šarvanâtha as ruling at the time, thus indicating clearly that they were contemporary rulers at the time of the planting of this pillar.2 The further fact is also correctly stated that the Parivrâjaka Hastin dates his grants in the Gupta Era,3 clearly stating it in so many words. These dates extend from A.D. 475 to 511. Of the other Šarvanâtha Uchakalpa, we have also three inscriptions dated respectively, 193, 197, and 214 of an Era which is not specifically stated. As two of Hastin’s dates work out respectively to G.E. 191, G.E. 189 with a possible alternative of 201, and if these two dates for Hastin happen to be correct, and if Hastin was, as the Bhumara pillar inscription states, the contemporary of Šarvanâtha, Šarvanâtha’s dates 193 to 214, though not referring to any particular Era specifically, may have to be referred to the Gupta Era. If it is taken as equivalent to the Traiṅkūṭaka Era, because in the locality concerned that Era could have been in vogue, there would be a difference of a century almost between the two rulers. It seems, therefore, very likely that Šarvanâtha’s dates are also to be referred to the Gupta Era. If this position is assumed to be correct, Hastin in his last years of rule would have been contemporary with Šarvanâtha in the early years of his reign. Šarvanâtha was a grandson of a Vyaghra. Of the Uchakalpas the first chief to achieve any prominent position seems to have been Vyaghra’s son Jayanâtha, as far as we know about them at present. We have two dates for him, 174 and 177, or A.D. 493 and 497, on the basis that the dates are of the Gupta Era. If Vyaghra the father ruled before him, his probable date would be about A.D. 475.

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1 P.S.—Dr. Mingana has already published his elaborate study in The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. 10, No. 2, July 1926, and very kindly sent me a complimentary copy. The Syriac sources he draws upon are disappointingly lacking in early specific references to particular localities in India, although vague references to ‘India’ by name abound. From page 35 of the reprint of Dr. Mingana’s study it is seen that Barhebicus says that not much later than A.D. 795, in the time of Patriarch Timothy I, (A.D. 779–823) the Christians of North-West India called themselves Christians of St. Thomas—T.K.J.


3 Bhumara Pillar inscription. F.G.I., p. 111.
The region over which the Uchakalpas ruled is the part of Central India through which runs the river Tons more to the westward than to the east. Hastin ruled probably to the west of this roughly. The succession of the two families can be arranged in the following tables for ready reference:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parivrājākas</th>
<th>Uchakalpas</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dēvādhya or Dēvāhya</td>
<td>Oghadēva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhanjana</td>
<td>Kumāradēva</td>
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<tr>
<td>Damodara</td>
<td>Jayasvāmin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastin.</td>
<td>Vyāghra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dates G.E. 156, 163, 191, 189</td>
<td>Jayanātha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or 201) (c. A.D. 475–511)</td>
<td>date G.E. ? 174, 177, (c. A.D. 493–497)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Śarvanātha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samkshobha</td>
<td>date G.E. 193, 197, 214 (c. A.D. 512–534)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these tables it is clear that Hastin could have been contemporary with Śarvanātha, his father Jayanātha, and even his grandfather Vyāghra. If Professor Dubreuil's identification of the Uchakalpa Vyāghra with the Vyāghra of the Nachna and Ganj inscription should be correct, Vākāṭaka authority must have been acknowledged in Bundelkhand and Baghalkhand. In the immediate neighbourhood, however, Hastin specifically acknowledges the authority of the Guptas, dating his grants in the Gupta Era. There is perhaps nothing impossible in this position, as two friendly powers may have exercised authority in territories contiguous to each other. But the difficulty arises when it is admitted, as the Professor admits, that Jayanātha's and Śarvanātha's dates are in the Gupta era. If they dated their documents in the Gupta era, the presumption would be that they were Gupta feudatories ordinarily. There is the further point that none of the later Uchakalpas acknowledges the authority of the Vākāṭakas, while the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions actually acknowledge the authority of Prithivisēna Vākāṭaka. Could we imagine that Vyāghra about the year A.D. 475 acknowledged the authority of Prithivisēna, while his son and successor and his grandson do not make any acknowledgment of Vākāṭaka authority and date their inscriptions in the Gupta era? In fact, the professor's identification of the two Vyāghras rests upon the dates of the Uchakalpa feudatory, and Prithivisēna II, Vākāṭaka being near A.D. 475. There is the further fact, which the professor does not note, that the commands of Prithivisēna II's father Narēndrasēna, according to the Balaghat plates, 'were honoured by the lords of Kosala, Mēkhal, and Mājava,' and he is said to have held 'in check enemies bowed down by his prowess'.

It may be possible to presume that the son inherited the territory and extensive authority of the father, and therefore Prithivisēna II exercised authority in the same region as well. Prithivisēna II's date may be about A.D. 475, perhaps without much margin for error. Having granted so much, have we enough for the identification of the Vyāghra of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions with Vyāghra the Uchakalpa?

It would be difficult to sustain the identification. The first point to notice is that while the shorter inscriptions acknowledge the authority of the Vākāṭaka, the more detailed later inscriptions of Jayanātha and Śarvanātha do not do so. Next, the later inscriptions date the documents in the Gupta era as it must be conceded, which is incompatible with the acknowledgment of authority of the Vākāṭakas who do not use the Gupta era or any other in their documents. Again, the identification might be accepted at least tentatively, if there had been no Vyāghra in that region, and no other Prithivisēna among the Vākāṭakas, whose authority may have extended to that region. On the contrary we have reference to a Vyāghra in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta ruling over Mahākāntāra. We have material,
satisfactory material, for regarding this Samudragupta as the contemporary of Vākāṭaka Prithivīśēna I, who is described as a great conqueror and who extended his authority as far as Kuntala in the south, in the Ajanta Inscription. It would be more reasonable to hold, therefore, that the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions are inscriptions of the Vyāghra, who acknowledged the authority of the Vākāṭakas under Prithivīśēna I. The contemporaneity of Prithivīśēna I and Samudragupta does not rest merely on the precarious evidence of Paleography. The Balaghat plates of Prithivīśēna II were on the basis of Paleographic evidence alone referred to the second half of the eighth century by Kielhorn, while Dr. Bühler on the same evidence of paleography assigned the Ajanta inscription of Harīśēna, who must have been, however, almost a contemporary of Prithivīśēna II, and came immediately after him to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. My friend, Dr. Sukthankar, editing the Ganj Inscription, considers Bühler’s dating too early, and would assign the Ganj inscription to the seventh century A.D., and relies to some extent on Prof. Kielhorn’s assumption of the eighth century for the Balaghat plates. We have now much more reliable evidence for assigning dates to these rulers on the strength of recently discovered copper plate grants of a Vākāṭaka queen, who claims to have been a Gupta princess. We shall now consider how far this will take us.

A Vākāṭaka queen, Prabhāvati Gupt[a, has been generally known to epigraphists for some time. In the grants of Vākāṭaka Pravrāsēna II, son of this queen, published by Dr. Fleet in the Gupt[a Inscriptions, she describes herself as the crowned queen of Vākāṭaka Rudrasēna II, son of Prithivīśēna I. She describes her husband only as a Mahārāja. In the same document, she describes herself as the daughter of Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta. Notwithstanding the fact that this was another name of Chandragupta, Dr. Fleet sought to identify this Dēvagupta with the ruler of that name among the later Guptas, to bring the dating in line with paleographic estimates. It was Professor Pathak who drew attention for the first time in the Indian Antiquary for 1912, from another grant of this Prabhāvati Gupt[a since published, to the fact that she described herself as the daughter of a Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta, carrying the genealogy of the Guptas down to Chandragupta II. Another grant since discovered confirms this, and it may be now taken as beyond doubt that Prabhāvati Gupt[a, the crowned queen of Rudrasēna II and mother of Pravrāsēna II, was the daughter of Chandragupta II, the great emperor, son of Samudragupta. Rudrasēna’s father Prithivīśēna must have been contemporary with Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. As Prithivīśēna I’s reign is described in the Ajanta inscription as having been a comparatively long and prosperous one, we may take it that he was a contemporary of Samudragupta as well. It is just possible that he was contemporary even with Samudragupta’s father. That is not very material to our position here.

Among the southern monarchs that Samudragupta conquered and set free, the second prince in the list happens to be a Vyāghra, the ruler of Mahākāntāra. The first name is that of the ruler of Kosala. Where was the Mahākāntāra of which Vyāghra was the ruler? In the period to which these documents have reference almost up to the days of Harsha, Mahākāntāra must have included the Sagar division of the Central Provinces extending northwards certainly to the Ajaigahad state in Bundelkhand. It is likely therefore that this Vyāghra is the chief under reference in the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions, both of which are in the Ajaigahad state, and this Vyāghra must have acknowledged the authority of Prithivīśēna I Vākāṭaka before Samudragupta conquered and set him free, obviously on the understanding that that Vyāghra changed his fealty from the Vākāṭakas to the Guptas. We require

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12 Indian Antiquary.
other reasons for holding that this was actually the course of events. In the Balaghat Plates of Prithivišêna II, Kosala, Mêkhala and Mâlava are mentioned in order, proceeding east to west and lying across the Vindhya mountains along the northern frontier of the Vâkâtaka dominions proper. In the Samudragupta\textsuperscript{14} inscription we begin with Kosala and pass on to Mahâkântâra, answering more or less roughly to the region extending north to south across Bundelkhand down to the Maikal range (Sanskrit: Mêkhala) and beyond. If we can imagine something like a design in the order of conquests of Samudragupta, we ought to suppose that he defeated the rulers of Aryâvarta and then proceeded on his southern conquests as a mere matter of ordinary caution, although the inscription for epic purposes puts the southern first. However that be, the consequence of his suppression of the northern rulers is described to be the reduction to his service of the various forest chieftains (âtuviça Râjas). That means the region of these forest chieftains begins immediately from the borderland of Aryâvarta. We find inscriptions of Hastin describing him as ruler over the ‘eighteen forest kingdoms’ \textsuperscript{16}. These eighteen forest kingdoms must have lain in and about the neighbourhood of Bundelkhand and Baghalkhand, and would answer almost exactly to the Mahâkântâra of Samudragupta, and the region extending southwards from the kingdom proper, if there was such a one. For our present purpose it is just enough if the territory indicated happens to be about the region extending southwards from Bundelkhand and Baghalkhand. If the chiefs had been reduced to servitude by the conquests of the northern kings, Samudragupta could safely march forward on his southern invasion. The Nachna and Ganj inscriptions may possibly refer to this Vyâghra, the powerful ruler of Mahâkântâra, to whose authority the various forest kingdoms may have been subordinate. If Samudragupta felt it necessary to conquer the kingdom, it must have been under another sphere of influence, to use a modern expression. What is the other authority to which these kingdoms could have been subject?

It must be the authority of the rival kingdom of the Vâkâtakas under one of their most important and powerful rulers, Prithivišêna. The question may well be asked why the Samudragupta Pillar inscription does not mention the Vâkâtakas as such, or Prithivišêna as such. The only possible answer to that question seems to us to be that either as a result of a campaign of Samudragupta or before, the two must have come to an understanding and been in some kind of alliance, the relative spheres of their overlordships being more or less indefinite on the extreme frontier. That is the only satisfactory explanation for Samudragupta marching southwards almost as far south as Kanchi and returning along the coast road, without attempting an invasion of the Dekhan and the Southern Mahâratta country, specifically stated to be under the authority of the Vâkâtakas. This position is, to some extent, supported by the fact that the stone inscriptions of Nachna and Ganj frankly acknowledge the overlordship of the Vâkâtaka, although in the form accessible to us the inscriptions are not quite full. As they are, they do not show any elaborate genealogical details, with which the later inscriptions of the Gupta period are usually prefaced, whether they be Gupta inscriptions or Vâkâtaka. The inscriptions, as far as their form goes, are in keeping with early Gupta inscriptions even of Chandragupta II, Vikramâditya. The inscriptions merely state the actual ruler and proceed to detail the grant. This ought to be decisive that the Prithivishena referred to in these inscriptions should be regarded as Prithivišêna I, the earlier of the two kings of the name.

As against this there stand the palaeographical objections, the dates assigned to these on palaeography alone being apart by almost three centuries. These palaeographical objections should not be regarded as insuperable, as in the present state of palaeographical studies we do find an error of two-and-a-half centuries possible. Such an experienced palaeographer as the late professor Kiellhorn referred the Balaghat inscription on palaeographical grounds to the latter half of the eighth century. It was already pointed out that the inscription was intended to be

\textsuperscript{14} F.G.I., pp. 7 to 13.  \textsuperscript{15} F.G.I., p. 113, and references thereunder.
issued by the Vākāṭaka Prithiviśēna II, only two generations removed from Pravaraśēna II, the son of Queen Prabhāvatī; Prabhāvatī Gupta being the daughter of Chandragupta II, her son Pravaraśēna must have been a contemporary of Kumāragupta, and his son Narendraśēna and grandson Prithiviśēna II could not have gone very much beyond the forward limit of Kumāragupta’s long reign. We may, therefore, ascribe to Prithiviśēna II a date about the end of the fifth century. Prof. Kielhorn’s estimate is the end of the eighth century, the margin of error being as wide as about three centuries. Similarly in the case of the Gaṅj inscription Dr. Sukthankar’s estimate is the sixth or seventh century, whereas on the basis of the Prabhāvatī Gupta’s dating, it should be dated about the middle of the fourth century A.D., if it be accepted that the inscription was issued by a feudatory of Prithiviśēna I. With this possibility of error in palaeographical estimates, it would be hardly possible to attach to palaeography a decisive importance in fixing narrow periods, admitting to the fullest extent the possibility of comparative estimates of age on palaeographical grounds: but palaeographical arguments should not be pressed to the extent of being decisive, where other evidence of value or even of mere validity should indicate another dating.

If it is open to a comparative layman to offer an opinion on matters palæographical against such well-known experts, it strikes me that the Gaṅj inscription is of about the same character as the Udayagiri16 cave inscription of Chandragupta, and it is not altogether without similarity of character to his Sānci inscription.17 If sufficient allowance be made for the difference of material, it is not without similarity of character to the copper-plate inscriptions issued from Sarabhapura18. It would be difficult to institute comparisons with inscriptions at great distances. Admitting the possibility, therefore, of differences due to material, and differences due to the skill of the individual who cut these out, I am not inclined to believe there is sufficient difference of character to warrant a difference of two or three centuries in point of age between the one and the other set.

There is a further point to which due weight ought to be given. Ucchakalpa Vyāghra’s date is somewhere between A.D. 475 and 493. Almost in the middle of this period, the region concerned was under the authority of Budhagupta and his subordinates. In the year G.E. 165, corresponding to A.D. 484–485, Budhagupta was the overlord, and he had a viceroy in that region, Surasimhendrā, who was governing the country between the rivers Jumna and Narbada. There were sub-governors in the region of Eran, of whom we know of two brothers, Māṭrivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu. Māṭrivishṇu was contemporary with Budhagupta, and Dhanyavishṇu was contemporary with Mahārājādhirāja Toramana, who seems to have succeeded to the government in that region. We have still another record dated G.E. 191, corresponding to A.D. 510–511, from which an inference seems possible that even Bānumgupta ruled in that region and fought a battle against some enemy, losing his faithful general in the person of Goparaja, who fell fighting. The presumption, therefore, that the rule of the Gupta's lasted through the whole of the fifth century in that region, and possibly during the earlier years of the sixth century, seems to be well-founded on fact. In the face of so much evidence to the contrary, it would be necessary to have much stronger evidence than has so far been produced for postulating the rule of the Vākāṭakas in that region in the last quarter of the fifth century. Having regard to the different lines of evidence set forth, and the more or less well-established synchronism between the Vākāṭakas and the Gupta’s on the relationship of the two families through Prabhāvatīgupta, it would seem much more justifiable to identify the Vyāghradēva of Nachna and Gaṅj inscriptions with the Vyāghrājya of Mahākāntāra of the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription rather than the Ucchakalpa Vyāghra, regarding whom we do not even know the fact that he actually ruled. Fresh evidence may upset this conclusion, but till then this seems the more justifiable position to take.

16 F.G.I., p. 28, plate opposite. 17 F.G.I., p. 36, plate opposite. 18 F.G.I., Nos. 40, 41.
VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIH, M.A., PH.D.

(Continued from page 208.)

1, 148, 3: nilye cin nú yáma sádane jágabhá
práśastibhir dadhír jayáiyáshah||
prá nú' nayanta gráhaya nástá'v
dásváso ná rathyó rárahána'h ||

'Whom the worshipful (gods) caught hold of in his own place, carried with praises, and holding him and speeding like the horses of a chariot led him in the sacrifice". The reference here is to the original carrying off of Agni from his place in the highest heavens by Mátarísvan, Vivasvat, Bhárgu, the deváh, etc.; compare 10, 46, 9: áyá'vá yáma agní prthívá jánishúm á'pas teáschtá bhr'gava yám sáho'bhih ||

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This verse is the last of a quartet of verses known as vasishthadveshingyah as they have been written, it is said, in disparagement of the Vasishthas. It is clear that the verse speaks of the stupidity of the Bharatas; but, for the rest, its exact sense has not yet been made out; see Oldenberg, RV. Noten I, p. 256. I translate tentatively as follows: "These sons of Bharata, O Indra, know neither the time for resting nor that for going. They ride their own horse as if it were another's; in battle, they carry round ceremoniously the (bow) strengthened with bow-string." 'Riding their own horse as if it were another's' means, not so much 'so ungeschickt und dem Tier ungewohnt wie ein fremder Jockey' (Geldner in Ved. St. 2, p. 160, n. 5) as 'using the horse unsparingly as if it were another's; not taking proper care of the horse;' for, it is natural on the part of the owner of the horse to use it carefully and not to beat it cruelly or make it strain its powers and go beyond its strength, while it is as natural for one who is not the owner to pay no attention to the horse or its capacity but to make it go as fast as it can be made by blows and other similar means to go. Compare the saying current in the Kannada country, bijji kudurū āvarikē cabbē, 'another's horse, and a rod cut from the āvarikē (cassia auriculata, Linn.; a shrub that is found almost everywhere; the rods cut from it are regarded as unusually tough) shrub (to beat it with so as to make it go faster) and the English proverb 'Set a beggar on horseback and he will ride it to death.' In the fourth pāda, the European interpreters have understood the word jyāvāja as referring to a horse and meaning 'strong (swift) as bow-string.' This may perhaps be looked upon as an ordinary figure of speech in European languages in which things or persons are commonly described as being as tough or as strong as 'whipcord' or 'wire,' as being 'wiry,' etc; but, I do not know of any instance in Indian literature where the upameya is described to be as strong (or as swift) as bow-string. The idea in fact is, I believe, quite unknown and wholly foreign not only to Sanskrit literature but to other Indian literatures as well. I believe therefore that Śāyāna is right in regarding the word as an epithet of ḍhānuṃ understood here. The verb pariṣṭi does not mean simply 'to lead round; to carry round' a thing or person but to do so ceremoniously (hence, pariṣṭi means also 'to marry' as in the ceremony the bride is led by hand thrice round the fire). The sense therefore of the fourth pāda is 'These stupid Bharatas, instead of using a bow, that is strung and ready for use, in battle to shoot arrows with, carry it ceremoniously in procession!' Compare the first pāda of the preceding verse, na sāyāsya cikāte janāsah 'an arrow was not thought of, O men (by these Bharatas when they brought the strung bow to the battle-field).

This closes the list of passages in the RV in which the word nitya occurs. It will have been noticed that I have interpreted this word either as (1) sviya, sāhaja, 'own' or as (2) priya, 'dear' and that such interpretation has everywhere yielded good sense. It is however true that the meaning (3) ḍhrava also (which the word nitya has in the Brāhmaṇas and in later literature) is not inappropriate in some of the above passages, for instance, in 4, 4, 7; 4, 41, 10; 9, 12, 7; 1 73, 4 and 7, 1, 2; but I have felt it unnecessary to adopt that meaning for the RV inasmuch as it is quite necessary to make use of the first two meanings in the RV and these two meanings are enough to explain all the passages (in the RV) in which the word nitya occurs. The assumption of the third meaning ḍhrava also for the RV would, in these circumstances, mean a needless multiplication of meanings.

As regards the first two meanings, too, it must be observed that in some passages it is difficult to choose between the two as either will do equally well in them. Thus, for instance, one can also interpret nityam kahayam nah in 7, 1, 12 as 'our own house,' nityena havishā in 4, 4,
7 as ‘by (his) own oblation,’ nityayād vādo in 8, 75, 6 as ‘with (thy) own voice,’ nityayād rāyahā in 5, 8, 2 as ‘from (his) desirable wealth’ and nityayān sadāh in 9, 92, 3 as ‘beloved seat.’ In such passages, I have preferred one of them to the other and chosen what seemed to me to be the better, considering the context, of the two meanings. I believe, however, that the poet must have had both meanings in his mind when he wrote ‘such passages, and that the more correct course to follow would be to make use of both of them together, in the explanation—a course that is occasionally followed by Indian commentators.3

I can not say how the (third) meaning dhwana came to attach itself to the word nitya (see, however, Max Müller, SBE, 32, p. 215); but it is easy to understand how the (second) meaning priya has developed from that of siviya, sahaja. What is one’s ‘own’, is, in this world, generally, ‘dear’ to one, which explains how nitya originally meaning siviya, sahaja came to have the secondary meaning priya also.

It is remarkable that the converse also is true: what is ‘dear’ to one will generally be acquired and made one’s ‘own’ or at least, will be the object of endeavours to acquire and make one’s ‘own’. Hence it has also come about that the word priya itself which primarily means ‘dear, pleasing, agreeable,’ etc., has the secondary meaning ‘own’.

The number of passages in the Vedas where priya has the sense ‘own’ is indeed considerable; but, so far, in two or two passages only have the Vedic interpreters recognised that priya = own. One such passage is I, 82, 2: aksham ânimadanta hūyā va priyād adhūyahata where Sāyana explains priyād as svaktyds tanūh avādhūyahata akamprayā; Ludwig, too, translates priyāh here as ‘sich’ while Grassmann (Translation) and Oldenberg (RV. Noten, I, p. 83) adhere to the meaning ‘dear’. Another passage is I, 114, 7: mā nāh priyād tanvō rudra rīrīshah (with which should be compared the parallel passage from AV. 11, 2, 29: svad’ tanvān rudra mā’d rīrīsho nāh) where Sāyana adheres to the meaning ‘dear’, but which has been correctly explained by Bergaigne (III, 152) as ‘nos propres corps,’ by Ludwig as ‘unsere eigenen lieber’ and by Max Müller (SBE, 32, p. 423) as ‘our own bodies.’ Max Müller has also (op. cit., p. 425) added the following note: “Priya, dear, used like Gk. philos, in the sense of our own. See Bergaigne III, 152.” With these exceptions,4 the word priya is everywhere explained as ‘dear,’ ‘agreeable,’ ‘pleasant,’ etc., by the exegetists, though, as said above, in a considerable number of passages, the word priya is used, not in that sense at all, but in that of ‘own.’ This is specially the case in the passages which contain compounds with priya as a component word:

8, 27, 19: yād adyā sūrya udyati priyakshatrā rām dādāḥ |
   yān nimrācī probadhi viśvedasā yād vā madhyādike divāh ||

“Whether you uphold ita, O ye that are independent, when the sun rises to-day, or when he goes down, or at midday or at daybreak (literally, at the time of awaking from sleep), O ye that possess all wealth.” The hymn in which this verse occurs is addressed to the Viśe Devāh or All-Gods to whom therefore the vocatives priyakshatrāh and viśvedasāh are addressed. Priyakshatrāh does not here mean whose rule is agreeable (freundlich herrschend; PW, Grassmann, Ludwig); but priya here = ‘own,’ sva, and priyakshatrāh = svakshatrāh, ‘ruling

3 I cite here some instances of this kind from Sāyana’s Vedabhāṣya. Purâṇam = udakam, 5, 55, 5; pūrâṇam = pârakāt manvantād, 10, 27, 21; pūrâṇam = surakāmādvām pârakāt udakāḥ, 1, 163, 1 (Ved. St. 1, p. vi); aṭkām = yadvatām, 8, 41, 7; atkām = āpam, 1, 122, 2; at kām = vyaptāpam, 10, 123, 7 (Ibid. 2, p. 193); aṭkām = āṣakṛṣṇa, 1, 186, 9; aṭkām = śiṣṭam aṣṭākādesam, 8, 4, 3; aṭkām = śiṣṭam aṣṭa sanvāhaḥ, 3, 3, 4; drapatām = drapatām, 9, 96, 14; drapatām = ṛṣitaḥ, 10, 17, 13; drapatām = ṛṣitaḥ, 9, 106, 8; ārdham = ārdham, 4, 12, 5; ārdham = ṛṣitaḥ, 3, 30, 19; ārdham = ārdham, TS 5, 10, 6 (Ibid., 2, p. 269).

4 Further, Oldenberg has suggested (SBE, 46, p. 62) that priya may have the sense ‘own,’ in 1, 67, 6. Not only in 1, 67, 6 but in 3, 5, 5; 3, 7, 7 and 4, 5, 8 does priya, in my opinion, mean ‘own.’ The sense of these passages, however, is obscure and I have therefore been unable to include them in those that follow, where priya = ‘own.’
themselves, independent.” Compare 5, 48, 1: kád u priyá’ya dhá’mne manámáhe svákhahátrya sváyádase mahé vayám which is likewise addressed to the Viśve Deváh who are here called svákhahátry; compare also 1, 165, 5 where the Maruts are described as svákhahátry. Priyákhátrya is thus a synonym of svákhahátry, svardí, svapati.

8, 71, 2: nahi manyúh paúrushinga t’ése hi vah priyajata
 tum’ id asi ksháapán

“The anger of man, O (Agni) born of thyself, has no power over you; thou indeed art the ruler of the earth.” Priyajata here does not mean ‘as freund geboren’ (Ludwig) or ‘erwünscht geboren’ (Grassmann), but is equivalent to svájata, ‘born of his own self’, a description that is frequently made of Agni; compare agne tancd’suájata in 3, 15, 2; compare also the epithet tanúnapáti, ‘son of self’ used of Agni.

10, 150, 3: tvá’m u játavedasam vísúváram gne dhiyá’
 agne devá’á’ á vaha nah priyávratán meúká’ya priyávratán

“I praise thee, Játavedas, that hast all desirable things, with hymn. Bring to us, O Agni, the gods, whose are the ordinances—for grace, (those) whose are the ordinances”. Priyávratán svarátán, those whose are the ordinances; that is, either (1) those who follow their own ordinances (cp. 3, 7, 7: devá’ devá’nám ánu hi vratá’ guh ‘the gods followed the ordinances of the gods’) and not those of others, that is to say, those who are independent, sovereign; or what comes to the same thing, (2) those from whom come the divine ordinances which are followed in the universe; compare 1, 164, 50: yajñéna yajñám ayajanata devá’ s tání dháímási pratham’ ny dasan: 3, 56, 1: ná t’á’ minanti máyáno ná dháhrá vratá’ devá’nám pratham’ dhurvé’; 1, 36, 5: tvé visevá sánçatáni vratá’ dhurvé’ yá’ni devá’akrúvata, and the expression daívávání vratáni (see Grassmann, s.v. vratá).

1, 140, 1: vedásháde priyádhumáya sudúyáste
 dhásem iva prá bhárá yónim anágye |
 vástreñéa vásoyá mámanáh śúcín
 jyóti’ratháh súkadrávarñam tamáhínám

“Offer, like food, a place for Agni, who sits on the altar, whose are the laws and who shines well. Adorn with the hymn, as if with an ornament, (Agni), the bright, the destroyer of darkness, the brilliant-coloured, who has a chariot of splendour”. Priyádhumáya svákhánne svákhátrya in either of the meanings given above. Compare 3, 21, 2 where Agni is addressed as svádharman ‘following his own laws’; regarding the second sense, compare the epithet vratápáh (see Grassmann, s.v.) that is applied to Agni; compare also 7, 6, 2: agné vratá’ ni púrvyá’ mahá’ni; 2, 8, 3: yásya (sc. agné) vratánm ná m’kátate; 1, 69, 7: nákish ta (agne) etá’ vratá’ minanti’; and 6, 7, 5: vaisvánara táva tá’ni vratá’ni mahá’ny agné nákiv’ adádhara. In the second pída the word iva has really the force of ca and dhásem iva yónim prabhára means dhásem yónim ca prabhára.

There can be no doubt that the word priyadháman has this same meaning in AV. 17, 1, 10 also: tvá’ma na indroth’éhí śivat’bhíh śáyantamo bhava | árchanás trídávám díva gránam sámapi’áye priyádhumá svatáye . . . . “Do thou, O Indra, be most beneficent to us with propitious aids—(thou) ascending to the triple heaven of the heaven, praised (that is, invoked) for drinking the Soma and for well-being, sovereign . . . .”

TS. 1, 3, 8, 1: révatir yajñapatim priyadhá visáta

The Maitr. Sam. (1, 2, 15; p. 25, 1, 7) and the Káth. Sam. (3, 6; p. 25, 1, 13) read revati predhá yajñapatim áviša, while the Váj. Sam. (6, 11) reads revati yajamáne priyadhá dvísu. It seems clear therefore that priyá has become shortened to pre-in predhá and that the anusvára in priyadhá is an intruder. The word itself is formed from priyá with the suffix dhas (see Whitney’s Grammar, § 1104). Priyadhá here is equivalent to svadhá, and I translate: “O ye that
have riches, enter into the sacrificer according to your wont”. The commentator Bhāṭṭabhabhāskara takes revatī as an epithet of paśuyavatī while Uvaṭa and Mahādhara interpret revati as referring to vāk.

Priyā, uncompounded, has the meaning sea, ‘own’, in the following passages:—

1, 114, 7: maṇ no mahā'ntam utā maṇ no arbhakām
maṇ na ukṣhantam utā maṇ na ukṣhitām ||
maṇ no vadhīḥ pitāraṇ mātā mātāraṇ
priyā maṇ nas tanvō rudra virishāḥ ||

“Do not injure our great or our small ones, our growing or our grown ones, our father or our mother, or our own selves, O Rudra”.

1, 154, 5: tād asya priyā maḥ abhi pātho asyām
nāṛo yātra devayavo mādanti ||
uru kraṃ āsyā sā hi bāndhur itthā
vishṇoḥ pādē paramē mādhva ātmaḥ ||

“May I attain the abode, where pious people rejoice, of him whose steps are broad. He is thus our relation; there is a spring of honey in the supreme abode of Vishnu.” Priyāni pāthāḥ here has the same meaning as priyāni dhāma in the passages given below; it means the own abode of Vishnu, vishṇoḥ paramaṇ padam as the fourth pāda expresses it, the Vishṇuloka of later times.

1, 162, 2: yān uñirījā rékṣasā praṇātā
dhitā mukhatā nāyānti ||
sūprān ajō mēmyad visvārūpa
indrāpiśāḥ priyām uṣṇo eti pāthāḥ ||

“When they lead (it) in front of the offering covered with wealth and jewels (that is, of the sacrificial horse), the goat of all forms, bleating, goes directly forward to the own abode of Indra and Puṣhan”.

10, 15, 5: āpaḥūtāḥ pitāraḥ somyā sa
barhis̄hyiṣu nidhis̄yi priyešu
vā di’ gamantu vā ihā bruvantu
ādhi bruvantu tāvantu aṣma’n ||

“The Soma-deserving fathers are called (to appear and seat themselves) in their own seats on the barhis. May they come here, hear us, speak assuredly to us and protect us.” This verse, as also the two preceding verses are addressed to the barhishadaḥ pitāraḥ, the ‘pitrās that sit on the barhīs’; hence the prayer to them to take their own seats on the barhis.

9, 55, 2: indō yāthā tāva stāvā yāthā te jātām añhasah |
ni barhishī priye saḥaḥ ||

“O Indu, according to the praise addressed to thee (that is, the prayer) and to what has happened to thy juice, seat thyself on thy own barhis (that is, on thy own seat on the barhis)”.

8, 13, 24: tām iname purushātām yahuvāṃ pratnābhīr utibhih
ni barhishī priye sadad ūdha deva’ ||

“We pray to him who is often-praised, who is active with protection extending from old time; may he seat himself on his own seat on the barhis’.

1, 85, 7: tāvārdhanta svātalavaso mahīvānā
nākaṃ tathārūr urā cakriśe sadāh |
vishṇur yād dhā’vad vṛ’shaṇaṃ madacyūna
vāyo nā sidam naḥ barhishī priye ||

“They that are naturally mighty grew with their might; they went to heaven and made a large seat. When Vishnu ran to the strong, intoxicating (Soma), they seated themselves in their own barhis like birds (in their nests).”
1, 189, 4: pāhi no agne pāyūhīvīr ājāsrāir
    utā priyā śādana ā śuṣukvā’n |
    mā’ te bhāyām jārīd’ram yavāṣṭha
    nūnām vidan mā’ pārvis sahasavah ||

"O Agni, do thou, shining in thy own abode, protect us with unwearied protections; O thou that art strong, the youngest, may not (thy) praiser suffer from any fear of thee or from any other fear". The expression *priye śādana ā śuṣukvān* here corresponds exactly to *dīdivā’msaṁ svē dāme*, 2, 2, 11; *dīdivīmin (vārdhamānam) svē dāme*, 1, 1, 8; *gopa’ rtāsya didhī svē dāme*, 3, 10, 2; *svā ā’ yās tūbhymā dāma ā’ vībhā’ti*, 1, 71, 6; *yō dīd’ya saśīddhak svē durōne*, 7, 12, 1; and *dīd’yaṁ mārtiśeṇu d’svē kṣāge śuciveta* in 10, 118, 1.

10, 13, 4: devābhīyāḥ kām aṇgṛta mṛtyūm
    prajā’yai kām am’taṁ nā’vṛṣṭa |
    bh’haspātin yajñāṁ akṛṣṭaṁ y’śim
    priyā’ṁ yamās tanvaṁ prā’virecit ||

"He held back death from the gods; he did not hold back immortality from men; he made Bhaspati the sacrifice and the *ycli*; Yama let our own body (or self) remain".

9, 73, 2: samyāk samyāṇe mahishā’ aheshata
    sindhor ārmāv’vādhi venaṁ avāvapam |
    mādhvār dhā’rāhīr jā’yaṁto arkāṁ it
    priyā’ṁ indraśya tanvāṁ avāvahān ||

"The beautiful strong ones have moved well forward; the loving ones have moved in the wave of the sea; with the streams of mahāḥ producing a song, they have made Indra’s own body grow".

10, 132, 5: asaṁ sv tōc chākapūṭa āno
    hīte mitrāṁ nīgalāṁ hanti vīrd’n |
    avar vā yād dhā’taṁ tanā’shv
    āvah priyāśu yaśīyāsā āvēd ||

"Śakapūṭa kills the brave men that have committed this sin in respect of this well-disposed Mitra when the courser placed his strength in the own worshipful bodies of these two (sc. of Mitra and Varuṇa)". The meaning of this verse is not clear and widely-divergent explanations are given of it by Sāyaṇa and Ludwig. It is difficult to say who is denoted by the term *arēd* (courser) in *pāda* 4 and if the word *śakapūṭa* is really a proper name.

2, 20, 6: sa ha śrutā indro na’ma devā
    ārīvav bhucan mānushe dasmātamah |
    āva priyā’ṁ arīsāṇāsya sāhēd’ā
    chīro bharaṇ ārīsāyā svadhēv’vān ||

"He, the god known by the name of Indra, of most wonderful might, raised himself aloft high over man; he, the mighty conqueror, brought down the own head of the evil-doing dāsa."

8, 12, 32: yād asya dhā’man’i priyā samvīcāṇ’do asvaram |
    nā’bha yājāśya dohānā prā’dhvārā ||

"When the united ones (priests ?) made a sound (song ?) in his own abode, in the navel of the sacrifice, by milking in the sacrifice."

6, 67, 9: prā yād vāṁ mitrāvaruṇā śpūrdhān
    priyā’ dhā’ma yuvādhītā minānti |
    nā yē devāsa chāsa na mārtā
    āyajñāśīko āyyo nā putrāḥ ||

"When they, O Mitra and Varuṇa, become jealous of you and violate the own ordinances laid by you—they, who are by repute no gods and no mortals, who, like the sons of Api, are no performers of sacrifice." The second half-verse is not clear; in the first half-verse, the
expression priyā dhāma yuvadhita, 'the own ordinances laid down by you', is equivalent to 'your own ordinances; the ordinances laid down by you in person'.

3, 55, 10: vishnur gopāh paramām pātī pā'īhah
    priyā dhā'many amsī tā dādhānāh
    agnīś tā' vīsā bhūvanāni veda
    mahād devā nām asuravā'm ēkam

  "Vishnu, the protector, rules over the supreme realm, supporting his own immortal abodes; Agni knows all those worlds. The asura-hood (might ?) of the gods is alone great."

4, 5, 4: prā tā' aagnir babhasat tigmājambhas
    tāpiṣṭhenā ściscā yūḥ surā dhāh
    prā yē minānti vāruṇasya dhā'ma
    priyā mitrāsya cēlato dhruvā'ni

  "May Agni, who has sharp jaws and who makes good gifts, eat up with his hottest flames those who violate the own immutable ordinances of Varuṇa and of Mitra who observes (or, who knows)."

1, 87, 6: priyāśe kām bhānābhiḥ sām mimikshire
    tē raśmitbis tā' ṝvabhik hi sukādhāyāh
    tē vā'ēmanta ishmīnā ābhiraṇo
    vidrē priyāsya mā'rutasya dhā'mnāh

  "For their glory, they (sc. the Maruts) united themselves with bright reines and brilliant (ornaments); they, with beautiful khaḍis and axes, impetuous, fearless, knew of their own Marut troop". The meaning of the fourth pāda is not clear as the word dhāma used in it is ambiguous.

9, 12, 8: abhi priyā' divās pādā' sōmo hinwānō arshati
    vīprasya dhā'rayā' kareṇ

  "The wise Soma flows swiftly with (his) stream (and with the hymn of praise) of the priest to his own places in heaven".

9, 38, 6: esā śyā pītāye sūtā ābār arshati dharṇāṣāḥ
    krāṇanda yēnam abhi priyām

  "This strong, yellow (Soma), that is expressed for being drunk, rushes crying to his own place."

4, 45, 3: mādheva pībātām madhupēhīr āśabhir
    utā priyām mādhunā yuśjāthām rāthām
    ā' varanām mādhunā jinvaṭhaḥ patho
    dī' tin vāhehe mādhunantam āśvinā

  "Drink, O, ye Aśvins, of mead with your mead-drinking mouths; yoke your own chariot for the purpose of (drinking) mead; you stimulate with mead the course of the path; you carry a leather-bag of mead."

6, 51, 1: āū u tyāc cāksur māhi mitrāyor a'īn
    ēti priyām vāruṇayor ādbhām
    vīśya śuci darṣatām ānīkām
    ruknā nā divā ādītā vy ādyaut

  "This great own eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, which can not be deceived, arises; the pure and beautiful face of rīta has blazed forth in rising like a brilliant jewel in the sky".

4, 82, 7: a' dyā'īn tanosī rāmīśhir a'ntāriksham urū priyām
    uśahā tukrēṇā sūchēṇā

  "Thou extendest the heaven with thy rays and also thy own broad sky with thy radiant effulgence, O Ushas". The sky, antariksha, is called "Ushas' own" probably because Ushas is an antariksha-sthanīya-devatā and the antariksha thus belongs to her.

(To be continued.)
THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF BOMBAY.

A few remarks concerning its origin and growth.

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

(Continued from page 215.)

The third or Muhammadan period may be held to run roughly from A.D. 1348, when a Gujarat Muhammadan force attacked and seized Mahim and killed the Hindu chief of Chaul, who had dispossessed Bimb’s son and successor, Pratapdev, a few years before. The period ends in A.D. 1534, when Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat transferred Bassein and its dependencies, including the seven islands of Bombay, to Nuno da Cunha, Viceroy of Goa, acting on behalf of the King of Portugal. In regard to the population there is little to chronicle during the Muhammadan period, except that the numbers of Naitias or Konkani Muhammadans must have appreciably increased by immigration from the coast towns of Gujarat. Documentary evidence exists that in A.D. 1530 they formed an important trading community in Bassein, and we have the statement of the Portuguese physician, Garcia da Orta, who became Lord of the Manor of Bombay island in 1538, that “the Moors who came from abroad and mixed themselves with the Gentiles (seil. Hindus) of this land” formed a definite section of the population at that date. Indirect proof of the growth of the Konkani Muhammadan element during the two centuries preceding Portuguese dominion in Bombay is afforded by the death at Mahim about A.D. 1430 of the Saint Makhthum Fakih Ali Paru, who is said to have served as Kazi of Mahim. His tomb, which is still the most notable feature of the neighbourhood and at which a large fair is annually held, was erected in A.D. 1431, and has acquired a wide reputation for the cure of cases of spirit-possession.

The fourth or Portuguese period runs from A.D. 1534 to 1661, the date of the Marriage Treaty between Charles II and the Infanta of Portugal. Now for the first time one begins to hear of those parts of Bombay, other than Mahim, which have since developed into municipal wards, and of the island of Bombaim, the home of the Koli goddess Mumbai, as distinct from Mahim, Parel, Sion and Worli. Speaking roughly, what are now the northern wards of Bombay City were grouped together under the kasha or chief station of Mahim and were in possession of the Portuguese religious orders, while Mazagon and Bombay with Worli and Colaba were grouped together under the kasha of Bombaim and were granted on a quit-rent, in lieu of military service, to a succession of Crown tenants or Lords of the Manor. It was from the widow of the last of these, Donna Ignaz de Miranda, that the first English governor, Humphrey Cooke, received possession of the Island. The period of Portuguese dominion, far from being marked by any increase of population, was responsible for the flight from Mahim and other islands of many of those who had settled during the preceding Hindu and Musalman periods. The Portuguese religious orders adopted a policy of wholesale conversion to Christianity, and in pursuance thereof showed so much intolerance and perpetrated so much tyranny that both Hindu and Muhammadan residents were forced to leave the Island and seek refuge in the mainland territories of Indian rulers. Christianity was imposed upon all classes indiscriminately,—on Brahmans, Prabhus, Panchkalshis, Bhandaris, Kolis and others; and in consequence, there existed at the time of the cession of Bombay to the English a considerable Native Christian population in the seven islands, particularly in Mazagon, Parel, and the island of Bombay itself. Besides these, there were a few Portuguese of pure blood, like Christovao de Souza de Tavora, the Lord of the Manor of Mazagon; a number of Indo-Portuguese, styled ‘Topasses,’ of mixed European and Asiatic parentage, who possessed the good qualities of neither race; Dheds or low caste people, who served as scavengers etc; Malis and Agris, who cultivated gardens and fields; and a certain number of unconverted Brahmans, Prabhus, Bhandaris and Kolis.
I may pause here for a minute to remark that, despite conversion, the Native Christians of Bombay and Salsette maintained their former Hindu caste distinctions to the extent of refusing to intermarry with other Christians, who had originally belonged to lower Hindu castes; and this prejudice, I believe, can still be traced among the Christians of Salsette, those, for example, who claim an original Prabhu or Panchkalshi ancestry refusing to marry fellow-parishioners, whose forbears were Bhandaris, Agris or Kolis. So far as the Christian Kolis of Bombay are concerned, their Christianity is of a distinctly superficial type; for they still observe the chief Hindu as well as Christian festivals; they still visit the shrines of aboriginal Hindu deities like Mumbai and Ekvira as well as the Roman Catholic churches; and I myself have seen in the deva-ghar or god’s room of a Koli house images of Christ and the Virgin Mary side by side with the images of Mahadev, Hanuman, and Khandoba. Many of them worship their ancestors and are called on that account Virkar, and one of their more curious customs, which they are said to have borrowed from the Native Christians of Salsette, is that of photographing their family corpses. When a member of the family dies, the others prop him up in a sitting posture and have him photographed—a rather gruesome habit which may or may not be connected with the reverence regularly paid to the family dead.

Time will not permit of more than a rapid glance at the classes and castes which settled permanently in Bombay during the British period. Within ten years of the transfer of the Island by the Portuguese, Armenians and Hindu Vanis (Baniyas) from Surat and Brahmins from Salsette had taken up their residence in Bombay. Of these the Armenians have gradually disappeared in favour of the Bania and the Parsi, and the only legacy of their former settlement is Armenian Lane—a narrow street in the old Fort area. The Parsis were also among the early arrivals, for one Kharghedji Pojaji was contractor for the building of fortifications in 1665, and by 1673 the first Tower of Silence had been built on Malabar Hill. These people continued to arrive in a steady stream, attracted by the prospect of trade, and many well-known Parsi families of to-day trace their descent from men who settled here between 1739 and 1745. The famine of 1790 in Gujarat was also responsible for the immigration of many families. East African negroes and slaves from Madagascar, locally known as ‘Cofferies,’ were a well-known element of the population during the early British period and continued to be imported until the middle of the nineteenth century. They formed the ancestry of the curious Sidi population, which now resides in the Municipal ward E and supplies the large ocean liners with stokers and other members of the crew.

Another ancient community was that of the Shenvis or Gaud Sarasvat Brahmins, who came from Goa and the South Konkan. They are mentioned in an official letter of 1673 as one of the important classes of Gentus i.e., Gentiles or Hindus, in Bombay, and as being traders and cultivators: and it is probable that some of them were in the Island during the pre-British period. At any rate, immediately after Bombay came into possession of the English, the Bombay Council recorded that they had employed one Ram Simar, i.e., Rama Shenvi, because owing to long residence he had acquired an intimate knowledge of Bombay conditions. In or about 1756 the Kapole Banias immigrated from Gogha and Surat under the leadership of one Rupji Dhanji, the ancestor of Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai, who was the leader of the Bombay Hindus during the ‘seventies’ and ‘eighties’ of last century. They were followed towards the end of the eighteenth century by the Bhattias from Cutch and Kathiwar, who have since played a prominent part in the development of the local textile industry. From Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiwar came also the three chief local Muhammadan sects, Memons, Bohras, and Khojas, of whom the first named are Sunnis and the two latter are Shias. They commenced to filter into Bombay as soon as the trade of Surat declined and arrived in large numbers after the famines of 1803 and 1813. The latter famine was also responsible for the arrival from Cutch of the Dasa Oswal Jains, who are an important section of the trading classes; while the horse trade with the Persian Gulf and the pearl trade led
to the settlement of Arabs and Persians in the Byculla ward. The Chinese were in the Island by 1830 and have been there in small numbers ever since; but the Japanese did not appear till much later in the nineteenth century.

The annexation of the Peshwa’s dominions in 1818 and the settlement of the Deccan formed the prelude of much closer communication between Bombay and the country above the Ghats than had previously been possible, and the opening of the G.I.P. Railway offered an additional stimulus to immigration of all classes from the Deccan. From 1860 onwards Bombay received the large army of Maratha Kunbis and allied tribes and castes, who are known familiarly in the city as ‘Ghatis’ or men from above Ghats. The Ghati has no ambition except to work, is frugal in his tastes, and is perfectly satisfied if he finds a narrow strip of ground to sleep on, and secures a wage large enough to allow of two simple meals a day, one or two Manchester cotton coverings, and a rough woollen blanket. He has no preference for any particular form of labour, and will be found serving as dock-labourer, water-carrier, fireman, smith, drain-cleaner, bullock-cart driver, cook, musician, victoria-driver, policeman, and in many other capacities. In the docks, wharves, and the large ‘godowns’ or warehouses, his best qualities are seen. He manages heavy loads of bales, bags, machinery, timber, with the intelligence and skill of one to the manner born, and his physical endurance during the hottest weather has often excited the wonder and admiration of his employers. Frugal though his fare be, he thrives upon it, declaring in his own terse idiom that on a diet of bajra (millet) he can carry a heavy load 15 or 20 miles a day, on a wheat diet, 10 miles, and on a rice diet, 5 miles. The Ghati’s chief wealth in Bombay consists of his labour cart and bullocks; and possessed of these, he is a power in the trade of the city. Though he gives little to commerce in intelligence, he gives a very full measure of service for a scanty wage. Docility and obedience are innate in him, and he knows nothing of the vices to which the European labouring classes are sometimes addicted.

Closely allied in origin to the Deccan Maratha is the Maratha of the Konkan, hailing from Ratnagiri and neighbouring districts, who supplies three-quarters of the textile operative population, a large proportion of the urban constabulary, and the bulk of the menial staff of public and private offices. He also performs domestic service in Hindu households. The presence of this class in large numbers dates roughly from the foundation of the textile industry in 1854 and the establishment about the same date of a regular service of coasting-steamers. The feverish commercial activity which resulted from the outbreak of the American Civil War and the consequent sudden expansion of the Bombay cotton trade largely contributed to the growth of the Konkani Maratha population. By 1865 the number of cotton spinning and weaving mills had risen to 10, by 1875 to 27, and by 1908 to 85, employing daily on the average more than 100,000 hands, the large majority of whom are Konkani Marathas, who will be found in every department of the mills. The rapid expansion of the textile industry has not been an unmixed blessing. Much of Bombay’s industrial area includes land which was once covered by the sea at high tide, and, having been roughly reclaimed with town-sweepings and refuse, is damp or waterlogged during the monsoon; and the immigration of the Marathas of the Konkan into this low-lying area was so rapid and so great that adequate arrangements for their housing could not be made. The local government and its sanitary authorities have been endeavouring ever since to mitigate the evils resulting from the industrial activity and the marked increase of the industrial population which occurred after 1860.

As time does not permit of my extending this brief survey, I must foreclose leave much of interest unsaid. I may, however, state in conclusion that, as in most Indian cities, each main class or community resides, as far as possible, in its own particular street or quarter. Differences of caste, creed, and custom render this arrangement inevitable. Commencing with the Kolis in prehistoric times, the system has continued to the present day; so that the
BOOK-NOTES.

BHASA'S WORKS, a Criticism by A. KRISHNA PISHAROTY. Translated from the Rasikaratnam, a quarterly Malayalam Journal, Trivandrum, 1925.

The Editor, Mr. A. Krishna Pisharoty, of the Rasikaratnam, a Malayalam Journal of literary research, in 1923, published a series of objections to the attribution of the authorship to Bhasha of thirteen dramas by Brahmāśri Mahāmāhāpādhyaya Gopapati Sastrigal, Curator of Old Manuscripts, Trivandrum. These objections are now (1925) translated into English to secure for them a wider audience than was possible as long as they were confined to the Malayalam language. It will be readily seen that the pamphlet of some seventy pages contains highly controversial matter, but as it is as well to know what can be said against the authorship of Bhasha of the said thirteen dramas, it is worth while to examine and set forth the objections. I do not propose to do more in this notice.

The author observes that all the thirteen dramas are anonymous and that their titles are to be found, not in the prologues, but at the end of the MSS., and he then proceeds to summarise Mr. Sastrigal's argument for believing them to be by Bhasha.
1. Anonymity, an indication of antiquity.
2. Peculiarity of form and technique.
3. Evidence of eminent critics.
4. Passages common to them point to a common authorship.
5. Antiquity and individuality of diction.
6. Parallel ideas and passages.

Mr. Pisharoty then proceeds to examine, and incidentally to controvert, each argument. After giving his reasons in detail, and showing on p. 5 that anonymity does not prove antiquity, he concludes on p. 8 "that the custom of mentioning the name of the author of a drama has certainly prevailed from the time of Bharata, and that it is not right to surmise that the custom was not prevalent in the days of Bhasha, or to conclude on the basis of such a surmise that the thirteen dramas are the work of Bhasha. This anonymity can be conclusive evidence for attributing them to Bhasha, only if we have other convincing evidence to prove that Bhasha alone among Sanskrit dramatists followed the usual course of withholding the author's name from his dramas."

On the second point—peculiarity of form and technique, Mr. Pisharoty shows (p. 10) that certain of the peculiarities relied on are not confined to these thirteen dramas, and (p. 12) dismisses the whole argument.

On the argument of the evidence of eminent critics. After going learnedly into this contention Mr. Pisharoty states (p. 17) that his "findings are diametrically opposed to Mr. Sastrigal's. There is here a downright disagreement of opinion, and the final conclusion on the point is that the evidence produced by the latter is "thoroughly inadequate to justify such an attribution to Bhasha, and crediting the dramas to Bhasha must be regarded as unjustifiable."

The next argument is that passages common to them point to a common authorship. On this Mr. Pisharoty remarks (p. 17) that "technique can be imitated" and that "the common passages are not confined to these thirteen dramas, but are found in others of known authorship." And from his dissertation on the point one might surmise that he thinks Saktibhadra or Bhasha to be the author wanted. However, on p. 22 we find, not that Saktibhadra should be credited with the authorship, but that his name would be "a less absurd suggestion than Bhasha's."

The fifth argument is based on antiquity and individuality of diction. Here we have a point that is obviously one not easily dealt with. However, Pisharoty tackles it valiantly. He thinks Mr. Sastrigal vague in his statements, states the diction of the dramas is not uniform, and is of opinion that diction is not always a reliable test, particularly in works in the classical languages. He concludes (p. 25) that the evidence of diction is "insufficient to prove conclusively that even one of the dramas can rightly be attributed to that ancient poet [Bhasha]," and here he becomes constructive in his criticism: "The very same evidence, when critically examined, leads us to a contrary conclusion that these dramas are not by Bhasha but by some Kerala poet like the author of Aacharya-chudamani."

This takes him to the last point: parallel ideas and passages. Mr. Pisharoty goes more deeply
than usual into those most erudite arguments and (p. 36) arrives at the conclusion that the dramas "published under the title of Bhāsa's Works are not really the works of Bhāsa at all," but of some poets of Kerala—"not of any one poet in particular, not even of Śaktibhadra." They are "mere compilations got up to meet a local demand for dramatic works." And this point he takes some trouble to make good (pp. 37-47).

Mr. Pisharoty's final conclusion (p. 47) runs as follows: "From whatever point we may view these thirteen anonymous dramas, we are driven to conclude, not only that they are not Bhāsa's works, but that they could all of them never have been the works of any one poet: that, on the other hand they are but compilations made by Kerala poets to suit a new style of staging Sanskrit dramas by the Chakkiyars on the reformed stage: that original compositions failing to satisfy the increased demand for dramas, systematic compilation must have set in, which meant the borrowing of every dramatic concept and poetic expression that came handy to the compilers from older works, or condensing, or partitioning them if their structure or length permitted or called for such treatment with a view to produce a sufficient number of suitable dramas for the reformed stage."

R. C. Temple.

Ashoka, by D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., (The Carmichael Lectures, 1923); published by the University of Calcutta, 1925.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has taken no small part during the last ten or fifteen years in the interpretation, collation and unification of the lithic records of the emperor Ashoka, and is therefore better qualified than most people to give a picture of the life of the Asokan age. He gives as his reason for the publication of the present work the fact that, despite the large amount of research already conducted by scholars into the details of Ashoka's position and career, the actual interpretation of the famous records is by no means yet completed beyond a shadow of doubt, and that there is still work to be accomplished in piecing together the information available in the various imperial Edicts. Some of the information contained in the present work has already been made available in the works of other scholars, and his comparison of Ashoka's position towards Buddhism with that of St. Paul towards Christianity will also be found in Dr. V. A. Smith's Early History of India. But there are various items of information and several suggestions in the course of the work which are the outcome of Dr. Bhandarkar's own painstaking research, and it is on these that the reader will concentrate his attention. In the first chapter he is careful to show that the formula which opens the Inscriptions is probably derived from Persia and was perhaps a legacy of the Achemenian conquest and administration of northern India, and that Piyadārśin was a biruda or epithet of Āsoka, just as Piyadāsana was of Chandragupta Maurya, according to a Ceylonese chronicle. Deravamprya, on the other hand, was an honorific or auspicious mode of addressing or referring to rulers, and was applied equally to Tissa of Ceylon and to King Dasa-ratha in the cave inscriptions of the Nagarjunian Hill.

Perhaps the most important suggestion in the first chapter concerns the dates given in the Āsokan inscriptions. Dr. Bhandarkar holds that all the dates are those of current regnal years, in opposition to the view hitherto held by scholars, and further that there are really no grounds for supposing that Ashoka's actual coronation took place four years after his accession. His view certainly appears to draw weight from the passage regarding the release of prisoners at the end of Pillar Edict V; and if it is accepted, it involves a revision of the dates of other incidents of his reign, e.g., his conversion, to Buddhism, which according to Dr. Bhandarkar must have occurred in the eighth regnal year. Other interesting facts deduced from the inscriptions are that Ashoka's nakshaṭra was Tisya, and that the emperor possessed an āvarodhana or zenana, containing 'pardah' ladies of lower rank than his two queens. In a later chapter Dr. Bhandarkar exposes the fallacy of the view that the seclusion of women was introduced into India by the Muhammadans. He shows that the dramatists Bhāsa and Kalidasa and Vatsayana refer in their respective works to the custom, and that Ashoka's āvarodhana or 'inner closed female apartments' had its counterpart or model in the anakhpura or harem mentioned in the Arthādāstra, and he quotes an even earlier phrase of Pāṇini to prove the antiquity of this feature of social life. Interesting also is the identification in the course of the second chapter of the various countries, provinces and peoples mentioned in the Inscriptions. The Yona (Yavana) province, for example, Dr. Bhandarkar regards as a Greek colony of the period preceding Alexander's invasion, situated on the north-west boundary of India between the Kopan and Indus rivers. Its headquarters were probably at the ancient place, called Po-lo-sha by Huien Tsiang, remains of which have been found near Shahbazgarhi, Kamboja, which included the present Hazara District, was contiguous to Yona. More remarkable, however, is Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the word Petenika, which is associated with Rāṣṭika and Bhāṣa in the inscriptions. Rejecting the hitherto accepted view that this word (in the plural) means 'inhabitants of Paithan,' he regards it as an adjectival noun signifying 'one who enjoys hereditary property,' and that its juxtaposition with Rāṣṭika and Bhāṣa indicates that the Mahārāthi of the Deccan and the Mahābhūja of the N. Konkan had in course of time become independent hereditary chieftains in their respective portions of Aparanta.
One is disposed to agree with Dr. Bhandarkar's view that the original Andhra-deśa of ancient days was far more extensive than the Andhra-deśa of later ages, though one may doubt whether it really included all the districts specified by the author. Nor can one feel quite certain about his suggestion that Sātiyaputra was the modern Travancore, though it certainly was situated somewhere in the extreme south of the peninsula. Dr. Bhandarkar, however, is apparently not fully convinced himself of the correctness of his suggestion and leaves the identity of this much-discussed region still open. The Pulindas he locates in the modern jubilipore district, and he adduces arguments to show that in the days of Aśoka there were two Choda kingdoms, with capitals at Orthura (Uraiyyar) and Archas (Archot), and two Pandya kingdoms, of which the northern included the modern Mysore State. The people who are referred to as forest-folk in Rock Edict XIII are located by Dr. Bhandarkar in the country extending from Baghelkhand to the sea-coast of Orissa, which in the Gupta age was divided into no less than eighteen small kingdoms.

The third chapter deals with Aśoka as a Buddhist, and incidentally discusses the question as to how Aśoka could have combined the rôle of monk and monarch. The combination of the life and duties of a Buddhist Bhikṣu with the administrative responsibilities of a wide empire has seemed to many an impossible circumstance, and scholars like the late Dr. V. A. Smith have tried to explain Aśoka's double rôle by analogy with a Chinese emperor, Wu-ti, who lived several centuries later. But the explanation has not been wholly convincing. Dr. Bhandarkar now explains the emperor's connexion with the Sāṅgha by suggesting that Aśoka became, not a Bhikṣu, the daily life of whom would have been incompatible with the performance of imperial duties, but a Bhikṣu-gaṅgātiṣṭha, one who dwells in the same monastery as the Bhikṣus, but who at the same time cannot for cogent reasons relinquish the householder's life and renounce the world. The idea is quite plausible. It is not so many years ago that English men, military and civil officers and merchants stationed in Burma, who desired to learn the Burmese language, were permitted or invited to reside in Burmese monasteries. They had their own rooms in the monastery, and ate their meals there, but were perfectly free to carry out their daily avocations and spend their day as they pleased. They had no obligations towards the monastery and its Burman inmates except to behave like gentlemen. If a concession of this character could be made by the Buddhist priesthood in Burma to persons of another country and faith, there is no radical objection to the assumption that some similar arrangement was made for one who not only held the exalted position of ruler of India, but was also himself a Buddhist.

Chapter IV is concerned with an analysis of the Dhamma or Dharma of Aśoka; and the author lays stress on the fact that Aśoka was a lay follower of Buddhism and that his preaching was addressed to householders. On this account he makes no mention of Nirvāṇa or the Eight-fold Path, which were subjects for the bhikṣus only, but extols Sārīra as the reward of dhamma in the next life. For whereas, as Dr. Bhandarkar explains, the higher spiritual attainments and the goal of Nirvāṇa are the aim and prerogative of the full Bhikṣu, the doctrine of heaven and hell is prepared and reserved for the edification and acceptance of the ordinary laity. It is also pointed out, by careful analysis of Aśoka's own records, that the emperor had adopted certain elements and ideas from other religions, particularly Jainism; while, as regards his methods of propaganda, which are fully described in the chapter on 'Aśoka as Missionary,' it is curious to reflect that the duty of preaching, which was imposed upon the higher district officials of the empire, was a practice observed centuries later by the Portuguese, whose superior officials combined the rôles of preachers with their ordinary duties. The Portuguese were of course wholly ignorant of the example thus set by the Mauryan monarch, and beyond the mere fact that their officers acted as propagandists, their methods bore no similarity whatever to those of Aśoka. Indeed, the cruelty and bigotry which they so often displayed under the cloak of Christian zeal would have been utterly repugnant to the Buddhist evangelist. Dr. Bhandarkar devotes his final chapter to an estimate of Aśoka's place in history; and knowing as much as they now do concerning the life and achievements of the great Mauryan, most people, I imagine, will assent to his conclusions on this subject. Dr. Bhandarkar quotes certain statements by Mr. H. G. Wells, whom it is not always wise to follow in matters of history, as his views are apt to be coloured by prejudice; but in the matter of Aśoka's pre-eminent character, the opinion of the novelist appears to be amply justified. The book concludes with an annotated translation of all Aśoka's inscriptions. I have said enough to indicate that Dr. Bhandarkar's book is full of information, and it would expect from a scholar of his reputation, and contains suggestions of much interest to all who ponder over the problems of India's past history.

S. M. Edwards.
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F.T.N.I. stands for the Supplement, Folk Tales from Northern India, pp. 41—56.


R.A.I. stands for the Special Supplement, Royal Anthropological Institute, pp. 1—5.

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HONORARY CORRESPONDENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT
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